

A HISTORY OF INDIA MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWARIKH

By

ABDUL-QADIR IBN-I-MULUK SHAH

Known As

AL-BADAONI

English Translationn

SELECTIONS FROM HISTORIES

By

GEORGE S.A.RANKING,

M.D.(Cantab) M.R.A.S.

Volume I

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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

The Muntakhabu-T-Tawarikh was completed by Abdul Qadir-Ibun-I-Muluk Shah known as Al-Badaoni shortly before his death in A.D. 1615. While composing this book, his sacred mission was to "write correctly" keeping "God" as witness in view. It was written in a spirit of disgust against the eclecticism of emperor Akbar and his two close associates, namely Faizi and Abul Fazl, in particular, for their breach of Islamic orthodoxy, a dissatisfaction having been further heightened in its biting invectives against them by author's growing sense of frustration to get proper dues at the hands of his master in the field of material advancement, happily in the sum-total of its effects acts as a necessary corrective to and a brake against the over-laudatory panegyric of Abul Fazal's Akbar Nama. The work is more of the type of memoirs rather than histories and herein lies the value of Badaoni's work.

The three volumes cover the history of India from Ghaznavides down to the fortieth year of Aakbar's reign. The first volume, translated by George S.A. Ranking, M.D. (cantab), M.R.A.S. and published in A.D. 1898, deals with the history of India from Subuktagin (A.D. 977-97) down to the death of Humayun in January, A.D. 1556.

The second volume, translated by Lowe and published in A.D. 1884, concerns the first forty years of Akbar's rule.

The third and the last volume translated by Sir Wolseley Haig, R.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.R.G., and published in A.D. 1925 contains the biographical accounts of the saints, poets and men of letters who were either known to him or were attached to the court of Akbar. A

gives valuable information as an insider and severely castigates Abdul Fazal's eulogistic work entitled Akbar Nama.

According to Smith, "Al-Badaoni's interesting work contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that Emperor's life-time and could not be published until after Jahangir's accession. The book being written from the point of view taken by a bigoted Sunni, gives information which is not to be found in the other Persian histories, but agrees generally with the testimony of the Jesuit authors."

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

IN presenting this translation of the first volume of Badāoni's *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh* (Selections from Histories) I cannot but be conscious of its many defects.

No one who has not attempted to translate from Persian into English can form the slightest idea of the special difficulties of the task.

The inherent differences of idiom in the two languages, the rich expansiveness of the one, and the rigid inflexibility of the other, render the attempt to fitly represent the glowing colours of Persian in the dull monotone of modern English, all but hopeless. It has been said that the test of a translation is not its literalness but its truth: that is to say, not its fidelity to the author's expression, but its response to his inspiration. It must not merely reproduce the letter, it must embody the spirit of the original composition.

How great is the demand thus made upon the translator must be evident to anyone who is acquainted with both Persian and English: and the difficulties which appear so formidable in prose translation, become insurmountable in the case of poetry.

The various metres of Persian poetry are so entirely characteristic and essential in their nature, that it has appeared to me futile, if not impertinent, to attempt similar metrical renderings in English.

Even where it is possible to reproduce by conjunction of English words, the rhythm and accent of any Persian metre, such a composition no more recalls the original, than does the skeleton of the anatomical museum summon up the living and breathing animal.

For this reason, the poetical portions of Badāoni's work have, in the present translation, almost without exception

been rendered, not in verse but in prose, thus preserving the substance while sacrificing the form, as the transparent cube of salt may be crushed so as to be unrecognisable by its crystalline form, but still retains its chemical composition. To render poetry satisfactorily a translator must be both linguist and poet; if he be only a linguist he should not tamper with the finished work of the poet; he can, at best, only hope to outline the subject, leaving the colour-scheme untouched.

I am aware that a high authority* has expressed himself in favour of the translation of Persian poetry into English verse, but the qualifications which shall render a translator competent to undertake such a task must fall to the lot of very few.

With this full knowledge of the difficulties to be encountered, the present translation was undertaken, and it is presented in the confidence that those who are the best judges of the nature of the task will be the first to make allowances for defects in its performance.

قدر زر زگر شناسد قدر جوهر جوهري

GEORGE RANKING.

CALCUTTA :
July 18th, 1898. }

For a life of Badāonī reference should be made to page 117 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. III, 1869, where an excellent biography will be found written by the late Professor Blochmann.

The sources from which this translation has been made are the following:—

1. The "Muntakhab Al-Tawārikh," edited by Maulavi Ahmad Ali, printed at the College Press, Calcutta, 1868, and published in the Bibliotheca Indica of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, referred to in the translation as the 'Text.

* Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C B , K.C S.I., "on Translations from and into Persian." Transactions of Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, 1892.

2. Manuscript No. 1592 of the Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh of 'Abdu-l-Qādir Mulūk Shūh Badaoni, in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Written by one Muḥammad Saiyyid (?), in the year 1255 H. (1839 A.D.). This is referred to in the translation as MS. (A).

3. Manuscript No. A. 44, also from the above library. This is referred to in the translation as MS. (B). The transcriber of this Manuscript is one Muḥammad Nāzim. It bears no date.

The printed text has been carefully collated with these two manuscripts, and all variant readings noted.

INTRODUCTION

MULLĀ ABDUL QĀDIR BADĀYŪNĪ

(A. D. 1540-1615)¹

(a) *Badāyūnī's Biography*

Mullā Abdul-Qādir Badāyūnī was the son of Šaikh Mulūk Šāh² who was the pupil³ of saint Becū of Sambhal and was born at Todā or Tādābhim⁴ on August 21, A.D. 1540.⁵ Some days after his birth, he was taken to Vasāwar,⁶ 18 miles north-east from Bharatpūr in Rajasthan, where some members of his family had taken their abode. At the age twelve, he was taken by his father to Šaikh Hātim Sambhalī to receive his education at the feet of the last named at Sambhal.⁷ He went to Agra in A. D. 1558-9 and studied under famous Šaikh

1. J. N. Sarkar, *Personal History of some Medieval Historians*, published in "*Historians of Medieval India*" and edited by Mohibbul Hasan, p. 188, 1968 edn, Delhi.

2. Ibid; B. N. Luniya, *Some Historians of Medieval India*, p. 164, 1969 edn., Agra ; E & D, V, p. 477.

3. Sarkar, *Supra*, p. 188; E & D, V, p. 477.

4. Luniya, p. 164; J. N. Sarkar, *Supra*, p. 188, has, however, wrongly recorded the birth place of Mullā Abdul Qādir at Badāyūn. This is quite evident from the detailed narration on the subject by Luniya. E. & D, V, p. 477, have also erred in recording that Mullā Abdul Qādir was born at Badāyūn.

5. Luniya, p. 164; G. H. Philips, *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, p. 147, 1962 Reprint, London.

6. Luniya, p. 164; E & D, V, p. 477, have vaguely recorded the date of birth of Badāyūnī as falling in A. H. 947 or 949.

7. Ibid.

Mubārak Nāgorī alongwith Faizī and Abul Fazl.⁸ As Ābdul Qādir's father died at Agra in A. D. 1562,^{8a} he went to Badāyūn,⁹ now in Uttar Pradesh. All through this period, he studied different branches of knowledge under the most renowned and pious men of the age and thus attained great but many-sided scholastic attainments in Islamic literature and attained a high watermark in outshining others in the field of music, history astronomy ¹⁰ He had developed a great passion since his childhood for history and spent his hours in reading and writing history, as he himself wrote.¹¹ He was very fortunate, indeed, to have flourished in a period which was animated by various influences then at play and he naturally could not escape their aftermath in the unfoldment of his personality. The fate of the Mahdavi leaders was hanging in the balance and hardly any serious aspirant of knowledge could receive his initiation in the holy portals of learning without becoming conscious of and influenced by the deep rift and cleavage that had torn asunder the rank and file of the ūlamās, brought about by the teachings and propagations of Sayyad Muḥammad of Jaunpur and occasioned by the divergent opinions of various personalities and parties to the conflict in the realm of national values, viz, hugging of wealth, pelf and power, or abjuring them completely. In the world

8. Ibid; Philips, Supra, p. 147; E & D, V, p. 478, wrote that Badāyūnī lived for forty years in company with Śaikh Mubārak.

8a. E & D, V, p. 477, recorded the Hijri year of the death of the father of Badāyūnī as A. H. 969.

9. Luniya, p 164;

10. Sarkar, Supra, p. 188; E & D, V, p. 477.

11. Ibid; Elliot and Dowson, V, p. 480.

of *sūfīs* and *ulamās* the aforesaid two types had their admirers and followers.¹² The struggle for power between the *Afghāns* and the *Mughals* was another counter to make an inroad in the field of national values, as it had given rise to occasion to evaluate afresh the concept about the nature and value of loyalty itself in the world of thinking section of the period and this had left an indelible impress of its own.¹³

Finally, by the time *Badāyūnī* came of age and received the necessary scholastic accomplishments to draw attention and command respect, Akbar's thirst for the satiety of his intellectual curiosity had led him to go in quest of men, ideas and books. This naturally paved the ground for the two to come close with each other. In A. D. 1574 *Badāyūnī* came to Agra where he was admitted to the court of emperor Akbar through the instrumentality of *Jamal Khān Qurci* and *Hakīm Āin-ul-Mulk*.¹⁴ Akbar appointed *Badāyūnī*¹⁵ as an *imām* in A. D. 1575-6 and ultimately gave him 1,000 *bighas* of land as *madad-i-māʾs* at *Badāyūn*, for he was greatly impressed by *Badāyūnī*'s extent of theological learning and his capacity to humble the over-bearing attitude and arrogance of the *Mullās* for their

12. Muhammad Mujeeb, *Badāyūnī*, published in "*Historians of Medieval India*" and edited by Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 105-7.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid; Luniya, p. 164, has wrongly recorded the name as *Jalal Khān Quraci* and perhaps he was led to make this mistake because he uncritically followed E & D, V, p. 478.

15. Sarkar, *Supra*, p. 188; C. H. Philips, *Supra*, p. 147; Luniya *Supra*, p. 164; E & D, V, p. 478 recorded that on account of his beautiful voice, *Badāyūnī* was appointed court *imām* for Wednesdays.

learning. Šaikḥ Abdun Nabī was the Šadr and Akbar was smarting under great discomfiture at the overbearing dominance of the former and other ūlamās of his brand.¹⁶ "As learning was a merchandise much in demand", wrote Badāyūnī,¹⁷ "I had the privilege of being addressed (by His Majesty) as soon as I reached (his threshold). I was included among the members of the assembly and was thrown into discussion with the ūlamās who blew the trumpet of profundity and thought nothing of anybody.....By the grace of God, the power of my mind, the sensitiveness of my intelligence and that boldness which is a natural quality of youth, I often proved myself the superior." He was frequently called upon by emperor Akbar to translate Arabic and Sanskrit works (*Mahābhārat*) into Persian.¹⁸

Abul Fazl also found his way to the imperial court of Akbar at about the time of Badāyūnī's entry therein.¹⁹ Abul Fazl finally proved insurmountable for Badāyūnī to demolish the former's ever-growing hold on emperor Akbar. Badāyūnī found himself ultimately thrown into the background and at bay in the course of encounter with the two brothers, Faizī and Abul Fazl. He was fighting for Šariāt, and any one who differed with him was his enemy, be he Akbar, Faizī, Abul Fazl, the entire world of intellectuals, infidels, accursed Šīās, fanatically extreme Sunnīs, and he branded them all as impostors. The final outcome was that Badāyūnī never

16. Muhammad Mujeeb, *Supra*, p. 107.

17. *Ibid*; Badāyūnī, *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*, edited by Lowe, Vol. II, p. 172, Calcutta edn.

18. Sarkar, *Supra*, p. 188.

19. Muhammad Mujeeb, *Supra*, p. 107; C. H. Philips, *Supra*, pp. 147-8.

forgave Akbar or Abul Fazl for the fact that he failed to get due recognition for his merit which he deserved.²⁰ The result was the severe castigation of Abul Fazl, his brother Faizi and emperor Akbar at the hands of Badāyūnī in his work "*Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*." Badāyūnī, having been an orthodox Muslim,²¹ not only developed a strong dislike for Akbar's free thought and eclecticism, but became thoroughly disgusted with Akbar's patronage of men of different persuasions to the detriment of the Muslims who alone claimed to have the sole title to government offices and patronage. His aforesaid work was completed²² shortly before his

20. Luniya, Supra, pp. 164-165; Philips, Supra, pp. 147-8; Sarkar, Supra, p. 188.

21. Luniya, Supra, pp. 166-7, wrote that Badāyūnī was a bigoted Sunnī Muslim and had nursed a deep grudge and hatred against liberal Muslims and Śīyās. He narrated with interesting details the religious differences between the Sunnīs and Śīās during the reign of Humāyūn. He had a passion to partake in the fight against Rānā Pratāp of Cīttor and even sought emperor Akbar's permission for it, as he took it to be a *jēhād* (a holy war against the Hindūs), and expressed that he would have his beard red with the blood of the Hindūs. He, therefore, wrote his *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* with the view of a bigoted Sunnī, and as such it contained many hostile but interesting criticism of Akbar. His whole narrative, even when taken from earlier histories, betrays his temperamental predilections and prejudices.

22. Luniya, Supra, p. 167, wrote that Badāyūnī began writing *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* shortly after the death of his friend patron Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad, and completed it in Feb., A. D. 1596. This date is wrong as Badāyūnī in the third volume of *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* trans., vol III, p. 536, recorded the date of completing this work as Jamādī-us-Šūnī 23, A. H. 1004, or March 5, A. D. 1595.

death in A. D. 1615 (A. H. 1024) and, according to Khafi Khān, its publication was suppressed²³ by Jahāngir.

Badāyūnī's *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*²⁴ is a history of India, covering the period from the days of the Ghaznavides down to the fortieth regnal year of Akbar. It contains three parts. The first records the history of India from Subuktagin (A. D. 977-97) down to the death of Humāyūn (on January 24, A. D. 1556). The second is devoted to cover only the first forty years of Akbar's reign. The third and the last part contains the biographical accounts of the saints, poets and men of letters who were either known to him, or were attached to the court of Akbar. The accounts relate to thirty-eight Saikhs (religious leaders), sixty-nine scholars, fifteen philosophers and physicians and sixty-seven poets. Badāyūnī in this work of his exhibits his thorough and an intimate awareness about the history of the Afghāns, as his narrations about them are more detailed and wholesome than

23. Luniya, Supra, p. 167, wrote that the *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* was kept concealed for a long time and it appears that it was made known during the reign of Jahāngir. E. & D, V, p. 479, wrote that this book was kept secret, and, according to a statement in the *Mird-ul-Ālam*, it was made public during the reign of Jahāngir who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badāyūnī's children, that they had been unaware of the existence of the book. The *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri* says nothing about the circumstance; but Badāyūnī's work was certainly not known in A. H. 1025, the tenth year of Jahāngir's reign, in which year the *Māzīr-i-Rahīmī* was written whose author complains of a want of history besides the *Tabaqat-Akbarī*.

24. Luniya, Supra p. 167.

what one could find in *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. He often gives new information on many subjects, based on his own personal knowledge, and as such his accounts for the reign of Akbar, his contemporary, are extremely valuable, in as much as it corrects, by his censure and disparagement, the eulogistic narrations of Abul Fazl's *Akbarnāma* about Akbar.

(b) *Badāyūnī's Works.*

An account of Badāyūnī's works,²⁵ some of which are extant, is as follows:

(i) *Kitāb-ul-Ahadīs*. It is a work on the traditions of waging holy war, better known as *jēhād*. It was composed in A. D. 1570-1 and was presented to emperor Akbar in A. D. 1578.

(ii) *Tarjumā-i-Singhāsan Batīsī*. A Persian translation in prose and verse, entitled *Namāh-Khirad-Afzā*, from the original Sanskrit of the famous collection of thirty-two stories pertaining to justice, charity and benevolence. The translation was undertaken at the behest of emperor Akbar in A. D. 1574 and was revised in A. D. 1594-5. It is a very popular and interesting collection of stories in India, pregnant with highly moral and instructive lessons.

(iii) *Tarjumā-i-Mahābhārat*. A Persian translation of the famous Hindū epic *Mahābhārat*, made at the instance of emperor Akbar in A. D. 1582-3 by four translators, viz. *Abdul Qadir Badāyūnī*, *ibn Abdul Latīf Husainī* surnamed *Naqib Khān*, *Muhammad Sultān Thānesrī* and *Mulla Sirī*. Each of the four had his

25. Luniya, *Supra*, pp. 165-6.

respective share in the translation, but it is not possible to determine the exact quantum of the share²⁶ of each, as conflicting statements are found in the various copies on the subject. According to Elliot, Badāyūnī translated only two out of the eighteen sections (*parvas*) of the *Mahābhārat*.

(iv) *Tarjumā-i-Rāmāyan* A Persian translation of another celebrated and superb epic of the Hindūs, namely, *Rāmāyan*. Undertaken by Badāyūnī at the order of emperor Akbar in A. D. 1584, it took full four years for Badāyūnī to complete it and this was accomplished in A. D. 1591, with the help of the *Pundits*

(v) *Tarjumā-i-Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*.²⁷ Probably it is Badāyūnī's Persian translation of the *Rājatarangnī*, made in A. D. 1590.

(vi) *Najāt-ur-Rasīd*²⁸ Composed in A. D. 1590-1, a treatise on ethics in Sūfī literature, abounding in

26. E & D, V, p. 478, however, wrote that Badāyūnī translated two out of eighteen sections of the *Mahābhārat*

27. E & D, V, p. 478, wrote that Badāyūnī abridged a history of Kashmir, which, under the annals of A.H. 998, is said to have been translated from the original Hindi by Mullā Śāh Muḥammad Sāhābādī but apparently not from the *Rājatarangnī*, for its translation is attributed to Maulāna Imāmuddīn. According to Prof. H.H. Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 2, there were frequent remodellings or translations of the same work but amongst these which he notices he does not mention one by Mullā Śāh Muḥammad Sāhābādī.

28. E & D, V, p. 478, recorded that *Najāt-ur-Rasīd* is a moral and religious work and he wrote it at the instance of his friend Nizāmuddīn, the historian, and which he must have completed very late in life, because the *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* is mentioned in it.

historical anecdotes and controversial discussions like those throwing light on Mahdavi movement.

(vii) *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* It is a history of the world, compiled at the behest of emperor Akbar by a number of compilers, one of whom was Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī. It comprises four volumes²⁹, out of which the final revision of the first two volumes was undertaken by Badāyūnī in A. H. 1000 (A. D. 1591-2).

(viii) *Bahr-ul-Asmār*.³⁰ A Persian translation of the Sanskrit work *Katha-Sarit Sāgara* written for Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn of Kashmir (A. D. 1417-67).

(ix) Another work of Badāyūnī, now not extant, is Yāqūt's geographical dictionary. Its translation was undertaken at the instance of emperor Akbar and it was at the express desire of the emperor that Badāyūnī epitomised Yāqūt's geographical dictionary to form a part of *Rasīdīs Jāmī-ut-Tawārīkh*.

(x) Another work of Badāyūnī, now not extant, is the translation of *Atharva Veda*. Its translation was undertaken at the instance of emperor Akbar.

(xi) *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*³¹ is the most celeb-

29. *Octalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of India office*, I, p. 39.

30. E & D, V, p. 478, however, wrote that *Bahrul Asmār* is a work on *Hadīs*.

31. E & D, V, p. 480, gave the following accounts of *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* in the words of Badāyūnī himself: "The writer Abdul Qādir Mūlūk Shāh Badāyūnī, in obedience to the orders of His Majesty Akbar, finished the abstract of the history of Kashmir in the year A. H. 999, which, at the request of the same monarch, was translated from Hindi into Persian by one of the learned men of his time; but as I cherished a great love

rated one amongst all the works of Badāyūnī. It was completed on March 5, A. D. 1595.

(xii) Mūjamu-Buldain.³²

(xiii) Jāmī-ur-Raṣīdī.³³

for history from my very childhood, and as it was seldom that my hours were not employed either in reading or writing some history, I often thought of compiling a brief account of the kings of Delhi, beginning from the commencement of the Muhammadan rule in India to the present time.. But circumstances gave me little opportunity of executing my design, and day after day I encountered numerous obstacles. Moreover the scantiness of the means of subsistence obliged me to leave my country and friends, and thus the performance of my work was for a time suspended, until my excellent and beloved friend Nizām-uddīn Aḥmad Bakhṣī went to the Paradise. Excellent as is the history composed by this individual, yet I reflected that some additions could possibly be made to it; and I accordingly commenced to abstract briefly the accounts of some of the great kings of India, from the historical works called *Mūbārak-Šāhī* and *Nizām-ut-Tawārīkh Nizāmī*, sometimes adding my own observations. Great brevity had been in the style, and the use of figurative and flowery language throughout avoided. I have named this work *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*. It is hoped that this history, the object of which has been to place upon record the deeds of the great Muhammadan King, and to furnish the means of transmitting my own reputation to posterity, will rather prove a source of my lasting happiness, than tend to aggravate my misfortunes."

32. E & D, V, p 478

33. E & D, V, p. 478, recorded that at the instance of emperor Akbar, Badāyūnī made translations into Persian from the Arabic & Sanskrit, as in the case of *Mūjamu-l-Bahrain*, *Jāmī-ur-Raṣīdī* and *Rāmāyan*.

TRANSLATION

• OF THE منازل OF AL-BADAKONI.¹

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL.

Oh thou² from whose name spring all other names,
Kings at thy door are suppliant as I at theirs—
When once the impulse of zeal for thee was felt,
No foot remained shod, no head remained crowned.

Emperor of the world! with this unprofitable soul of mine
which has become the abode of demons and wild beasts,³ in what
way can I conceive thy praises, and with this worn and foolish
tongue of mine, which has become as it were food for cats and
dogs, how can I chant thy eulogy.

How can the miserable dust proclaim the Unity of God.
How in this state of defilement praise the Divine Being.

Moreover, the foot of search limps feebly in this unknown
road, because of my constant anxiety and habitual fear, while in
this limitless desert, my stammering tongue finds the sphere of
speech always contracted.

That which my soul knows is but secondary,⁴ what my tongue
speaks are but particles—(and therefore unintelligible).
How can I know thee in my soul or express thee with my
tongue.

¹ Al-Baddoni. Vide Preface.

² This invocation is to the Almighty in whose name all literary works are
commenced.

مَنْزِلٌ ذِي رُؤُوسٍ شَدِيدَةٍ

³ حَدْرَتِ That which is dependent for its existence upon some pre-exist-
ing state or object, opposed to حُرُوفٌ مُسْتَقْدِمَةٌ Particles, which alone convey no
intelligible meaning—حَرْفٌ also signifies a letter which is also *per se* meaning-
less.

2. This seems best, that I should restrain my pen from travelling in this valley, and having hidden the head of bewilderment in the cloak¹ of meditation on men and regions² should open the eye of my understanding to the knowledge of Thy all-perfect works and unfading kingdom, and proceeding, through the vicissitudes of affairs of created beings, to the Unity of thy exalted personality, should end with the world of proclaiming and confessing the Unity of God,³ so that I may see with the eye of certainty—nay more that I may recognize that

In thy excellence there is no room for duality.⁴

Thou and thy majesty make up the universe.

and I have moistened my lips with the pure water of the praise of that chieftain whose name is "praised"⁵ whose end is lauded;

حَدُوثٌ is of two kinds حَدُوثٌ زَمَانِيٌّ which is A thing's being preceded by non-existence, and حَدُوثٌ ذَاتِيٌّ which is A thing's being dependent upon another for its existence. Vide Lane, art. حَدُوثٌ. 1.

گريبان Lit. Collar or hood.

سنريهم آياتنا في الآفاق وفي أنفسهم Cf. Qurán xli. 53 انفسهم و آفاقهم
we will show them our signs in the regions and in themselves.

³ The Unity of God is the fundamental proposition of the faith of Islām

سورة الاخلاص - قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد
Say. He is God alone. God the eternal. He begetteth not, nor is begotten—and there is none like unto him Qurán—Súrat-ul-Ikhlās.

⁴ That is to say, no one can stand beside him in this position of excellence Cf. Qurán xxvii. 61.

أَلِلَّهِ مَعَ اللَّهِ بَلْ هُمْ قَوْمٌ يَعْدِلُونَ Is there a God with God? Nay! but they are a people who make peers with him.

See also Súra vi. 1. Also the Súra quoted in note 3.

⁵ مُحَمَّدٌ Muhammad—the literal meaning of which is "Praised." He was thus named by his grandfather 'Abdul-Muttalib, who when desired to give the child a name after some member of the tribe of Quraish to which he belonged, said, "I wish that God who has created the child on earth may be glorified in heaven" and he called the child Muhammad. Vide Hughes, Dictionary of Islām Art. "Muhammad."

Lord of the promised fountain,¹ and of the praise which is on every tongue² (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family) because the mantle of the honour of eternal and everlasting empire lies graciously upon his noble figure, and the proclamation³ and stamp of undiminishing power and glorious sovereignty of right belongs to his exalted name.

The monarch of Arabia of whom the world is a manifestation,

The Lord of the earth, whose servant he is, swears by his name.

He was the near neighbour of the Truth for this reason had no shadow⁴

To the end that no one should place a foot on (the shadow of) his head—

Countless⁵ praises and eulogies on the elect family and the truth-perceiving companions of the Prophet, especially upon the rightly-guided Khalifahs⁶ (may the favour of God be on them all) who, for the elevation of the standard of religion and the promulgation of the word of evident truth⁷ risked their lives and laid down their heads as a ransom, and thus cleared the thorns

¹ M.S. (A) has, *كوتور و رود مورد ملى* —a river in Paradise.

كوتور Verily we have given thee al-Kaugar. Qurán cviii. 1. *كوتور* literally means "abundance."

² *دورود*.

³ *خطبة و مستند*.

The coronation ceremony of Muhammedan monarchs consist chiefly in the recital of the *Khutba* and issuing coin (*sikka*) stamped with his name

⁴ Muhammad was said to have no shadow.

⁵ Thousands upon thousands.

⁶ *خلفاء راشدين* The four immediate successors of Muhammed, Abú Bakr, A. H. 11. 'Umar, A. H. 13. 'Usmán, A. H. 23. 'Alí, A. H. 35, acknowledged by the Sunnis. The first three of these are rejected by the Shi'as who hold that 'Alí was the first legitimate Khalifah.

فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِنَّكَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ الْمُبِينِ Cf. Qurán xxvii-51. *حق مبين* ⁷

Rely thou upon God. Verily thou art standing on obvious truth.

of infidelity and the undergrowth of heresy from the plain of the kingdom of the sacred law.¹

After the praise of God and of the Lord the protector of the divine missive (may the blessing of God be upon him, his family and his companions, a blessing safe from all termination), we have to declare that the science of History is essentially a lofty science and an elegant branch of learning, because it is the fountain-head of the learning of the experienced, and the source of the experience of the learned and discriminating, and the writers of stories and biographies from the time of Adam to this present time in which we live, have completed reliable compositions and comprehensive works, and have proved the excellence thereof by proofs and demonstrations, but it must not be supposed that the reading and study of this science—as certain lukewarm religionists, and the party of doubt and dissent, shortsighted as they are are wont to affirm—has been or will be a cause of wandering from the straight path of the illustrious law of Muḥammad (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family), or become the entry into and way of ascent to the fountainheads of scepticism, and drinking places of defilement of the licentious and heretical, and those who have gone astray; because for a body of men who in the very essence of their constitution are devoid of any share in religious principle, the reading of the eternal word which is the key of evident happiness and “*a healing and a mercy for the worlds*,”² becomes a cause of misery

لِكُلِّ جَعَلْنَا مِنْكُمْ شُرْعَةً وَمِنْهَاجًا ۚ Cf. Qurán v. 62. الشَّرْعُ.¹
For each one of you have we made a law and a pathway. The Mosaic law is always called التَّوْرَةُ At-Taurát (Hebrew תּוֹרָה.)

The word in the text is always used for the sacred canon of the Qurán الشَّرْع is divisible into five sections عَقَائِدُ beliefs—أَدَابُ moralities—عِبَادَاتُ devotions معاملات transactions—عُقُوبَاتُ punishments. Cf. Kashsháf. Isj-láhát-ul-Funún, art. شَرْع.—

وَنُزِّلُ مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ مَا هُوَ شِفَاءٌ وَرَحْمَةٌ لِّلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ۚ and
² Qurán-xvii. 84. we will send down of the Qurán that which is a healing and a mercy to the believers. Vide also Qurán xli. 44.

and everlasting loss "and if they are not guided by it they say—
"this is an antiquated lie." 1

If this is the case with the Qurán 2 what chance has History?

"When any man has lost his hearing through melancholia,³
He cannot participate in the music of David and its harmony."

But I address my words to those who are endowed with the qualities of sound intellect and brilliancy of genius, and natural equity—not to those who are not led by the sacred law and who deny all principle, fundamental or derivative,⁴ because such men are not worthy of this discourse, nor are they within the pale of the wise, and discreet, and understanding, and how can one absolutely refuse to admit a science which is one-seventh of the

1 Qurán xvi. 10. In the original we read—فسيقولون. In both this and the former quotation there are verbal errors which lead to the conclusion that the author was not thoroughly at home in the Qurán.

2 I have inserted these words as the only means of giving an adequate rendering of the phrase تارة ربح چه رست.

3 ما يخلو *melancholia*. The orthography of this word is ماخوليا Sadidi (الشرح في الموجز) gives the etymology الخلط الأسود the black humour, but gives no hint of deafness as one of the symptoms of the disease. Deafness is not a concomitant of melancholia as known to modern medicine, but the cases of so called hysterical deafness with mental depression are not uncommon. The *Bahr ul-Jawāhir* says إنما يقال ما يخلو لما كان حدونه عن السوداء غير مستقرة وهو تغير الظنون والفكر عن السبب الطبيعي إلى الفساد. It is only called "málikhúliá" where it is the result of (the humour called) "Saudá" (black bile) which is not inflammatory. It takes the ideas and thoughts out of their proper channel and tends to despondency and fear because of a melancholic temperament which depresses the mind.

4 اصل و مرجع The two chief divisions of علم الفقه Jurisprudence. According to the *Istiláhát-ul-Funún* علم الفقه treats of the soul and of all that appertains thereto, thus including all theological science; (Kashsháf Istiláhát-ul-Funún art. فقه) of الأشباه والنظائر al *Ashbāh wal Nazā'ir* by Zāinul Abidin bin Nojīm, (H. K. 774) وأصوله ثابتة وفروعه ثابتة..... وأصوله ثابتة وفروعه ثابتة

i.e. Its fundamentals are firmly established and its derivatives evident.

seven sections ¹ upon which the foundation of the establishment of Faith and Certainty is laid.

"And all that we relate to thee of the tidings of the prophets with which we have established your hearts"² tells us of this, and a large body of the learned expositors of the traditions and commentators on the Qurán, as for example Imám Bukhárí ³ and Qází Baizáwí ⁴ up to our own times have occupied themselves in writing about this heart-enthalling science, and their words and practice have become an authority for the nations both East and West, in spite of the diversity of their origins and the distinction of their various degrees. While on the other hand an insignificant band of innovators and inventors who with the disgraceful partisanship of greedy mindedness and importunate desires, and shortsightedness as regards both outward and inward qualities, have placed their feet in the valley of audacity, and have introduced interpolations and errors into true and memorable histories, and having abandoned

¹ *سبع المثاني* The first chapter of the Qurán which contains seven verses; so called in Súra xv. 87. *ولقد آتيناك مبينا من المثاني و القرآن العظيم*.

مثنائي being plural of *مثنوي* repeating or reiterating. The number seven relates to the *manzils* or divisions of the Qurán each one of which is to be read so that the whole is completed in a week. See also *Tafsir ul Baizáwí* ^{الم}.

² Qurán xi. 121. This quotation is correctly given.

³ Hájí Abú'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Abil Hasan Isma'íl ibn Ibráhím ibn-al-Mughair ibn-al-Ahnaf Yazdibah, or Yazdezbah according to Ibn Makúla a Maula of the tribe of Jáfí. (Slane Ibn Khalliqán, ii. 595) The last named was a Magian and died in that religion, his son Al Mughairat embraced Islám.

He was the author of *صحيح البخاري* *Saḥīḥ-ul-Bukhárí*, a collection of authentic traditions—in which an account of Imám Bukhárí is given. He was born A.H. 194 and died A.H. 256, and was buried at the village of *Khartang* near Samarqand leaving no male issue. The *صحيح البخاري* is held in great esteem by Muslims.

⁴ Qází Násir ud-Dín Abul Khair Abúallah Baizáwí, ibn Umar ibn Muḥammad, was born at Baizá, a village of Shíráz, and was appointed Chief Qází. He was the author of many works, among others *Algháyatu fil fiqh*, *Shark ul-Ma'adib wal manáhi*. His most celebrated work was a commentary on the Qurán called *Anwáru-t-tanzíl*. He died A.H. 685 and was buried in Shíráz. See also De Sacy, *Anth: Gram. Arab: notes on Baizáwí*, p 37. See also Elliott and Dowson, Vol II, 252 and note.

recognised constructions¹ and explanations, and interpretations of obvious nature, and estimating the conflicts and discussions of the noble companions and mighty followers (of the Prophet) by their own condition, attributed them to mutual contradiction and hatred, and to rivalry in the splendour and amount of their property and family, and having seduced simple minded people of elementary belief, have led them, by their own error and by attributing error to others, to Gehenna, the house of perdition.

"When the crow² becomes leader of a tribe, he will surely lead them along the path of destruction."

And if the eye of a man be instilled with the collyrium of the Divine guidance, and illuminated by the light of truth, and guarded from every calamity which happens in the world of existence and evil, he passes to the Unity of the Creator, the Ancient of days, the Glorious, freed from the stain of innovation, and purified from the blemish of change and alteration. And when I look carefully, I see that the world is itself an ancient archetype which has neither head nor root, its pages are a confused record, and in each page there is a list of the affairs of a section of mankind who have had the reins of the management of affairs entrusted to their hands. 5

This ancient Shāhnāma relates the affairs of the kings of the world.

Do thou always look and read therein with circumspection.

¹ *مَجْمُوع* is the plural from *مَجْمُوع* an inf. e.g. *حَمَلَةُ أَحْسَنَ مَجْمُوعًا*.

He put the best construction upon it, namely a saying (Lane, s.v. *مَجْمُوع*.)

² *عَرَاب* The Arab proverb runs thus:

مَنْ يَكُونُ الْعَرَابُ لَهُ دَلِيلًا يَمُرُّهُ عَلَى جِيفِ الْكَلْبِ

"He who has the crow for a guide will be led by it to the carcasses of dogs."

The crow was considered as the most inauspicious thing on earth, thus the

Arabs say *أَشْأَمُ مِنَ الْعَرَابِ* More ill-omened than a crow.

Its appearance is thought to be ominous of separation, therefore they say

also *عَرَابُ الْبَيْتِ* The raven (or crow) of separation.

The spell of this narrative brings sweet sleep to him
Who is in delirium, and has become distracted with mad-
ness of the brain.

But it also wakens him who on account of pride, has fallen
into the slumber of carelessness and whom the devil has
deceived.

And inasmuch as the invoker of blessing upon all mankind,
'Abdul Qádir ibn Mulúk Sháh Badáoni (may God erase his
name from the book of sins) in the beginning of the year 999¹
in accordance with the fateful order of his excellency the
Khalifah of the time, the shadow of the Deity, Akbar Sháhi²
when he had finished his selection from the History of Kashmir³
which, by the soul-inspiring order of that world-conquering
Emperor whose throne is the heaven, one of the incomparable
doctors of India had translated from the Hindí into Persian,
yielded to a liking which he had for this science from youth
to maturity, and as it was seldom that he had not been occupied
in reading and writing it, either of his own free will and accord
or in obedience to orders, it used often to occur to him to write
as well an epitome of the affairs of the Emperors of the metro-
polis of Dehli, from the time of the commencement of Islám to
the time of writing, in a concise manner,—

All the world is but a village that (city of Mecca) is the
central point⁴ (of Islám).

that it might be a memorandum comprising a portion of the
events of each reign in brief form, and a memorial for my
friends, and a conspectus for the intellectual, and although it

¹ 999 of the Hijra (1590 A. D.)

² The Emperor Akbar, who about this time employed Badáoni "to make
translations from the Arabic and Sanskrit as in the case of the Mu'jamu-l-
Buldán, Jámin-r-Rashídí, and the Rámáyana," (Elliott and Dowson, v. 478.)

³ Said to have been translated from the original Hindí by Mullá Shah
Muhammad Sháhábádí—but not apparently the Rájá-taranginí, for the trans-
lation of that work is usually attributed to Manlákhá Imád-ud-dín. Cf. Aín-i-
Akbarí, Blochmann, I. pages 105-106—footnote 1.

⁴ Mecca, as being the central meeting place of all Muslims. The Arabic
phrase is **السَّوَادُ الْأَعْظَمُ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ** The collective body of the Muslims.

Vide Lane Art. **مسواك**.

might not be a book to be relied upon, or a notable composition, still in accordance with the saying —

“These ancient pages of the sky whose beauty the stars are,
Are an ancient history of many Emperors whose armies
excel the stars in number,”

it may be that from the perusal of this book a messenger from the world of spirits and invisible mysteries may cast a ray of light upon the receptive mind, and thus being a cause of abstraction and seclusion, may wean the soul from the love of this transitory world, and may aid the compiler of these pages in the prosecution of his task, and his hopes may not be blighted; and inasmuch as each day some new grief used to appear, and some vexatious annoyance used to shew itself, helps being few and hindrances many; moreover by reason of fresh toils and temporal changes it was difficult to remain in one place.

“Each day would bring a different place, each night a different roof.”

And besides all this, my sustenance was by no means assured, hanging as it were between heaven and earth, and my heart utterly distracted by separation from kindred and friends; accordingly that commission was only accomplished by fits and starts,¹ until a kind and complaisant man of wealth, orthodox and religiously disposed, and happily furnished with this world's goods, who was very devoted to me, and for whom I too entertained an indescribable affection, having completed the writing of the *Tārīkh-i Nizāmī*² which is a bulky volume, and which is here being completed by me—removed the furniture of life to the sublime abode of Paradise.

در حیز تعویق و تسویق می افتاد ۱. Lit. used to fall into the region of holding back and pushing on.

² Khwājā Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, son of Khwājā Muqīm Harāwī diwān of the household of Bābar, is said in the *Zakhrātu-l-Qawānīn* (E.D. v. 178) to have been appointed diwān of Akbar's household. He was subsequently appointed *balāshī* of the province of Gujrāt.

The history referred to in the text is one of great repute and authority, it was called by the author *Tabaqāt-i-Akbar-shāhī* by which title Badāonī himself also styles the work. Its name is also known as *Tabaqāt-*

"He has departed—I too follow him.
Each one at last must go the self same way."

At this juncture, when Time departing from its usual custom, has treated me in the matter of leisure with some sort of liberality, it has come about that I have been able to steal a morsel of the chequered¹ hours of my life from his grasp, so that I renewed my intention and confirmed my purpose, and on this ground that there is no bygone event which has not left something for the present,

"If the peasant thoroughly clears under the sheaves of wheat
He leaves the sparrow's portion on the ground,"

I have selected and transcribed accurately a portion of the circumstances of some of the autocrat Emperors of Hindustan from the *Tārīkh i Mubārak Shāhī*² and the *Nizāmu-t-Tawārīkh* of Nizāmī³ which is as it were a drop in the ocean and a bubble of the turbulent floods, and have also added somewhat of my own, and have kept before me the desirability of conciseness and have

i-Albarī. Firishta states that of all the histories he consulted this is the only one he found complete. (Elliot and Dowson, v. 177-178.)

Nizāmu-d-dīn died in 1003 A. H., 1594 A. D. From the author's preface in the text above it would appear that he had had the work in hand some considerable time, but had not been able to give his undivided attention to it until after the death of Nizāmu-d-dīn. In the space of a year from that event he had completed his abridgment so that, it must have been fairly far advanced at the time of Nizāmu-d-dīn's decease.

¹ *موج* see Lane, Art. *موج*. The days are apt to decline from the right course apt to return *موج* *والايم* and *موج*. The days.

² This work was written by Yahyā ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Abdullah Sirhindī according to Firishta with the express purpose of recording the reign of Mubārak Shāh. It commences with the reign of Muhammad Sām, founder of the Qhorī dynasty; the only known MS. terminates abruptly in the middle of the reign of Sultān Sayyid Muhammad, 852 A. H.—(1448 A. D.).

³ This must be the work already referred to, i. e., the *Tabaqāt i-Akbarī* although the name *Nizāmu-t-Tawārīkh* does not appear to be given to it elsewhere.

The name *Nizāmu-t-Tawārīkh* is generally restricted to the work by Baizāwī (vide Elliott and Dowson II. pp. 252-253) Its date is about 671 H. (1275 A. D.)

imposed upon myself the necessity of avoidance of all affectation of style and metaphor, and have named this model composition *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh*.¹ I hope that this imperfect collation and composition, whose object is the perpetuation of the auspicious names of the Emperors of Islām, and the transmission of a memorial thereof in this changing world until the final consummation, may lead to the pardon of the author in the world to come, and not be an augmentation of the crimes laid to his charge.

“And do thou, O Nightingale, as thou roamest through this garden,

With all thy sweetness, abstain from blaming the defects of the crow.”

Since the object of my ambition is to write correctly, if I should by accident let fall from my pen the instrument of my thoughts, or commit in my thoughts, which are the motive agent of my pen, any slip or error, I hope that He (may He be glorified and exalted) in accordance with his universal mercy which is of old, will overlook and pardon it. S.

By speaking evil do not change my tongue,

And do not make this tongue of mine my wrong.²

And since the first of the Emperors of Islām who were the cause of the conquest of Hindustān—(after Mahomed Qāsim,³

¹ This title is common to works by many other authors (Elliott and Dowson, v. 477) especially given to a history by Haren ibn-Muhammad al-Hakīsh-Shirārī, completed A. H. 1019 (1610 A. D.). The work of Badāonī is known better as *Tārīkh-i-Badāonī*.

² There is a play on the words *لِسَانِي* tongue and *لِسَانِي* tongue which cannot be preserved in translation.

³ The incidents of Muhammad Qāsim's engagements and victories are related in the *Chach Nama*, extracts from which will be found in Elliott and Dowson (Vol. i. pp. 181-211.) See also *Futūḥu-l-Bulḍān* of Al-Bilāzurī (E. and D. i. 112). His full name was Muhammad ibn-Qāsim ibn-Muhammad ibn-Hakīm ibn-Abi 'Uqsil, and he was sent during the *Khalīfatī* of Walīd ibn-Abdul Malik 705-715 A.D., to command on the frontiers of Sind. (E. and D. Al-Bilāzurī Vol. i. p. 119.)

⁴ See also E. and D. Vol. i, Appendix 432, &c.

country lost all order) were *Nāṣir-u-d-dīn Subuktigīn*¹ whose son was *Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī* who every year used to make incursions into India with the object of plundering and engaging in religious warfare, and in the reign of whose sons Lahore be-

When they were summoned before the *Khalīfah Walīd ibn-Abd al Malik*, he became enamoured of them and desired to retain them. They however assured him that Muhammad Qāsim had kept them with himself for three days before sending them to the *Khalīfah* and that consequently they were not worthy to become his concubines. Walīd being very indignant wrote a letter commanding Muhammad Qāsim at whatever place he might have arrived when he received the mandate, to suffer himself to be sewn up in a raw hide and sent to the Capital. Muhammad Qāsim received the letter at "Udhāṭai" (Oodypai) obeyed its orders and was brought before the *Khalīfah* dead.

The *Khalīfah* taking a bunch of green myrtle in his hand, shewed the corpse to Dāhir & two daughters, who thereupon told him that they had falsely represented the facts in order to be revenged on the slayer of their father. They were accordingly by his order "enclosed between walls" (Elliott and Dawson, Vol. I, pp. 210, 211, Appendix 437, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. 345, and footnote). Muhammad Qāsim was succeeded in the sovereignty of Sind by the descendants of the Banū Tamīm Ansārī from whom it passed to the *Sūmrā Rāpūts*.

1 "In A. H. 107 (A. D. 725-26) under the *Khalīfate* of Hishām b-ʿAbd al Malik Amin b-ʿAbdallah Kasharī, governor of *Khurāsān*, conquered *Ghor Ghazniān*, the territory of Nimroz and Kābul, and made the latter his capital. From that time continuously under the dynasties of Umayyah and Abbās it was held by the governor of *Khurāsān* until under the *Sāmānīs*, Alptigīn, a slave of that house, withdrew from their obedience took possession of *Ghazni* and Kābul and asserted his independence. On his death Subuktigīn, father of the great Maḥmūd, succeeded to the kingdom and it continued under the house of *Ghazni*."

I have quoted this relation from Jarrett's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. II p. 414, because it shews in a few words the changes which occurred during the period intervening between Muhammad Qāsim and Subuktigīn.

Nāṣir-u-d-dīn Subuktigīn is affirmed by historians to have been a Turk by descent who was brought by a merchant as a boy to *Bukhāra* where he was sold to Alptigīn, who from being governor of *Khurāsān* had by revolt against Mansūr (A. H. 351) established his sovereignty over *Ghazni*.

Subuktigīn some fifteen years later married the daughter of Alptigīn and was acknowledged king by the chief of *Ghazni*, Alptigīn having died two years previously, during which period his son Abū Ishāq was governor till his death. He then became founder of the *Ghaznivide* Dynasty or the *Kings of Lahore*. (See Briggs *Farishta*, Vol. I. pp. 11-95,) also (Elliott and Dawson, Vol. II. 207-221.) See also *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* (Raverly) page 70 and footnote.

came the seat of Government, so that Islām never again lost its hold on that country—accordingly I deemed it right to commence this history with an account of that monarch whose end was glorious, so that it may be fortunate from the first, and landed at the last—and God is the best of helpers and defenders.

THE GHAZNIVIDE DYNASTY.

From Sultān Nāsiru-d-dīn Subuktigīn to Khusrān Malik, who, prior to the conquest of Dehli, proclaimed Islām in Hindustān, from the year 367 A.H. (977 A.D.), to the year 582 A.H. (1186 A.D.). Their sovereignty thus lasted two hundred and fifteen years under the sway of fifteen monarchs.

SULTĀN NĀSIRU-D-DĪN SUBUKTIGĪN

Was of Turkī origin, the slave of Alptigīn who was a servant of Amīr Mansūr-ibn-Nūh Sāmānī.¹ In the year 367 H. after the death of Abū Ishāq, the son of Alptigīn, by common consent of the soldiery and populace he succeeded² to the imperial throne in the city of Bust³ and raised the standard of conquest, and

¹ The eighth prince of the Sāmānī dynasty who reigned 22 years. (D'Herbelot).

The Sāmānī dynasty was founded by Asad bin-Sāmān. It held sway over Khurāsān and Transoxiana, holding its court at Bukhārā—from 279 A. H. to 395 A. H. See *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Raverty pp. 26, 27 and 53. Amīr Abul Hira Mansūr died at Bukhārā 366 A. H. and was succeeded by his son Abul Qāsim-i-Nūh. (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Raverty 44) For an account of the Sāmānī dynasty, see D'Herbelot III. 193. Abū Ishāq was appointed by Mansūr as governor of Ghaznīn upon the death of his father Alptigīn in the year 365 A. H., and died in 367 A. H.

According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Alptigīn died in 352 A. H. and Ishāq in 355 A. H. upon the death of Ishāq Balkātigīn, the slave of Alptigīn succeeded him, dying in 362 A. H. after him again Pirey obtained the government, but was deposed in 367 A. H. when the Government passed to Subuktigīn. (See Raverty *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, pp. 71-73.)

² The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* states that Subuktigīn succeeded Alaptagīn in Ghaznīn (Raverty pp. 46-74.)

³ Bust, the capital of Zābulistān (vide *Abul Feda* II, ii. 201) which includes Kābul and the adjacent territory as far as Ghazna and even beyond. Derived by Yākūl from Zābul, grandfather of Rustam. (*Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) Vol. II. p. 115, and p. 403). "According to the Qānūn Bust is situated in 91°33' long: and 32°15' lat: according to the *Ajwāl* in 90° long. and 33° lat. Third climate [see *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. 115, footnote 4] Chief

girding up the loins of energy and effort for foray and religious war, he invaded Hindustán on the frontiers of the country of Koh-i-Júd¹ and having fought a severe battle with Jaipál who was the ruler of Hindustán, concluded peace with him. Jaipál, however, broke the treaty. Accordingly Násiru-d-dín Subuktigin equipped an army composed of 10,000 cavalry and numberless elephants huge as mountains, and engaged in conflict with him a second time, fought a great battle with him in the neighbourhood of Lamghánát,² the breeze of victory stirred the banners of Amír Násiru-d-dín, the army of Jaipál suffered defeat, and he himself took to flight and sought refuge in Hindustán. Thus Lamghánát came into the possession of Amír Násiru-d-dín, the Khutbah was read and the coin struck in his name.³ Then he proceeded to the assistance of Amír Núh-ibn-Manjúr Sámání⁴ and was the means of procuring notable victories in Khurásán and the regions beyond the river.⁵ Finally in the month of Sha'bán⁶ of the year 387 A.H. (997 A.D.) he obediently submitted to the summons of the Almighty, having reigned for twenty years.

YAMINU-D-DAULAT SULTÁN MAHMÚD IBN NÁSIRU-D-DÍN GHAZNA'Í.

When Subuktigin, in the month of Sha'ban 387 H., while on the road to Ghaznín, receiving the summons of the Almighty

place of the district of Bost. Bost is situated on the banks of the Hendmand and is part of Sijistán. From Bost to Ghazna one reckons about 14 marches (Abul Feda II, ii. 103) Abul Feda further states that at Bost on the Hendmand (Hulmand) there is a bridge of boats similar to those of the rivers of Iraq. (II. 76)

¹ The Koh-i-Júd: includes the mountainous region between Ghaznah and Lahore.

² Lamghán: See Abul Feda II, ii. 201. According to the Lobáb this is the general name of a collection of places in the mountains of Ghaznal (See Abul Feda I. cccxvi) Lamghán. Long 101°50' Lat 34°3 Ain-i-Albarí iii 89.

³ The reading of the *Khutba* (Khutba) and striking the *sikka* (sikka) that is stamping the currency, were the usual accompaniments of the accession of the sovereigns of Islám, and constituted a proclamation of their authority.

⁴ See History of the Caliphs As Suyúri (Jarrett) pp. 432-433.

⁵ *Máwará-un-nahr*. Transoxiana.

According to Yaqút in his *Mushtarik*, Túrán is the name given to the collection of countries situated beyond the Oxus. See Abul Feda "Transoxiana," for a full account of the countries included under this name.

⁶ The eighth month of the Muhammadan year.

responded "Here am I," he appointed his young son Isma'il as his successor.¹ When this news reached Mahmūd who was the elder son of Subuktigin, he wrote a letter of condolence to his brother and sought a peaceful solution of the difficulty on the following terms: That Isma'il should give up Ghaznī to Mahmūd, receiving in its stead the governorship of Balkh: Isma'il refused these terms, and eventually war was declared between the brothers. Mahmūd was victorious, and after defeating Isma'il, kept him closely besieged in Ghaznī for a space of six months, at the expiration of which time certain of their friends intervened and made peace between them. Isma'il then came and had an interview with Mahmūd, and the sovereignty devolved upon Yamīnu-d-Daulat Mahmūd. After this a quarrel arose between Mahmūd and Maṣṣūr ibn-Nūh Sāmānī and also his brother 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn-Nūh.² Eventually Mahmūd got the upper hand. The Amīrs of 'Abdu-l-Malik also, Fāiq and Baktūzūn, who engaged in contest with Mahmūd, were defeated by him, and the sovereignty of the whole of Khurāsān, of Ghaznī, and the frontiers of Hindustān came into the hands of Mahmūd.

Maḥmūd's mother was the daughter of the ruler of Zābul.³

¹ The question of the right of succession of the two brothers admits of some doubt. From the text it would appear that it was the intention of Subuktigin to nominate his younger son Isma'il. The author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* ignores Isma'il's succession (see Raverty, note 6, page 75, and Briggs, note on *Ferīshṭa*, page 29). Subuktigin died in 387, and Mahmūd succeeded according to *Fanākatī* in 388. It appears uncertain how long Isma'il held the Government, but probably the six months during which he was besieged by Mahmūd in Ghaznī, represents his whole reign.

² The origin of this quarrel is stated by *Ferīshṭa* to have been a protest lodged by Mahmūd against the nomination of Bak-Tūzūn to the governorship of Khurāsān (see Briggs, p. 84, see also Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 49, 50).

Maṣṣūr was deprived of his sight after dethronement by Fāiq and Bak-tūzūn who then by agreement with Mahmūd were to hold Merv and Nishāpūr.

Shortly after this (in 388 A. H.), the Sāmānī dynasty came to an end after the defeat of Abd-ul-Malik by Ilāk-i-Nasr. It had lasted one hundred and eight years. See Raverty, pp 53, 54. (see also D. Herbelot iii. 194).

Maḥmūd is related to have assumed the title of Sultān and to have been the first Oriental potentate who appropriated this term (Thomas, *Coins of Kings of Ghaznī*, J. R. A. S. IX. 270. see also Elliott II. 480-481).

³ She was the daughter of Alptagīn, governor of Ghaznī, which is here meant by Zābul, the words 'that is Qandahār' only occur in one copy and are probably interpolated.

[that is to say Qandahár^{*}] accordingly, he is called Mahmúd Zábulí—as Firdausí¹ says:

The auspicious court of Mahmúd Zábulí is an ocean,
An ocean such that no shore can be found for it:
I went to the ocean—I dived but found no pearl
The fault is my fortune's—not that of the ocean.

In the early part of his reign he had some unpleasant correspondence with the Khalifah of Baghdád Al-Qádir billáhi 'Abbási.² Eventually the Khalif despatched a magnificent robe of honour, and many presents of precious things and gems, and conferred on him the title of Amíru-l-Millat Yáminu-d-Dawlat.

Leaving Ghaznín he went to Balkh and Herát, and in 387 A.H., (997 A.D.) he returned to Ghaznín after having settled those provinces, and thence made repeated incursions and forays into Hindustán, and took several fortresses. 'Asjadí³ composed the following *qasída* in honour of this expedition:

When the king of kings marched to Somnát⁴



He made his own deeds the standard of miracles.

In the month of Shawwál, 391 A.H., (1000 A.D.) Mahmúd returned to Hindustán from Ghaznín with ten thousand cavalry,

* Not in MSS (A) or (B).

¹ Firdausí. For an account of this famous poet see this volume page 32 Note 1, and *Majma'ul Fushá* I. 382.

² Al-Qádir billáhi Abul 'Abbás Ahmad ibn Ishák ibn il Muqtadir was born in 336 A.H. His *Khalifate* lasted from 381 A. H. to 422, the year of his death, a period of forty-one years. As Suyúfí quoting from Al-Khatib says that he was distinguished for his rectitude and nobility of character. (*History of Caliphs* (Jarrett, p. 431.)

³ Hakim Abú Nazar 'Abdul 'Azíz ibn-Mansúr contemporary of Hakim Ansurí, Hakim Farrakhi, and Hakim Firdúsi. He died in 432 A. H. (*Majma'ul Fushá*, Vol. I. p. 340.) The *qasída* in which the lines quoted occur is given at length in the *Majma'ul Fushá*, loc. cit. MS. (A) quotes them wrongly, MS. (B) is the same as the text which reads  for . 'Asjadí was a celebrated poet of Merr. The *Tabaqat-i-Násiri* gives another couplet in addition to the above and attributes the poem to 'Ansurí (p. 82, note 1).

⁴ Somnát. Situated according to the Qánún in 97° 10' long. and 22° 15' lat. Somnát is on the shore, in the land of pirates which is part of India. Ibn-Said says that travellers often speak of it, and it forms part of Guzerát or the country of Lar. (See Bayley, *History of Gujerat*, p. 18, etc., *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. II. (Jarrett) 246, etc. Abul Feáz II. ii. 116.)

See also *Albiruni Indis* (Sachau) I. 205, and *Index Somanátha*.

See also p. 27 of this volume, etc.

and reduced Pesháwar. He also again drew up his forces on these frontiers for battle with Jaipál who confronted him with large forces of cavalry and infantry and three hundred elephants. Sultán Mahmúd gained the day and Jaipál was taken prisoner together with fifteen of his relatives, his brothers and his sons; and five thousand infidels fell by the sword. Great spoils fell into the hands of the Gházis, among them a pearl necklet which was on the neck of Jaipál, which was worth some hundred and eighty thousand *dínars*,¹ and the necklets of the others too, on the same

¹ Note 1. *Díndr*.

There is some uncertainty as to the actual value of the *Díndr*, as there were different coins, one of silver and the other of gold bearing this name—

It was during the *Khalífate* of Abdul Malik ibn Murwán (A.H. 73 to A.H. 86, A.D. 692 A.D. 705) that a separate coinage was introduced. Thus As Suyúfí gives the following account: "Yahyá-b Báláyr narrates:— 'I heard Málik say that the first who coined *dínars* was Abdul Malik and he inscribed on them a verse of the Qurán. Mnsá'b states that Abdul Malik inscribed on the *díndr* "Say, God is One" (Qur exi) and on the reverse, "there is no God but God;" and its circumference was a rim of silver and he inscribed outside the rim, "Muhammad is the Apostle of God, whom he hath sent as a guide unto Salvation and the true faith.'" (Jarrett, History of the Caliphs p. 222.)

Abdul Malik had introduced the custom of writing at the head of letters the formula, "say there is one God" This was a cause of offence to the Grecian Emperor who wrote saying that unless Abdul Malik abandoned this habit "there will reach you on our *dínars* the mention of what you will not like." Abdul Malik consequently decided upon coining his own *dínars* which he did in the year 75 A.H. (A.D. 694.)

The origin of the word *díndr* is attributed to the Latin *denarius* the words *فلس* *fuls* and *درهم* *dirham* being in the same way derived from *folius* and *drachma*. (Prinsep I. 19-246.)

The *denarius*, a silver coin was worth approximately 8½d. its average weight being according to the authorities 60 grains. It was first coined B.C. 269.

Its relation to the *drachma* was at first as 8½ to 975, but owing to a falling off in weight of the *drachma* they at one time were practically equal in value. The *drachma* was a silver coin and occupied among the Greeks the place of the *denarius* among the Romans. Both these coins then, the *díndr* and the *dirham*, were silver originally, and were in all probability of equal values, but there is another *díndr* mentioned in the *Rajá Taranginí* and elsewhere which was a gold coin—this answers almost exactly to the Roman *denarius aureus* of which Pliny speaks, the average weight of which was 120 grains. The gold coins of Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanchí inscription weigh from 120 to 130 grains and are indubitably copied from Greek originals in device as well as in weight. Prinsep I. 246.

scale. This victory was won on Saturday,¹ the 8th of Muharram, 392 H., (1001 A.D.) Leaving this place Mahmūd proceeded to the fortress of Tabarhindah² which was the residence³ of Jaipāl, and conquered that country.

After this in the month of Muharram 393 A.H. he left Ghaznīn and proceeded to Hindustān by way of Seistān and assaulted Bhātia⁴ which is in the vicinity of Multān. The Rājā of that place, Beji Rāi, fearing the punishment of the Sultān killed himself with a dagger, and they brought his head to the Sultān. Many Hindūs, more than one can number, were harried along the road to non-existence by the pitiless sword, and Mahmūd took as spoil two hundred and seventy elephants while Dā'ūd ibn-Naṣr⁵ the renegade ruler of Multān, being reduced to submission by the Sultān, agreed to pay twenty times twenty thousand dirhams⁶ annual tribute.

We may thus take it that the golden dīnār was double the weight of the silver dīnār and taking the ratio of gold to silver as 10 to 1 this would give us the relative values of the gold and silver dīnār in terms of dīnārs of silver as 20 to 1.

This relative value is rendered more probable still by a comparison of our author's statement of the tribute paid by Dāud ibn Naṣr (page 11, line 18 of the Text) with that of Firishṭa (see note 6 below).

Against this however is the statement in the *Afn-i-Akbari* (Blochmann I. p. 36) that "the Dīnār is a gold coin weighing one miṣqāl, i.e., 1½ dirhams" but as both the dirham and the miṣqāl were variable the accuracy of this statement is open to question.

See Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. (Art.) Denarius.

¹ Firishṭa says Monday, the 8th of Muharram.

² Tabarhindah. Firishṭa calls this Batindah which is also the name given to Jaipāl's capital in a history of the Rājās of Jamū. As to the identity of this with Waihind, see Raverty's *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, pp. 76-80 footnote; see Tieffenthaler's map, Vol. III. See also E. and D. II. 438.

³ MS. (A) has *جای بودی* Text has *جای بودی* which is evidently an "improvement" on the author.

⁴ MS. (A) has *بھاتا* Bhāta MS. (B) has *بھاتا* Bhāta. The real name of this place is according to Elliott *Bhera*, which lies on the left bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range—see E and D., Vol. II., Appendix, pp. 439-440.

⁵ Grandson of Shaikh Hamid Lodi, first ruler of Multān (Briggs, p. 40.)

⁶ Firishṭa says 20,000 golden dirhams. According to the *Afn-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. 35, the dirham is a silver coin, and no mention is made of a golden dirham. Taking the value of the golden dirham at twenty times that of the silver dirham the text would give the same amount as that given by Firishṭa (see note 1 p. 18).

As he was advancing to Multán, Anandpál, son of Jaipál, rose up against him to oppose the advance of the Sultán, but fled after the battle to the mountains of Kashmir, and the Sultán reached Multán by way of Hindustán.¹ These events occurred in 396 A.H. (1005 A.D.) In the following year 397 A.H. (1006 A.D.) a battle was fought at Balkh between Mahmúd and Ilak Khán² king of Máwará an-Nahr.³ Sultán Mahmúd was victorious; Ilak Khán finally died in the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.)

In the year 398 H. (1007 A.D.) Mahmúd entered Turkistán, and having settled the affairs of the Turkís, pursued Súkhpál⁴ Nabaa, Rájá of Sind (who having embraced Islám had been released from his captivity to Abú 'Alí Sinjuri but had again joined the idolaters and apostates) overcame him and threw him into prison where he died.

In the year 399 A.H. (1008 A.D.) Mahmúd a second time entered Hindustán and engaging in battle with the aforesaid Anand Pál defeated him, and betaking himself with his vast spoil to the fortress of Bhímnagar⁵—which nowadays is known

¹ Firishta says by way of Batindah. In the text we find by way of Hindustán and MSS. (A) and (B) have the same. According to Elliott (II. 438) we should here read Bihand or Waihind, a place of considerable importance on the western bank of the Indus about fifteen miles above Attock.

² See Raverty *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 52 and note. Ilak son of Bughrá Khán took Bukhárá 10th Zí Q'adah, 389 H. See also pages 84-85, footnote D.

See also Briggs' *Firishta*, pp. 42-44.

³ Transoxiána

⁴ Firishta calls him Sukhpál, a son of one of the Rájás of India MS. (A) and (B) have Súkhpál Nabaa. *سوكپال نابه*. According to Elliott his name was Sukhpál-Nawáas Sháh, the name Nawáas denoting his relationship to Jaipál whose grandson he is all probability was (see E and D, II. App. 444.) He is called Rájá inasmuch as Mahmúd when leaving Multán to fight Ilak Khán had (according to Firishta) left his Indian possessions in his charge. See also Elphinstone, *Hist. of India*, p. 280

⁵ This fortress is situated about a mile from the town of Bhím. The fort itself was called Nagarkot (Firishta) and is the same as Kot Kangra. In Tieffenthaler's map Nagarkote is placed some 25 miles N. W. of Kot Kangra, but at page 107, Vol. I, he says, "Côtganga nommée aussi Nagar cote est une ville munie d'une forteresse et située dans les montagnes." See E and D, Vol. II. 84 and App. 445.

"The Town of Bhím which is about a mile from the fort, is now on a spot called Bhawan which means a temple raised to a Saktí or female deity, and Bhím is probably a mistake arising from its presumed foundation by the heroic Bhím."

as the Thāna of Bhīm—reduced it by promising quarter to the garrison, and gained possession of the treasure and valuables which had been buried and stored there since the time of Bhīm, and in the early part of the year 400 H. he caused several golden and silver thrones to be placed in his court, and ordered that all that boundless and innumerable wealth should be scattered at the foot of his own throne, that the people might gaze on it. In the year 401 H. (1010 A.D.) he left Ghaznī and again marched towards Multān, and took possession of the remainder of the country and put to death the greater part of the Karmatians¹ and heretics of that region, and sent the remainder whom he did not put to death to the fort,² where they died. He took Dāūd ibn Nāsr, the heretic ruler of Multān, to Ghaznī and kept him a prisoner in the fortress of Ghorī,³ where he died.

In the year 402 H. (1011 A.D.), he set out for Thānesar⁴ and Jaipāl, the son of the former Jaipāl, offered him a present of fifty elephants and much treasure. The Sultān, however, was not to be deterred from his purpose; so refused to accept his present, and seeing Thānesar empty he sacked it and destroyed its idol temples, and took away to Ghaznī, the idol known as Chakar-

¹ A heretical sect of Muslims, so called from the founder Karmat, who rose about the year 278 H. They sought to attain their ends by violence and in the year 319 H. under Abu Tāher, took the city of Mecca with fearful slaughter, plundered the temple and took away the black stone which they retained for twenty years.

(Elliott and Dowson II. 573). (See also Sale's *Qurʾān*, Pref. Discourse, pp. 130-181) H. Herbelot (*Carmate*).

* MS. (A) در قلع

² Firishā غورک MS. (A) غوری

⁴ Thānesar. 76°52 E. 28°30 N. vide Map, Tieffenthaler, Vol. III.

Tieffenthaler describes it as a large and populous town one mile in length, having a pond surrounded by buildings towards the east. The Hindus he states, claim that when gold is thrown into this lake it increases in weight. He naively, goes on to say, however, "Mais c'est un fable ridicule car celui qui y jette son or n'en recouvre rien." The water is accounted holy.

He places Thānesar at a distance of 66 miles from Delhi giving the stages,—Narela 12 miles, Sonpat 6, Gonor 6, Panipat 12, Carnal 14, Asamabad 7, Thānesar 9. It lies N.W. of Delhi and is now called Thanesar. See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 330-332. See Alberuni, I. 199.

sūm,¹ on account of which the Hindūs had been ruined; and having placed it in his court, caused it to be trampled under foot by the people. In the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.), he conquered Ghurjistān,² and in the selfsame year an ambassador arrived from the ruler of Egypt, and when the Sultān heard that he was of the Bātinī sect,³ he exposed him to public ridicule⁴ and expelled him.

In the year 404 H. (1013 A.D.), he prepared an expeditionary force to attack Nandana,⁵ a city situated on the mountains of Bālnāth. Jaipāl II⁶ left a force to defend that fortress, and himself proceeded to the Kashmīr pass. The Sultān gained possession of that fortress with promise of quarter, and left Sārēgh Kotwāl to defend it, while he pursued Jaipāl. He took the vast spoils of that mountainous region and put many infidels to death by the sword of holy war, and honoured the rest by admitting them to Islām—a certain number he led captive to Ghaznī.

In the year 406 H. (1015 A.D.), he contemplated the conquest of Kashmīr, and besieged the fortress of Lohar Kot,⁷ which was a very high fort, but was forced to abandon the siege on account of the severity of the cold and rain, and the constant reinforcements available to the Kashmīrīs, and returned to Ghaznī. In that year he entered into a contract for the marriage of his sister

¹ Chakrasvāmin, or the lord of the Chakra. For an account of this idol, see Alberuni, I. 117.

"The city of Taneshar is highly venerated by the Hindūs. The idol of that place is called Cakra svāmin, i.e., the owner of the Cakra."

² Ghurjistān, or Gharshistān, the country bounded on the west by Herāt, east by Ghor, north by Merv, and south by Ghaznī. See Jacut in voc. Gharshistān.

³ Esoterics, a sect of the Shī'a Muslims. For an account of them see Burton's *كتاب الملل والنحل* page 147 — They were variously called *الفرقة الناجية* *الملاحدة* *العلمية* *المزدكية*.

⁴ *تشهير کردن* Exposing to ridicule by seating on a donkey with the face to the tail, and thus leading him through the city.

⁵ Nandana, a fortress of brick situated on a mountain. Tieffenthaler I. 105, in lat. 32°. (Alberuni, Sachau trans. 317). In Rennell's map (1782) the Bālnāth mountains are placed in long. 72° E., lat. 32° N. For a full description of this mountain, see Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, pages 164, 165.

⁶ Son of Anandpāl, grandson of Jaipāl I.

⁷ Called also Lohkot by Firishīn. MSS. (A) (B) *لوه کوت*.

with Abul Abbās ibn Māmūn Khwārazm Shāh,¹ and sent her to Khwārazm.

In the year 407 H. (1016 A.D.), a band of ruffians murdered Khwārazm Shāh, and Mahmūd leaving Ghaznī, proceeded first to Balkh and thence to Khwārazm, where a furious battle took place between his forces and those of Khamārtāsh, the commander-in-chief of Khwārazm. The Sultān's forces gained the day and Mahmūd appointed Altūn Tāsh governor of that country, investing him with the title of Khwārazm Shāh, he also took vengeance on the murderers of Khwārazm Shāh, and returned (to Ghaznī) after having arranged those important affairs.

In the year 409 H., he marched with the object of subduing Qanauj,² and having crossed the seven³ dangerous rivers of Hindustān, upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of Qanauj, Kūrah,⁴ the ruler of Qanauj, offered his submission, and sued for quarter, offering presents. Leaving that place he arrived at the

¹ For a full account of this dynasty, see Raverty's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 231 &c, (note 2) Khwārazm is a country on both banks of the Oxus of which the capital is Gurgang (Jurjān) see Abul Fedā II. ii. 200. Chorasmii of Strabo, Herodotus, &c. The Chorasmii are coupled by ancient authors with the Dace, Massageteæ and Sogdii. (Smith's Dict. of Geog.)

² Qanauj or Qanaj, was for a long time the Hindū capital of Northern India. Firishta states that when Mahmūd approached Qanauj, "he saw there a city which raised its head to the skies and which in strength and beauty might boast of being unrivalled." (Briggs. I. 57). See also Alberūnī (Sachau tr. I. 193). (For a full account of this city consult Cunningham op cit, 876, &c.).

Tieffenthaler states that in ancient monuments Qanauj is called "Cannia conbadj" ce qui signifie la vierge bossue. Vol. I. pp. 193, 194.

³ These in the order Mahmūd met with them were the—

Indus Skt Sindhu Gr. Ἰνδός "Indus incolis Sindus appellatus" (Pliny.)

Jhelam Hydaspes or Bidaspes Skt. Vitastā (Vibut) or Viyatta.

Chenāb Acesines called in Sanskrit Chandrabhaga.

Rāvi Hydraotes (Arrian) Skt. Iravati. Hyarotis (Strabo).

Biāh Hyphasis or Hypanis Skt. Vipāsa.

Sutlej Zeradrus. Hezydrus (Pliny) Skt. Shatladar.

Jamuna Jaun or Yamunā.

(See also *Ain-i-Albārī* (Jarrett), ii. 310.) Alberūnī, Chap. xxiv, xxv

MSS. (A) (B) كُورَه Kūrah. According to Firishta the name of the son of Qanauj was Kūpwar Kāi, see Elliott, Vol. II. p. 451.

fortress of Barnah¹ whose governor Barwat, having entrusted the defence of the fortress to his kinsfolk, retired into seclusion.

The garrison of the fort not being able to withstand Mahmūd's assault sent a present of a lakh and fifty thousand² rupces, with thirty elephants, and thus obtained quarter. From thence Mahmūd proceeded to the fortress of Mahāwun³ on the banks of the river Jon,⁴ where the governor of the fort named Kal Chandar⁵ attempted to escape by crossing the river riding on an elephant, but in the meantime the troops of the Sultān arrived, and he destroyed himself by stabbing himself with a dagger—

By that same watery path he went to Hell.

When to live is to fulfil the desires of one's enemies

Death is infinitely preferable to life.

At the taking of the fortress of Qanauj eighty-five elephants and a boundless amount of spoil fell into the hands of the troops. From thence he went to Mathra⁶ which is a place of worship of the infidels, and the birth place of Kishan, the son of Basudev, whom the Hindus worship as a divinity—where there are idol temples without number, and took it without any contest, and rased it to the ground. Great wealth and booty fell into the hands of the Muslims, among the rest they broke up by the orders of the Sultān, a golden idol, the weight of which was

¹ Barnah. Firishta gives Hardat as the name of the governor and calls the place Mīrath. Baran. See Elliott II. 458, on the reading برده MS. (A.) has برده Bartah and gives برده Bardat as the name of its ruler.

² According to Firishta 250,000 silver dīnars. This gives the value of the silver dīnār as $\frac{1}{16}$ of a rupee. In the *Ain-i-Akbarī* we find no mention of a silver dīnār, but the dirham is stated to be $\frac{1}{16}$ of a dīnār; as the dirham varied in weight it seems almost certain from the above that the dirham and silver dīnār were identical. (see note I p. 18.)

³ Vide Tieff. 166. Mahāban avec une forteresse en briques.

⁴ The river Jamna. Alberuni "the river Jann (Yamuna) p. 199.

⁵ Kal Chand (Firishta) Elliott I. 462. MS. (A.) کلچند Kulohand.

⁶ Vide Tieffenthaler I. 201 et seq.

Mathra or Māhura, celebrated as a holy place, the birthplace of Vasud. a,—see Alberuni, ii. 147 i. 190; famous also in the history of Krishna as the stronghold of his enemy Rājā Kansa. Arrian calls it Metnora while Pliny states that the river Jomana (Jamna) passed between the towns of Methora and Clisobora (Kalikavartta or Vrindāvana) Cunningham op. cit. no. 374-375.

had with him 36,000 cavalry and 45,000¹ infantry and 640 elephants, and who had put to death the Rájá of Qanauj on the occasion of his submission to the Sultán, and who had also come to the help of Jaipál, who had several times fled from before the Sultán. The servants of the Sultán who had gone forward to the attack, found the city deserted, and sacked it. A terrible dread overwhelmed the heart of Jaipál, so that leaving all his property and material of war just as they stood, he took to flight with some selected companies. Five hundred and eighty elephants during the pursuit, emerging from a forest, fell into the hands of the Sultán's troops. He then returned to Ghaznín.—Many regions passed from the possession of the infidels to the Muslims, moreover the people of that country, either willingly or perforce, made profession of Islám.

In the year 412 H. (1021 A.D.), Máhmud proceeded to Kashmír and laid siege to the fort of Loharkot for a month, but it held out being exceedingly well fortified. Leaving Loharkot he went to Lahore, and in the beginning of spring returned to Ghaznín.

In the year 413 H. (1022 A.D.), he again made an attempt on the country of Nandá, and when he arrived at the fortress of Gwáliár, having reduced it peaceably and accepted presents from its governor, confirmed him in his governorship. As part of that present there were thirty-five elephants. Leaving that place he went to the fort of Kálinjar, the commander of which first made an offering of three hundred elephants and sought his protection.²

He also composed a poem in Hindí in praise of the Sultán, and sent it to him, whereupon the Sultán read the poem in the presence of the eloquent men of Hindustán and the poets of his own country. They were all loud in their praises of the poem, and the Sultán was so proud of it, that he wrote a patent conferring upon him the governorship of fifteen forts as a reward for the poem. Nandá also sent large quantities of property and jewels,

Firishta gives the date of this expedition as 418 A.H. See Elliot, Vol. I. 462, for an account of the various statements.

¹ The text has صد و پنجاه هزار و پنجاه. Firishta says 45,000. MS. (A) likewise says 45,000. MS. (B) is same as the text, which says 145,000, but 45,000 is no doubt correct.

² Abul Fázl (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Text I. 423) says this was in 416 A.H.

mans who worship a large idol. There are many golden idols there. Although certain historians have called this idol Manát, and say that it is the identical idol which the Arab idolators brought to the coasts of Hindustán in the time of the Lord of the Missive (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him), this story has no foundation, because the Brahmans of India firmly believe that this idol has been in that place since the time of Kishan, that is to say four thousand years and a fraction. Its name too, in the Hindí language, is really Sobha Náth, that is to say Lord of Beauty, and not Manát.¹ The reason for this mistake must surely be the resemblance in name, and nothing else. In this expedition, having taken the city of Patan² which is known as Naharwála, a city of Gujerát, and having obtained a great supply of provisions from thence, he arrived at Somnát where the garrison closed the gates of the fort against him, and reaped their reward in rapine and plunder. The fort was taken and Mahmúd broke the idol in fragments and sent it to Ghaznín, where it was placed at the door of the Jámí' Masjíd and trodden under foot³.

At the time of his return, not considering it expedient to fight with Bairám Dev,⁴ one of the mighty Rájás of Hindustán who stood in his way, Mahmúd turned towards Multán by way of

farther states that it was supposed to be kept in this position by magnetic action. Qazwíní died A. H. 682, (A. D. 1284.)

¹ Cf. Qurán LIII. 19, 20. Zamakhsharí in the *Kashsháf* states that Manát was an idol worshipped by the tribes of Huzail, Khuzáa and Saqif, and that it was called Manát *لأن دعاء النساء كانت تمني منه* (Calcutta Edn., Vol. II., page 1422).

² Pattan. Tieffenthaler I. 395, states that Pattan was a very ancient city founded even before Guzerát, 20 miles from Radhanpur, 40 miles north of Guzerát. Its ancient name was Nehroála. It was originally called Anhalpur. See *Ain-i-Akbarí* (J) II. 262, III. 59, 60. Compare Briggs' *Firishta*, I. 68, &c., Anhalwára (Elphinstone).

³ Cf. Alberuni II. 103.

⁴ *Firishta* calls this Rájá Bráhma Dev, and states that having fled from Mahmúd he shut himself up in the fort of Gandaba (*Kandama Záríkh-i-Alfi*). Briggs states that the position of this place has not been ascertained, but it appears to me to be the place Canda mentioned by Tieffenthaler I. 402. "Canda est une bonne forteresse à 40 milles de Somnath elle est entourée d'eau comme une île : mais on peut y aborder à gué en quelques endroits." This description tallies so exactly with *Firishta's* that there can be little

Sindh.¹ His army suffered great hardships from scarcity of water and forage, until with great difficulty he reached Ghaznīn in the year 417 H.

In that year Al Qādir billāhi² the Khalīfah, despatched a flag with a letter appointing the Sultān³ to the Governorship of Khurāsān and Hindustān, Nīmroz and Khwārazm, and conferred titles of honour upon his brothers and sons, and in the same way assigned the titles of Kahfū-d-Daulat wal Islām to the Sultān, and to his elder son Amir Mas'ūd that of Shahābu-d-Daulat wa Jamālu-l-Millat, and to Amir Muḥammad his younger brother that of Jalālu-d-Daulat, and to Amir Yūsuf that of 'Azdu-d-Daulat—and so forth.

In this year by way of punishing the Jats⁴ of the vicinity of Multān, who had committed many acts of disrespect, Maḥmūd brought an army to Multān—and four thousand (some say eight thousand) boats belonging to the Jats laden with their families and property, were sunk in the Multān river on the occasion of a victory obtained by the boats of the Sultān, on which they had arranged some especial contrivance,⁵ and the Jats were drowned and sank in the whirlpool of destruction, and the rest became food for the sword, their families were taken captive, and the Sultān, victorious and triumphant, returned to Ghaznīn.—

In the year 418 H. (1027 A.D.) marching towards Bāward⁶, he

doubt as to the identity of Gandāba with Canda. Cf. Elliott II. 473, note 1 Elphinstone Hist. of India, 289.

In the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* this rājā is called Parama Dev.

¹ For particulars of this march see Briggs' *Firishta* I. 78. Elph. 200, and note. *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri* (Raverty) p. 83, cf. Elliott II. p. 192 from *Jam'ī'u-l-Mikāyāt*.

² History of the Caliphs (Jarrett) p. 431, Al Qādir billāhi Abul 'Abbās Ahmad-b-Ishāq b-il-Muqtadir. A. H. 381-423.

³ See Elliott II. pp. 480-481 on the assumption by Maḥmūd of title of Sultān, see also p. 16 of this volume note 2.

⁴ Cf. Elliott II. p. 477, and I. p. 507. The Jats.

⁵ Cf. Elliott II. 477. Briggs' *Firishta* I. 82.

The contrivance alluded to was fixing spikes on the prows and sides of the boats like the rostrum or *ἐμβολος* of ancient warships. This instrument the origin of the modern ram is said to have been invented by the Tyrrhenian Piseus. (Smith, *Dict of Antiq.*) See also Elph. 291, and note.

⁶ Bāward. MS. (A.) has *بجانب ماوراء النهر باورد رفته* MS. (B.) is same as the text. Bāward ville du Khorāsān est située selon l' *Afak* par 84° de longi-

utterly destroyed the Turkomans of that country, and thence he hastened to Rai¹ and laid hands on the treasures and hidden valuables of that country which had been there for many years, and eradicated the false religionists and Karamanians of that place, and bestowed Rai and Isfahán on Amír Mas'úd his elder son. He then returned to Ghaznín and shortly afterwards became attacked by consumption,² his weakness day by day increased. Nevertheless he used to take great pains to pretend that he was well and strong, and in that condition went to Balkh and in the spring came to Ghaznín, and died of that disease on Thursday, the 29th of Rabi'ul Awwal,

tude et 37° 20' de latitude. On la nomme encore, dit le Lobáb, Abáward et Báward (Abul Feda (Reinard) II. ii. 185-186). Firishta calls it Badward (see also Meynard (Dict de la Perse) p 13, Abiward).

¹ A district of Persian 'Irâq, situated according to Abul Feda quoting from the *Atwat*, in long. 76° 20' and latitude 35° 35'. Its original name was he states, Râzi.

Ibn Hauqal in his article on Dailam, speaks of Beyy as a large city at a distance of eight marches from Azarbaiján. It is the ancient Rhagon or 'Peyás of Arrian, the capital of the province of Rhagiana, first known to us in history as the place to which the Jewish exiles were sent. It was the birth place of the famous physician Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariya Ar-Râzi, familiar to the medical world as Rhâzes who lived in the tenth century. His treatise on small-pox and measles (فی السجدري والحصبة) was published in a Greek translation *περί λοιμωγῆς* in 1548, and an English translation from the Arabic by Dr. Greenhill. (Sydenham Society, 1847) It was ten days' march from Ecbatana (Hamadán). It was called at different periods Europus and Arsacia. In modern times the ancient name has returned, and its ruins lie now to the south of Teherán and north of Ispahán. The famous juriconsult Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan, and al-Kisáfi the reader of the Qurán, are buried there. Persian Irâq comprised the regions of Beyy, Qáshán, Ispahán and Hamadán. (Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog., Vol. II. art Rhagæ), (Abul Feda, (Reinard) II. ii. 169, &c.) also see I. K. (Slane), iii. 311 et seqq.

² Briggs, Vol. I. p. 83, states that Maḥmúd died of stone, but a reference to Firishta in the original shows that this is not the case. The words are &c. مريض سوا القنية يا مل بهم رسانیده

The disease سوا القنية *Sá-ul qinya* which literally means an undesirable acquisition, is thus defined by Vüller sub voce قنيت "pravus habitus corporis, gr. *καχέξια*, while the following translation from the M.E. copy of *Bahr-ul-Jowáhir* in this Library will show how it is there defined:

"The disease is so called because the skin which surrounds a man and changes with his changes (i.e. contracts and expands as necessity arises) is diseased, it is the beginning of dropsy, but inasmuch as the term dropsy is specifically

421 A.H.,¹ and was buried at Ghaznīn. His age was sixty years, and he had reigned thirty-one years. They say that when he was

restricted to another disease, this term *Sā ul qirya* is made applicable to this condition."

In the *Ipildhatu-l-Funūn* we find the disease described as "the commencement of dropsy due to weakness of liver and derangement of that organ." The quotation however is an erroneous transcription from *Al Mūjaz* of Sadīdī, a translation from which follows,—he writes "the commencement of dropsy due to weakness and derangement of the liver, with resulting pallor and whiteness owing to defect in the formation of good blood from disorder and weakness of the liver, it also arises from disorder of the stomach and weakness of that organ."

The face and extremities, that is the hands and feet, and especially the eyelids, become swollen owing to the weakness of digestion and the rising of moist vapours, and their effect upon the eyelids and extremities, and at times it extends to the entire body, so that the body becomes like dough. One of its symptoms is flatulencia and borborygmus, with irregularity of the bowels. All of these are due to indigestion. The gums also are affected with pustules from the evil vapours which arise.

Its cure is a gentle course of treatment for the dropsy. Means must be taken at first to secure a minimum of excrementitious products, and drinking much water must be forbidden, and the patient directed to bathe in borax and alum water, or in sea water, as bathing in fresh water is harmful. Drinking wormwood and *hindī* and *wardī* is beneficial. The food must be appetising and strengthening to the liver, as for instance partridges; *Cantharides* flavoured with cloves and cinnamon and mastic and saffron are beneficial. The vomiting must be treated with aperients, when it will cease, but if more energetic treatment be required we may add *agarcum* and *rhubarb* which do no harm in this disease." (*Al Muḡhāt fī Sharḥi Mūjaz* by Sadīdī).

It is evident from the above description that the disease from which Maḥmūd died was not either hectic fever (*Radkūnī*) or phthisis *U* (*Firishṭa*), but an *anæmia*, very probably "idiopathic *anæmia*" or "progressive pernicious *anæmia*." The condition of the gums points to a possibly scorbutic taint, though it was probably ulcerous stomatitis so common at the close of wasting disease. Malaria may have shared in the causation of the illness. There is just a possibility that the disease may have been myxœdema, the increase in bulk of the body with the alteration and sweating of the skin, the turgescence of the mucous membrane of the mouth—all point in this direction. Against this supposition however, is the sex and the age, both of which are in favour of pernicious *anæmia*. His age was 61.

The question of stone nowhere appears in the original authorities, and it is difficult to see why Briggs should put forward such a statement. See also Elliott, IV. 188, note 1.

¹ This date is the same as that given by *Firishṭa*.

² Faverly in the *Tabaqat i-Nasrī*, p. 87, note 8, gives Thursday, the 14th of

dying he ordered them to bring all his wealth and treasures and property before him, he lay looking at them from time to time regretfully sighing at having to part with them. He would not give the smallest trifle to any one.

He had made the journey to Hindustán and engaged in holy war, twelve times. Verily his reckoning is with his Lord; and the story in connection with him and Firdausi¹ the poet is well known, and the holy Jámí² says :

It is well to recognize merits for when the arched sky
At last discharged the arrows of misfortune,
The glory of Maḥmúd passed away, nothing remained in the
world

Save only this saying "He recognized not the worth of
Firdausi.

Rabī' al-ṣanī, 421 H. (A.D. 1030) quoting the *Maqámāt* of Amīd Abū Naṣr by Abū-Baihaqī as his authority.

The *Tabaqāt-i-Naṣrī* gives his age at the time of his death as 81, and states that he had reigned 33 years.

¹ Abul Qásim Firdausi the celebrated poet, author of the *Shāh Námah*, was a native of Tús in Khorásán where he was born about 339 A.H. (950 A.D.) He died in 411 A.H. (1020 A.D.) or 416 A.H. (Guzids). He was appointed by Maḥmúd to complete the *Shāh Námah*. As a reward for this labour he was promised a thousand *miqqáls* of gold for every thousand distichs. However by the machinations of Aiyáz one of Maḥmúd's favourites who bore Firdausi a grudge for a fancied slight, the poet was represented to Maḥmúd as being a schismatic and heretic, and eventually was put off with 60,000 silver *dukans* instead of the promised 60,000 *miqqáls*. This so enraged him that he divided the 60,000 dirhams among the attendants of the bath where he was at the time of receipt. Finally he wrote a brilliant satire on the Sultan in the very copy of the *Shāh Námah* which he had presented to him on its completion, and fled from Maḥmúd's court to Mázinderán and thence to Baghdád. Maḥmúd at last relented, and sent Firdausi the 60,000 *díndra* with a robe of state and apologies for his former harsh treatment, but when the presents arrived the body of Firdausi was being carried out for burial. See *Atashkadeh 'Azur* p. 92 et seqq, also Atkinson's *Shāhnamah*, Preface: also Elliott, IV. 191. See also Hunter's *Indian Empire*, p. 219. and Beale's *Dict. of Oriental Biography*.

² Mulla Núrud-Dīn Abdur Rahmán (Jámí) author of "*Yúsunf and Zulaikha*" *Boháristán*, &c., was born at Jám in 817 H. (?) He died in 898 H. See *Atashkadeh-i-'Azur* p. 78.

He was called *ḥafíẓ* the holy from his position as one of the greatest divines of his day. He was the spiritual guide of the Vazír Amír Alf Sher. He performed the Hajj in 877 A.H., and died at Herát twenty years later.

And in the *Tazkira* of Muḥammad Ufi,¹ the following *Qitaʿa* has been attributed to the Sultān Maḥmūd.

From the dread of the world-winning sword and the fear of
the fort-crushing sceptre,

The world became subject to me as I am subjected to reason,
At one time there would I sit serene in my splendour and
riches

At another time following Avarice roamed I from country 20.
to country;

Oft would I boastfully say Lo! I am a man of importance,
But now I clearly perceive that the King and the beggar are
equals.

I, with one wave of my hand, have conquered a myriad of
castles

With one firm plant of my foot I have broken lines without
number

When Death made the final assault, naught then did my
splendour avail me

Nothing continues but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom.

SULTĀN MUḤAMMAD IBN SULṬĀN MAḤMUD GHAZNAVĪ,

Who was styled Jalālu-d-Daulat, in the aforesaid year, by the provisions of his father's will, and with the acquiescence of Ibn Arsalān² a relative of Sultān Maḥmūd, succeeded to the royal throne in Ghaznā, and a month and a half after his accession Amīr Aiyāz³ came to terms with the servants, and having mounted horses from the royal stables, took the road to Bust with the object of entering the service of Shahābu-d-Daulah Mas'ūd who was at

¹ Muḥammad Ufi, author of a biography or "*Tazkira*" *Lubābu-l-Albāb*, and of another work called *Jāmiʿu-l-Hikāyat*. The latter he compiled in 1228 A.D. (625 A.H.). He was a native of Merv which under the Seljūq princes was the capital of Persia. He was also known as Nāruddīn Muḥammad Ufi. (Beale, O. B. D.). See also J. E. A. S., Vol. IX. 118.

Hājī Khalfā calls him Jamālū-d-Dīn Muḥammad al Ufi. See J. E. A. S., Vol. V., p. 111.

² Called in the *Tazkirat ul-Mulūk*, 'Alī son of Iyāl Arsalān a relative of the late Sultān Maḥmūd (Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāpūrī* 89 note 8).

Firishta calls him Amīr 'Alī, son Kizil Arsalān father-in-law of Maḥmūd. (Briggs, 90). See Elliott, IV. 193. Alī Kurbat (Raverty), or Alī Khishāwandī.

³ Abul Najm Amīr Aiyāz (Firishta).

Sipáhán.¹ Amír Muḥammad despatched Sūndhí² Rái the Hindú with a large army in pursuit of them, Amír Aiyáz was victorious in the fight, and put to death Sūndhí Rái the Hindú with a large number of Hindús, and sent their heads to Amír Muḥammad. Amír Aiyáz joined Amír Mas'ūd at Nishapūr,³ and four months later Amír Muḥammad moved his camp in the direction of Bust,⁴ and came out in full force from Ghazna with the intention of fighting with his brother, and when he reached Takínábád⁵ all his Amírs having revolted against him, put out his eyes and threw him into the fort of Bajj⁶ in Majbaristán⁷ and having gone over to Amír Mas'ūd with the whole army and treasures, went to Herát and met him there. The blinded Amír Muḥammad reigned five months, but according to Qázi Baizáwí⁸ it was fourteen years, and the period of his imprisonment was nine years. God knows the truth. The author of the⁹ *Lubbu-t-Tawárikh* writes that Muḥammad ibn Mahmūd wielded sovereignty in Ghazna for four years in the first instance, during the reign of his father, afterwards he was imprisoned for nine years by the command of his brother Mas'ūd, and after the murder of Mas'ūd he reigned for another year and then died.

An Amír in whose palace thou seest thousands of sentinels
Now on the vault of his tomb thou seest ravens keeping watch ;

¹ Ispáhán, see Abul Feda II, ii 170 (Reinaud).

² Sewand Rai (Firishhta)

³ The finest city of Khorásán situated at an equal distance from Merv, Herát, Jarján and Damaghán. See Abul Feda II. ii. 189. (Reinaud).

⁴ Fourteen marches from Ghazni in Sujistán, between Herát and Ghazni. Abul Feda II. ii 108. (Reinaud).

⁵ Takínábád, see Elliott ii pp. 271, 293 iv. p 193 note 1. Briggs places it 30 miles N. of Ghazni; see *Ain-i-Akbari* (J) III. 68 Long 101° 5. Lat. 33°.

⁶ The reading از سیجدرستان in the text is absolutely without authority judging from the two MSS. I have before me. These both read,

در قلعه فج که از سر صلاب میل کشیده I am unable to elucidate this, but it certainly gives no countenance to the reading in the text which, however I have translated, as it stands, *faute de mieux*.

⁷ Various called Welaj (Firishhta) Mangsál (*Nizamu-t-Tawárikh*) See Elliott IV. 193 note 3.

⁸ Abú Saíd Abdallah ibn Abú Hasan Ali Baizáwí. See Elliott, II. 252.

⁹ Yshyá ibn 'Abdul Latíf Qazwíní Dimishqí. Died 960 A. H. (19th December, 1552) (Háji Khalfá).

Thou didst see the head of Alp Arslán¹ reach the sky in its grandeur,

Come to Marv that thou mayest see the body of Alp Arslán beneath the dust.

SHAHABU-D-DAULAT SULTÁN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD.

By the consent of the Amírs and Vazírs of Máhmúd he ascended the imperial throne, and having come from Harí² to Balkh, spent the winter there, and summoning Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandí whom, Sultán Máhmúd kept a prisoner in the fort of Kálinjar, made him a Vazír. Then leaving Balkh he came to Ghaznín and thence started for Sipáhán and Rái, and arriving at Herát engaged in war with the Turkománs, and not overcoming them, but on the contrary suffering defeat at their hands, turned back. The Turkománs increased in power day by day owing to his weakness, till affairs assumed the aspect which they eventually did.³

In the year 423 H. Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandí died, and in the year 424 Sultán Mas'úd having undertaken to conquer

¹ Abú Shujá' Muḥammad, son of Ohákirbeg Dáúd, son of Mikáíl, son of Saljúq, son of Daqáq surnamed 'Aẓdu-d-Daulat Alp Arslán (arm of the Empire the hero lion) was the third monarch of the Saljúqiyah dynasty who ascended the throne of Khorásán in 431 A. H. (see Raverty 122, note 2). Born 424 A. H., murdered 465 A. H. The lines are attributed by the author of the *Tabaqát-i-Náṣiri* to Hakím Sanáí a celebrated poet of Ghazni. His most celebrated work is the *Ḥadīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat wa Shar'at-ul-Tarīqat* otherwise known as *Fahārinámah*. His full name was Abú Muḥammad ibn Adam Sanáí Al Hakím. He died in the year 525 H. (4th December, 1130) (H. K.).

See also *Majma'ul-Fuṣalá* I. 254 and *Atashkade-i-Azur*, p. 108. of I. K. (Blanc) iii. 230.

² Herát. The well-known city in Khorásán, the ancient Aria ('Aria) (see D. G. R. G. ^I/₂₁₀) (Abul Feda II. ii. 193,) founded by Alexander. Moynard *Dict.*

de la Perce, p. 592, note I, says:

L'opinion générale des Persans est qu'Herat doit son nom et son origine à un des officiers de Nerimán le Pehleván et qu'elle fut rebâtie par Alexandre ...

هرات بنیاده است هریرا بنیاد گشتاسب زئربنای دیگر بنیاد بهمن پس

ازان عمارت دیگر کرد اسکندر رومیس همه داد بنیاد

The nom d'origine qui en derive est Harawi.

³ i.e. The establishment of the dynasty of the Saljúqiyah in 429 H. by Toghril Beg.

Hindustán marched towards the fortress of Sarsatí¹ which is situated in the way to Kashmír, laid siege to it and reduced it and made his way to Ghaznín with great booty. Then in 425 H. Sultán Mas'úd reduced Amal² and Sári³ and sending legates to Kálinjar and Tabaristán established his authority there⁴ and sent Tughdí Beg and⁵ Husain ibn 'Alí ibn Maikál with a large army from Nishápúr against the Turkománs, and a severe battle ensued in which Husain was taken prisoner and Tughdí Beg fled and returned to the Amir Mas'úd.

Amir Ahmad Niyál Tigin⁶ the treasurer of Sultán Mas'úd whom Mas'úd had fined and had sent to Hindústán,⁷ on arriving in Hindústán revolted⁸ and the Amir Mas'úd nominated a general of the Hindús named Náhir⁹ to oppose him. Ahmad being overcome in battle fled to Manşúrah¹⁰ in Sindh and was drowned—his head they sent to Ghaznín. In the year 427 H. (1035 A.D.) a new palace was completed in which they erected a throne inlaid with jewels, and suspended above it a jewelled crown. The

¹ Sarsatí. (Firishat) a fortress situated among the hills of Kashmír.

² 'Amol the capital of Tabaristán, birthplace of at-Tabari. Abul Feda (R) II. ii. 177-179.

³ Sári or Sáriyah in Tabaristán (according to *al-Zubáb* in *Mázindarán*.)

⁴ Lit. had coins struck and the *Khuṭbah* read in his own name.

⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) *تغدي بگ و*.

⁶ Cf. *Tārīkh-u-Subuktigin*. Elliott II. 116. He was supposed to be a natural son of the Amir Mahmúd.

⁷ As governor, with kettle-drums and banners and all things usually given to generals of the army.

⁸ Elliott II. 125. Baihaqí says, In this interval letters were constantly arriving with the news of Ahmad Niyál Tigin having reached Lahore with the Turkománs, and that numerous turbulent fellows of Lahore had flocked to him.

⁹ Baihaqí says, Tilak the Hindu was sent: while Firishat states that Mas'úd sent Náth one of the Chiefs of Hind, and that upon his death in battle Túlak ibn Husain was sent who killed Ahmad.

Briggs translates "Tilok the son of Jyo Sein"—and remarks upon the fact that he was an unconverted Hindú.

¹⁰ Al Manşúrah in Sindh: the former city of Bahmanwá, conquered and renamed by Muḥammad ibn al Qásim ibn al Munabbih. It is situated at a distance of 20 *farsakh* from Bháti, situated between the arms of the Míhrár river. (Alberúní) Almanşúra. Tieffenthaler, Vol. III. Map. Known later, and up to the present time as Bukkur, see *Impe. Gazetteer*. Also Abul Feda. II. ii. 113. *Ain-i-Albani* (Jarrett) II. 327 and note. also III. 58, and note.

Sultán took his seat upon that throne and having placed the crown upon his head gave a public audience. And in this self same year he bestowed upon Amír Maudúd ibn Mas'úd (his son) the drum and ensign,¹ and despatched him to Balkh while he himself proceeded with an army against Hindústán—captured the fort of Hānsí² and thence proceeded to the fortress of Sonpat.³ Deipál⁴ the commander of that fortress fled to the forest and lay hid there. They reduced the fort and captured immense booty putting to the sword the greater part of Deipál's army, but he himself escaped alone. From thence Mas'úd turned his steps towards the valley of Rām⁵ who sent a large offering accompanied by a written apology for his non-appearance. Amír Mas'úd accepted his excuses and giving the Amír⁶ Abúl-Manjáhid son of Mas'úd,⁷ the drum and standard (of commission) sent him to Lahore and retraced his steps to Ghaznín.

In the year 428 (1036 A.D.) he left Ghaznín for Balkh intending to crush the rebellion of the Turkománs who evacuated Balkh and retired into the surrounding country. The Sultán then

¹ As tokens of his commission as a general of the army.

² According to Hishnqí this fort had been hitherto known as "The Virgin" as no one had yet been able to take it. It was taken ten days before the close of Rabí-ul Awwal. Hānsí, a city with a ruined castle 11 miles to the east of Hissár. Tieffenthaler I. 134.

³ Sonpath, a city with a brick fortress. Tieffenthaler I. 133. It lies North of Delhi. MSS. (A and B). read قلعه سانیٹ

⁴ MSS. (A and B) دنبال

⁵ Firishá's account is almost identical here.

⁶ Firishá writes فرزند خورشید ابوالمنجد و در His son Abúl Majdúd. See also Raverty p. 95, note 7. In the text we should read ابوالمنجد بن مسعود

⁷ Here I follow MS (B). The readings of the MSS. vary here very considerably. MS. (A) reads (agreeing with the text) سلطان از اب جیحون گذشته تمام ماورا النهر را متصرف شد و دارد تركمانان را تغدي بيگ و امير حسن را قبل از اين شكست داده بود ليجمعيست تمام قصد بلخ نمود

و سلطان از اب جیحون گذشته تمام قصد بلخ نمود MS. (B) reads,

Preference must be given to MS. (A), the copyist evidently having mistaken his place after the first تمام and instead of continuing ماورا النهر he has gone on قصد بلخ نمود that he was a careless and incompetent copyist is shown by the next line where he writes گورگان درازورد و درين اننا تغدي بنواحي گورگان درازورد و درين اننا تغدي بنواحي گورگان درازورد کرد

crossing the Jihūn occupied the whole of Transoxiāna. Dāūd the Turkomān, who had previously defeated Tughdī Beg and Amīr Husain, marched with a large force towards Balkh. Amīr Mas'ūd thereupon returned from Transoxiāna to Balkh and Dāūd the Turkomān¹ leaving Balkh went to Merv. In the meantime Tughdī Beg² had been acting oppressively in the neighbourhood of Gurgān. When the Amīr Mas'ūd perceived the symptoms of his rebellion he ordered him to be impaled. The Amīr Mas'ūd then exacted a stipulation and promise from Béghú³ the Turkomān who was the chief of that tribe, that henceforward they would never attempt any lawlessness, and having delimited their boundaries in a suitable way left for Herāt. While on his way thither a body of the Turkomāns fell upon the army of Mas'ūd, killing some and plundering the baggage. The soldiers of the Sultān who were told off to attack them made the whole of that party food for the sword, and brought their wives and families together with the heads of the slain into the presence of Amīr Mas'ūd who sent asses laden with the heads to Béghú. Béghú apologized, and it so happens that this is the very same Béghú in praise of whom the poet Ziāī⁴ of Persia has composed several odes from which the following verses are selected—

It is wrong for me to bewail the misfortunes of others than
thee,

It is wrong not to weep with thy sorrow.

My occupation day and night is to lament and bewail thy
sorrow.

¹ See Raverty, p. 94, note 2.

² MS (A) has *تغدی* not *تغدی*.

³ Isrā'il-i-Béghú. See Raverty (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*) p. 94, note 2, page 116, note 3, for an account of the rise of the Saljuqiyah dynasty. See also Ibn Khall: (Blanc) iii. 226 and *seqq.*

⁴ Zīāu-d-Dīn Khajandī Al Fārsī, a native of Shīrāz who left Shīrāz in his youth and took up his abode at Khajand. He was a contemporary and panegyrist of Sultān Malik Shāh Saljūqī, and died at Herāt in the year 622 H. (In the *Majma'ul-Fusahā* from which these particulars are taken, the date of his death is 622 H., but this is an error as Malik Shāh died in 491 H.)

Beale (Oriental Biographical Dictionary) gives the date as 622 H., but this is in all probability copied from the above authority.

Thou didst say, "Thou did'st weep for love of me," but
 verily there is a difference in shedding blood and shedding
 tears

At all hours I suffer a thousand pangs for the grief of the
 love of thee, nor do I weep alone.

I cannot but melt with love of thee, nor is there any remedy
 for the pain I suffer for thee, save weeping.

Apart from thee Fate has nothing in store for me

Save vexation, one day, and weeping the next.

From thy era discord springs, for if not how comes it to pass
 that the whole world should weep from my time to that of
 the king?

Béghú Malik Sháh, he who by his sword made the brave
 warriors to weep openly on the field of battle.

The King Nizám Dín to whom at the time of his conflict

Came from the tombs of Rustum and Dárá the sound of weep-
 ing.

The gems in the depths of the sea or in the heart of the
 flinty rock were compelled to weep for shame at his elo-
 quence,

The inhabitants of the world above were compelled to weep,
 cast down by the destroying arrow of his wrath.

From envy of his splendour, which surpasses the sun in its 25.
 zenith,

The Gemini were forced to weep constantly in the heavens.

Oh! thou in presence of whose pearl-scattering hand the
 ocean weeps like a cloud from every pore!

Who in view of thy majesty would dare or desire to weep
 over the corpse of thy enemy?

Thy sword from very fineness of temper weeps tears of blood
 over thy enemies in the field of battle,

What is prepared for thine adversary in either world?

There is the torture of hell, here he must weep.

Lo! one who in the madness of his fear at thy displeasure

Seeks to hide himself in a corner and prepares to weep.

Thy enemies have many manifest and hidden projects

But the wound is hidden, the weeping is manifest.

I believe that this must have come into your exalted mind,

After all what use is praise to me with weeping.

When I recite any poem in separation from thee

Both the first and last verses weep for anguish.
 Till lovers pass from excess of grief to endurance and to weep
 like Wámiq and 'Azrá¹
 May it be thy lot to smile after a happy life,
 May it be the fate of thy enemies perforce to weep.

The following is also by him —

Oh thou whose lip distils sugar² at the opening of each
 smile!
 Thy ruby lip when thou smilest, rebukes the soul.
 In every movement thy curling locks ravish the heart
 In every smile thy ruby lip scatters the life blood.
 The trade of thy hyacinthine ringlets is to scatter perfume,
 The habit of thy delicate lips is to smile sweetly.
 Till thou seest not the cheek of gold thou smilest not,
 Every flower smiles from the enjoyment of the gold
 When thou smilest a whole world smiles looking towards thee
 For no one before this has seen the sun and moon to smile (at
 one time)
 I have a great sorrow and lamentation, and endless grief
 and pain,
 I have in separation from thee all of these, but no smile.
 What could mankind have learned of the shape of thy mouth
 Had'st thou not given them from thine own mouth the news
 of a smile.
 Because of thy cruelty I do not smile, for at the time of
 mourning
 The wise and excellent do not approve of smiling.
 All my disorder is due to grief on thy account,
 Why then do you smile at me disordered as I am ?
 It may be that from the crown and canopy of kings thy locks
 and cheek have learned to smile both morning and evening.
 King of the East Malik Sháh who in his feasting is careful
 always to smile from joy and pride.

¹ The loves of Wámiq and 'Azrá form the subject of two Turkish romances, one by Mahmúd bin Asmân, Lamái; and the other by Mu'íd, a native of Tarhán. (D'Herbelot).

² لب شکرین must be read here.

Conqueror of infidelity, Nizāmu-ud-Dīn, whose friends are always engaged in enjoyment, and only vary it by smiling. If the seed could receive the good tidings of his approbation, even from the loins of his father would one begin to smile. A father to whom a son is essential to do him service, smiles from the pleasure he experiences at the success of his son. It is not strange that from the excess of his joy, the cloud of weeping which shrouded his moist eyes gives place to smiling.

Oh ye obedient ones, since the beauty of the rose is added to your own charms, ye are smiling in this garden¹ of two doors. Thy charms have power to add sweetness to sugar
Thy words have power to add brilliance to the jewel.
Thy shaft when fitted to the bow has established the custom
In the array of battle to smile at the helmet and shield.
Following after victory when thy sword is furious
There comes to it from the sorceries of heaven, a smile.
Doubtless the enemy of thy grandeur, smiles sweetly
If scattering his heart's blood (in envy) he to smile.

In order that the saffron² may fulfil the promise of its properties, namely to bring smiles to the lips of all conditions of men; may the lips of thy enemies be saffron, that their lips may always from fear of thee smile from his want of success

¹ i.e., the world. Birth and death are the two doors

² Saffron was held by the Greek physicians to cause smiling when taken internally.

It is its property of inciting to mirth and laughter which is here alluded to.

With regard to Saffron the *مختزن الادوية* says.

افعال و خواص آن مقروح و مقوي حواس و مغري و منضج و محلل و مصلح
عقرون خلط بلغمي و مانع و حافظ آن از تغير و فساد و مدربول و باقوة
قابضة و مسيرك باه و مقوي جوهر روح حيواني و جگر و احشا و آلات تنفس و
مورث نشاط و ضيق و منقي كود و مثانة و بشره و رساننده قوت ادوية به قلب
و ساير اعضا و مفتح شده دماغ و جگر و سپرز *

Actions and properties of Saffron. Exhilarating and tonic to the senses, excitant and digestive, laxative and corrective of the impure humours of the phlegm, and preventing and preserving them from alteration and badness. It is diuretic and constipating, aphrodisiac and strengthening to the essence of the animal spirits, to the liver, and bowels and respiratory

8. Then Amír Mas'ūd marched from Herāt to Nishāpūr and thence to Tūs¹ and a body of Turkomāns giving him battle met their death, the people of Bāward gave up that town to the Turkomāns and the Sultān having overcome that fortress and having put them all to death spent the winter at Nishāpūr.²

Then in the year 430 H. having set out to attack Tughral³ the organs. It produces mirth and laughter, purifies the kidneys and bladder and skin. It carries the virtues of medicines to the heart and to all viscera—removes obstructions of the brain, liver and spleen.

The following extract from the *Ishtihārāt* gives a farther account of its properties.

يمنع ميئان الرطوبات إلى العين بطوخا واكتسالا [يلين المواة] حار في
الثلاثة يابس في الأولى مفتح سهل قابض منفض من اللون ويسكر مع الشراب
جدا حتى يورع ويصدع وينوم ويسهل البصر ويسهل الولادة والنفس ويقوي
القلب ويدرو ويهتد الشهوة وينفع من الإرجاع الباطنة وإوجاع الرحم ويذهب
الشمار ويؤيد في الباء ويوافق امراض الطحال —

It prevents the flow of moist humours to the eye when used either as an ointment or a collyrium. It is hot in the third degree, dry in the first degree, laxative, or constipating, digestive, improving the complexion, and very intoxicating with wine causing heaviness, headache, and drowsiness, clears the sight and facilitates parturition, and respiration, is a cardiac tonic and is diuretic and controls the animal passions and cures internal diseases and uterine complaints; dispels the effects of debauch, and is a sexual tonic and cures diseases of the spleen.

Sadīdī, p. 143, says of Saffron. *و له خاصية عجيبة في تقوية جواهر الروح و تفرجته لما يحدث فيه من نورانية و البساطة مع متانة و يعينها العطرية الشديدة —*

It has a wonderful power as an exhilarant increasing the brilliancy and strength of the mental powers. It is assisted by strong perfumes

¹ Tūs, a district and city of *Khorāsān*, one of the dependencies of Nishāpūr, distant from the city of Nishāpūr about 10 farsakhs.

See Abul Feda II. ii. 190. *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 396. According to Ibn Khalliqān the Saljūqs gained possession of Tūs in 429 A. H. and in the month Ramazān of the same year they took Nishāpūr. I. K. (Slane) iii. 286.

² MS. (B) has *گذراييدند* showing clearly that the copyist was a native of Hindustān. A line or two lower he writes *قرار نمود* for *قرار نمود*. This MS. is quite worthless for purposes of comparison. It abounds in errors and is plainly the work of an inferior copyist.

³ Tughral Beg. Abū Tālib Muḥammad Ibn Mikāil Ibn Saljūq Ibn Dukāk Rukn-ū-Dīn Tughral Beg was the founder of the dynasty of Saljūqs (cf.

Turkomán who had raised a rebellion in Báward, when Tughra took to flight Amir Mas'úd turned back and came to Sarakhs¹ by way of Mahnah² and gave orders to rase the fortress of Mahnah. Then he put to death some of the inhabitants of Mahnah, and cut off the hands and feet of many more and thence went in the direction of Zirgán³ in which place the Turkománs brought together a large army and fought a severe battle with the Sultán. In this battle the majority of the generals of the army of Ghaznín mutinied and went over to the enemy. The Sultán remaining all alone on the field, felled several of the Turkomán leaders with sword, spear and mace, and eventually came out of that engagement safely. This event took place on the 8th of Ramazán, 431 H. (1039 A. D.). From thence Amir Mas'úd came to Merv, and several of the soldiery from the neighbouring country having come in at last sided with him. He went to Ghaznín by way of Ghaur,⁴ and having fined those chiefs who had not fought and had fled, sent some of them, as for instance 'Alí Dáya and Hajib-i-Buzurg,⁵ and Beg Tughdí to Hindustán and imprisoned⁶ them in fortresses. All of them died in imprisonment. Amir Mas'úd now desired to go to India and collect some forces there, and to come from there with a large army against the Turkománs to punish them. With this intention he made Amir Maudúd⁷ Amir of

¹ Sarakhs or Sarkhs (Meynard, *Diet. de la Perse*, 307) said by the Persians to have been founded by Kaikás, a city situated between Nishápur and Merv, in a plain. Abul Feda II. ii. 193.

² Mahnah. Firishá says *Mahtaka* but *Mahtaka* is undoubtedly the right reading. In Persian this name is spelt *Mahtaka*, a small town of the district of Khabarán between Abiward and Sarakhs. See Meynard, *Diet. de la Perse*, 558.

³ Zirgán is not mentioned by other authors I have consulted and may be a clerical error. The name of the place where this battle was fought was Dandághán a town in the vicinity of Merv, cf. Raverty, p. 94, note S. Also Abul Feda II. ii. 197. Meynard, p. 232. It seems to me most probable that we should read *Zandkhán* though all MSS. give *Zirgán*. *Zandkhán*, *Zandkhán* is a fortified town situated at the distance of one farsakh from Sarakhs (Meynard, 239).

⁴ Abul Feda II. ii. 201. A province lying between Herát, Kuzáwán and Guriistán.

⁵ Firishá *حاجب شهبانی*. Hajib Shaihaní.

⁶ MS. (D) *در قلعه حبس كرد*.

⁷ Shiháb-ud-Daulat Maudúd his eldest son. Compare the account given by Firishá.

Balkh, and having appointed Muhammad ibn Abdus Samad as his Wazir despatched them thither. He then appointed the Amir Muhammad¹ with two thousand soldiers to proceed to Multan, and sent the Amir of that district² to the foot of the hills of Ghaznin to restrain the Afghans of that district who had broken out into rebellion; and having laden camels with the whole of Mahmud's treasures which were stored in Ghaznin and the neighbouring fortresses started for Hindustan. and despatched messengers *en route* to bring his brother Amir Muhammad who had been blinded³ and was then confined in the fortress of Bazghand.⁴ When Sultan Mas'ud arrived at the frontier fort⁵ of Marikala,⁶ his slaves plundered all the treasure-camels. In the meantime the Amir Muhammad arrived there, and the slaves who recognised that this violence would have no successful issue unless another governor were appointed⁷ perforce, approached the Amir Muhammad, raised him to the Sovereignty and breaking into open riot assaulted Sultan Mas'ud who had taken refuge in that fort. The next day the whole army becoming violent brought Amir Mas'ud from within the fort of Marikala and made him prisoner confining him within the fortress of Kirí,⁸ till at last in Jamádín-l-Awwal 432 H. they sent a false

¹ Firishta says امیر مجدود Amir Majdúd—the second son of Mas'ud MS. (A) has امیر مالدودا Amir Mالدودا, which should in all probability be read امیر مجدود Majdúd. MS. (B) agrees with the text, both are probably wrong.

² The words in the text appear to be a misprint for the following امیر ایزدیار which is Firishta's version. The Amir Izad Yár was Mas'ud's fifth son. Both MSS. however have امیر ابن دیار

³ See page 21.

⁴ MSS. (A) and (B) برغند

⁵ رباط Dozy quoting from de Slane gives *casernes fortifiées qu'on construisait sur les frontieres de l'empire* as the meaning of رباط

⁶ Marikala. Firishta says Márkala which according to some is on the Jhilam river which in those days was called the Behát. Raverty in his note 4, page 95 says: A pass somewhat difficult situated between Rawal Pindi and Attock—See Elliott II. 273, note 2.

⁷ MS. (A) این تعدی از پیش MS. (B) این تعدی از پیش In the text read خالمان دانستند که ایاقسم تعدی از پیش Cf. Firishta for تعدی از نشو و نما رفت

⁸ Firishta reads کیری Kirí. Cf. Raverty 95 (5). MS. (B) MS. (A) کیری See Elliott II. 273, note 3.

message purporting to emanate verbally from Amīr Muḥammad ordering him to kill Amīr Mas'ūd and to send his head to him. The Kotwāl in obedience to this order severed Mas'ūd's head from his body and sent it to Amīr Muḥammad.

Of the vicissitudes of time, this much pleased me
That I saw good and bad, right and wrong, pass away
He who at morning time wore on his head a jewelled crown
Him I saw, at the time of evening prayer, with a brick 30
underneath his head (in the grave).

This story is according to the relation of Nizāmi,¹ but the Qāzī Baizāwī relates that in the year 432 Mas'ūd fled defeated from before the Seljūqs to Ghaznī, and Amīr Muḥammad who had consolidated his power during Mas'ūd's absence sent him to a fortress whither his son Ahmād ibn Muḥammad followed him and murdered him.² The Government of Sultān Mas'ūd ibn Mahmūd lasted eleven years, but we ought to note that the Qāzī Baizāwī (may God's mercy be upon him) assigns the year 433 H. as the date of the death of Mas'ūd, and writes that Muḥammad ibn Mahmūd reigned in Ghaznī for fourteen years after his father,³ one year after his father's death, nine years in the lifetime of his brother, and four years after his brother's death, as has already been stated. God alone knows the truth. Apparently this is due to the mistake of a copyist. Among the poets who flourished in

¹ Nizāmu-d-Dīn Ahmād, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbar*; Elliott, v. 177. Died 1003 H.

² Baizāwī's account is as follows:—

Mas'ūd after his arrival at Ghaznī sent Yūsuf to prison and became master of all the dominions of his father. In his time the Seljūqs crossed the Jihūn and invaded Khurāsān. He fought with them and made peace with them several times but being defeated in A. H. 432, he returned to Ghaznī where his brother Muḥammad had regained power in his absence. On his arrival he was consigned to a fort, and Ahmād, the son of Muḥammad, went direct from his father to the fort, and there slew him, A. H. 433; Elliott II. 236.

³ That is from 421 A. H. to 434 A. H. with interruptions during the supremacy of Mas'ūd. Mahmūd died in 421 A. H. Mas'ūd was murdered on the 11th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 433 H. (Baverty, pp. 95-6.)

Muḥammad was put to death by Maudūd in revenge for his father's murder in the year 434 H. Maudūd reigned seven years and died in 441 H. (1049 A.D.)

the time of Sultán Mas'úd is Manúchihri⁴ who speaks as follows in a *qasidah* concerning his Wazír.

Couplet.

Shah Mas'úd is as proud of his rectitude
As is the prophet of Naushirwán⁵ the upright.

SULTÁN MAUDÚD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD,

Ascended the throne of Empire (after the murder of his father in Bámián¹) with the consent of the Wazírs and Amírs, and with the object of avenging his father purposed to march towards Bári galah, but Abu Naqr Ahmád ibn Muḥammad ibn Abdus Samad opposed his projected expedition and brought him to Ghaznín, whence he proceeded with a large army to attack his uncle the blind Amir Muḥammad. On arriving at Dípúr² he engaged in a severe battle with the Amir Muḥammad and thus passed the whole day till nightfall when both fell back upon their positions. The next day Sultán Maudúd induced the Amir Saiyyid Mansúr who was one of the trusted (generals) of the Amir Muḥammad to side with him, and engaging in battle took prisoners the Amir Muḥammad and his son Ahmád and put them all to death. The Amir Maudúd founded there a city which he

⁴ Manúchihri Dámaghānī. Hakím Abunnaǧm Ahmád, a pupil of the poet 'Unsuri, whom he is said to have surpassed in sweetness and facility of expression. He was called شامت گاه *shašt galla* because of his possessing numerous flocks and herds. He died in 432 H. (*Majma'-ul-Faṣṣah* i).

⁵ Naushirwán. Chosroes I son of Kobád, one of the Sassanide dynasty, ruled over Persia from 531 A. D. to 579 A. D. (See Dict G and R B., p. 720, Vol. III). The prophet Muḥammad was born in the fortieth year of his reign, April 20th, 571 (Sprenger) or August 20th, 570 A. D. (Caussin de Perceval i 283). Muḥammad used to boast of his good fortune in having been born during the reign of so just a king. Cf. D'Herbelot III. 57.

¹ Bamián. "Situated ten days' march from Balkh and eight from Ghaznín. There is a building there of a prodigious height ornamented with paintings of all the birds created by God, and containing two enormous images called سرخ بود *Surkh bud*, the Red idol, and خنک بود *Khink bud*, the White idol." Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, p. 80.

Abul Feda II. ii. 203, between Balkh and Ghaznín. The district in which Ghaznín and Kábul are situated.

² Text has Doipúr (MS. A دینور *Dinúr*). For the locality of Ghaznín Raverty 96, note 2. The name is in all likelihood Dinúr as in Balkh that

named Fathábád.¹ This victory was gained in the month Sha'bán of the year 432 H., or according to another account in the year 434 H.² And in the year 433 H. being angry with Khwāja Ahmad ibn Abdus Samad he imprisoned him in Ghaznín where he died in prison, and in this same year he sent Abú Násr Muḥammad bin Ahmad towards Hindustán to fight with Námí ibn Muḥammad³ and Námí was killed in the course of that war. And in the year 434 H. Artagin at the order of the Sultán proceeded with an army to Tabaristán against Dā'ūd⁴ the Turkoman, and having lost in battle a large number of his men came to Balḥ and established the coinage and proclamation of sovereignty in the name of the Amir Maudúd. Afterwards when the Turkmans attacked him several times in force not being able to contend with them, he quitted Balḥ and came to Ghaznín. Then in the year 435 H. Amir Maudúd imprisoned Abú 'Alí the Kotwál of Ghaznín for a time, but eventually appointed him as the Diwán of the kingdom and Kotwál of Ghaznín, and imprisoned Yasúrí ibn Iyaghūr the Diwán, till at length he died in confinement. he also punished Altigin⁵ and in the year 436 H. Khwāja Táhir who had succeeded Khwāja Ahmad as Wazir, died, and was succeeded by Khwāja Imám Abul Fath 'Abdur Razzáq.⁶ In this same year he sent Tughral Hájib in the direction of Bust, who took prisoner Abú Mansúr Zangí,⁷ the brother of Abul Fazl and brought him to Ghaznín, he then departed for Seisrán and having

¹ Raverty 96, note 2.

² The latter date must be the correct one as Mas'úd was not put to death till 433 A. H. See note 3, page 45.

The *Tārīkh-i-Mas'úd*, however, writes as follows —

وامیدور مردود درین شبان ۸۵ شاه ملک خطبه بگردانید [۴۳۲] بدینوا
آمد و جنگ کرد و عم را بگرفت با پسرانش و کسانی که با آن پادشاه
بودند همگان را بکشت

See Thomas' Coins of kings of Ghaznín, J. R. A. S., ix. 279.

³ Firishá describes him as ولد محمد مکرمل the son of the Blinded Muḥammad.

⁴ See note 1, p. 38.

⁵ Alptigin Hájib.

⁶ Grandson of Hasan Maimandi.

⁷ Firishá says also Zangí. Briggs in his translation has said "Oozbuky."

engaged in conflict with the Turkománs at the Ribát Amír,¹ put most of them to death after which victory he went to Garm Sir, where he put to death the Turkománs of that district who were known as Red-caps² and took many of them prisoner, and brought them to Ghaznín.

In the year 438 H., he sent Tughral to Takínábád who on arrival there revolted. Accordingly Ali bin Rabí' was nominated to proceed thither and Tughral fled with a few followers. Ali plundered his army, and having captured some of them brought them to Ghaznín. In the year 439 H. the Amír Qazdár raised a rebellion³ and suffered defeat at the hands of Háib Buzurg Bártagín⁴ and after a time tendered his submission.

And in the year 440 H. having conferred upon his two sons Abul Qásim Mahmúd and Munşúr on the same day robes of honour and the drum and ensigns of commission sent one of them towards Lahore and the other towards Parshúr⁵ and he sent Abú Ali Hasan Kotwál of Ghaznín to Hindustán to punish the rebels there, and when Hasan returned to Ghaznín after having done good service Maudúd made him over to Mirak ibn Hasan with orders to imprison him. He died in prison. As a sequel to this, Mirak ibn Hasan the Wakil who had murdered Abú 'Alí Hasan without the orders of Amír Maudúd and had kept it secret, incited the King to

¹ Firishia رباط امير Ribát Amír, Long. 105, Lat 34, *Ann-i-Albārī* (J.) iii. 68. Both MSS. have رباط اسير

² Firishia also says سرخ کلاه and does not mention the word قزلباش though Briggs translates "called Kuzil Básh, owing to their wearing red caps" Briggs, Vol. I, p. 121. قزıl Qizil Red is Turkish باش Básh. Head is Turkí.

³ In one copy we find بغی قصد ورزید Firishia has the following امير قضا دار بغی ورزید so we should read here امير قزدار طغیان ورزید

⁴ According to Firishia باسنگین MS. (A) reads بائتگین Báltigín, MS. (B) reads بابتگین Bábtigín. Briggs says, "In the year 439 he was sent against Khozdár, the ruler of which paid the usual tribute" but in the original of Firishia we find these words: وقزدار جنگ کرده شکست یافت which looks as if امير قزدار Amír Qazdar was his name. Elliott V. App., p. 558, states "Kusdar lies to the south of Bust, and is the present Khazdár of our maps the capital of Jhálawán in Bilúchistán."

See pp. 557-559 from which the above is quoted.

⁵ Parshúr, the modern Pesháwar, called originally Parasháwara, *Cunn. Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 78.

proceed to Kábul so that that misdeed of his might remain concealed. When the Amír Maudúd reached the fortress of Siálkot¹ he was attacked with colic² and was forced to return to Ghaznir, and ordered Mirak to release Abú Ali Kotwál. He accordingly prayed for a week's respite, and in the interim Amír Maudúd departed this life on the 24th of Rajab A. H. 441, having reigned nearly nine years. The *Lubbu-t-Tawárikh*³ states that Sultán Maudúd asked in marriage the daughter of Chughz⁴ Beg Saljúqi, by whom he had a son whom he named Mas'úd, that he reigned seven years, and that in the month of Rajab 441 he attempted to go to Khorásán to visit Chughz Beg, but died on the journey of colic. 35

1 Tinshtā writes سانكوت Sānkot. Both MSS read سيالكوت very plainly written.

2 قولنج Probably intestinal obstruction which is included under the term قولنج Qúlinj of which there are stated by Sadídí to be five varieties. Of Sadídí Art قولنج.

i القولنج الحقيقي True or spasmodic colic.

ii القولنج السدي Obstructive colic—due as he says to an accumulation of بلغم or mucus in the cœcum or colon.

iii القولنج الرئحي Flatulent colic

iv ورم حار او بارد اعضاء وما يجاورها مثل الكبد والكلى An acute or chronic swelling of the bowels and neighbouring parts such as the liver and kidneys

v القولنج الالتوائي Twisted colic which he defines as a twist of the distal end of the small intestine. Volvulus.

In the بحر الجواهر we find the following definition of the disease: "A disease in which the bowels become disarranged on account of some unnatural obstruction (لاحتباس غير طبيعي) It is very painful and increases in violence and is fatal."

Defining the Colon the author says: اكثر تولد القولنج فيها و قولنج يشق منها

Colic principally arises in this bowel and is a strangulation of part of it.

³ *Lubbu-t-Tawárikh*, "The marrow of History." The author was Yahyá ibn Abdul Latif Quzwini who composed it in 1541 A.D.

He died 18 Dec 1552. See H. K. *Lubbu-t-Tawárikh* also Elliott, Vol. iv p. 293.

⁴ Jaghar Beg. See Raverty *Zubagdt-i-Nádir* p. 97, notes S. 4.

MS (A) چغریک Chaghar Beg MS (B) چغریک Chaghar Beg.

SULTÁN MAS'ÚD IBN MAUDÚD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD.

Ascended the throne in the third year of his age by the machinations of 'Alī ibn Rabī', however his affairs did not prosper and they raised his uncle to the throne after he had reigned only five months.¹

SULTÁN 'ALÍ IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD.

Ascended the throne by the consent of the nobles, and when 'Abdu-r-Razzaq ibn Ahmad Maimandi who had been sent by the Amir Maudúd towards Seistán arrived at a fort between Bust and Isfirár,² and learned that Abdu-r-Rashid ibn Mahmúd was confined in that fort by the orders of the Amir Maudúd, he brought him back and placed him upon the throne, 'Alī having reigned for a period of about three months. This event took place in the year 443 H. (1051 A. D.).

SULTÁN 'ABDU-R-RASHID IBN MAHMÚD.

Came to the throne; and with the consent of 'Abdu-r-Razzaq proceeded to Ghaznín. 'Alī ibn Mas'úd died without engaging in battle, and Tughral Hájib who was one of the household slaves of Sultán Mahmúd having conquered Seistán turned his steps towards Ghaznín. Amir 'Abdu-r-Rashid fortified himself there till Tughral obtaining an opportunity in the year 445 H. (1053 A. D.) put the Amir Abdu-r-Rashid with all the descendants of Sultán Mahmúd³ to death and married the daughter of Mas'úd against her will. One day when he was on the throne a body of determined wrestlers inspired with hatred against him tore him to pieces. 'Abdu-r-Rashid's reign lasted for four years,

¹ The account given by Firishta differs slightly from this—he says—that on the death of Maudúd 'Alī ibn Rabī' who laid claim to the throne placed Mas'úd the son of Maudúd, who was then a boy of four years of age, upon the throne of Ghaznín; this arrangement was opposed by Bāshtigin Hájib who fought with 'Alī ibn Rabī' whereupon the whole populace of Ghaznín rose in arms, and eventually Bāshtigin Hájib succeeded in deposing Mas'úd ibn Maudúd after a reign of five or six days, raising his uncle Abul Hasan 'Alī to the throne. Compare also: *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* (Raverty, p. 97 and foot-note).

² اسفرار MSS. (A) (B) Firishta says Isfirain which is in the neighbourhood of Nishapur, see Moynard, p. 24. (Abul Feda II. ii. 183).

³ نه نفر بودند Nine people in all. (Firishta).

but in the *Nigamut-t-Tawárikh* his reign is said to have lasted for seven years,¹ and in the *Lubbu-t-Tawárikh* his death is said to have occurred in the year 445 H. God knows the truth.

SULTÁN FARRUKH ZÁD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD.

Being released from confinement succeeded to the kingdom by consent of the nobles. A body of Saljúqs came up against Ghazni, and Farrukhzád put most of them to death and overcame them, and made many of them prisoners and sent them to Ghazni. Alp Arsalán² the Saljúq king brought an army against Ghazni from Iráq and Khorásán, and being victorious in fight conveyed a large number of the notables of Ghazni to Khorásán. Eventually upon the arrangement of terms of peace the prisoners of both sides obtained their release, and since Zábulistán had been laid waste the Sultán remitted the usual tribute, and treated the inhabitants with kindness. He used to fast three months, and used to spend the greater part of the night in prayer. He died of colic in the year 450 H.³ The period of his reign was six years.

SAIYIDU-S-SALÁZÍN IBRAHÍM IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD.

Ascended the throne. He was a just and devout king, and used to write each year a Qurán with his own hand and despatch it to the holy city of Mekka. He built no house for himself with the exception of a temple and a school to the honour and glory of God. When the affairs of state devolved upon him, he made peace with the Saljúqs and being free from apprehension, went to Hindustán and conquered many fortresses and districts.

¹ Firishta says "less than one year." *Zabagát-i-Nápiri* says two and a half years.

² Alp Arsalán son of Dáúd, son of Mikáíl son of Saljúq was the second Sultán of the family and dynasty of the Saljúqs. He succeeded his uncle Tughrul Beg in 435 A.H. (1063 A.D.) He was born in 421 A.H. and was murdered 466 A.H. and was buried at Meiv.

For a full account of this prince see D'Herbelot, pp. 198-203.

³ See also Ibn Khalliqán (Slane) iii. 230 and seq.; where it is stated that Alp Arsalán was born in the year 424 (A.D. 1032-3) and died on the 10th of Rabi'ul-Awwal 465 A. H. (1072 A.D.)

⁴ Firishta mentions that a year previous to his death an attempt was made upon his life while he was in the hammám.

From one city¹ the inhabitants of which were of *Khurásánian* descent, whom (*Afrásiáb*) had expelled, and who had become a populous community in *Hindustán*, he took prisoners a hundred thousand persons,² and sent them to *Ghaznín*, with other spoils on the same scale. He built a number of towns, among them *Khairábád*, and *Imánábád* and others. He has been described by the title of *Saiyyidu-s-Salátin* and enjoyed the reputation of being a *Wálí*.³ In his reign in *Ghaznín*, the *Dárú-i-Chashm* (eye medicine) and other mixtures and medicaments and dietaries for all diseased folk used to be obtainable from his store-house. His death took place in the year 472 H.,⁴ after a reign of thirty years. *Qázi Baizáwí* says that his reign extended from the year 450 H. to the year 492 H. *Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán*⁵ flourished in his time and the following verses are taken from an ode which was written in his honour.

1 Named "Darra." (*Firishta*) where we read *که افراسیاب از سرکشی ایشان بشک آمده باز و فرزند از ولایت خراسان اخراج کرده بود و بهندوستان فرستاده*

In our author's text we read — *و آخر ایشان را اخراج کرده* — which is evidently corrupt. The words in the *Tabaqat Akbar Shohi* are almost identical with those quoted from *Firishta* and some such change as the substitution of the word *افراسیاب* for the words *آخر ایشان* which may easily have arisen from a copyist's mistake, seems necessary in our text. (MSS. (A) and (B) are like the text).

² Because they were idolaters and refused to embrace *Islám*, according to *Firishta*.

³ *والی* *Wálí*. *Abul Fazl (Asn-i-Albari)* (Jarrott) iii. 850 gives the following definition of a *wálí* : "In ancient works many significations have been given the outcome of which is that it means one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being : a lofty soul will indeed love God alone A *wálí* in my opinion is one who acquires four great virtues and avoids eight reprehensible actions. He should always wage a victorious war by circumspect conduct against the myriad disorders of the spirit and never for an instant relax his attention from its deceit. This lofty station is attainable by the grace of God and the guidance of fortune and is sometimes to be reached through the spiritual powers of a mediator, and sometimes without it."

⁴ *Firishta* says 482 H. or 492 H. *Tabaqat-i-Nápiri* 492 H. with a reign of forty-two years

⁵ *Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán Jurjání*. Known sometimes as *Hamadání*. The son of *Khája Sa'd ibn Salmán*. A famous poet native of *Jurján* who attained

Abūl Qāsim Malik Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm ibn Mas'ūd
 In whom four things exult, each of them glories in him
 Firstly, his expended canopy, secondly, his flaunting banner,
 Thirdly his golden pen, fourthly his brilliant dagger.

This ode he finished completely in the same style, and in another place he says :—

Emperor of the higher world, from the blessings of whose
 reign
 The sword's lofty occupation is the control of things tem-
 poral and spiritual.
 Mas'ūd (Fortunatus) because from the fortune of the ex-
 ppanse of kingdom's conquest
 He has gone beyond that which comes within the scope of
 the sword.

Ode.

Oh thou that hast formed the design of travel and girded
 the loins of conquest,
 Right and left of thee the heavens have opened for thee the
 doors of conquest,
 Mas'ūd, the world-conquering, for whom the age of fortune
 Has sent forth every moment the heralds of conquest,
 Like a lance point thou hast placed thy head in the direc-
 tion of battle,
 Like an arrow thy waist girds up the loins of conquest,
 In sooth, a hundred victories thou winnest, and a hundred
 years hence
 In Hindustān in all directions will be seen the traces of thy 37
 conquest.
 So many are thy conquests, that in the expanse of the world
 Every day in every place they tell the tale of thy conquests.

high distinction in the service of Mas'ūd bin Maḥmūd and Salṭān Ibrāhīm of Ghaznī but was imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Nāi, owing to the spiteful rancour of Abul Farsj Rūnī. He obtained his release upon the death of Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd. He was however again made prisoner for some years and upon being released left the court and went into retirement in Ghaznī where he died. There is a very long account of him with copious extracts from his various poems in the *Majma'ul Fuṣahā*, Vol. I. pp. 514 and seqq. See also Beale (O B D p. 173.) and *Ātashkade-i-Zīar*, p. 162.

Thy spear and thy arrow and thy sword will be
 If my fancy limns a line, the painter of the forms of con-
 quent
 When thy sword said I will deal a light blow
 Its oath lay not heavy eave on the head of conquest.

The Ustád Abul Faraj Rúmí¹ too was enlogist of Sultán Ibrahim, and also the panegyrist of Sultán Mas'úd, and many odes in their honour are to be found in his Díwán, and Rúmí² is the name of a village of the dependencies of Lahore, and in these days it is as one may say in ruins, because not a trace of it remains, and the following *gíṭā'* in praise of Sultán Ibrahim is by the Ustád Abul Faraj.

Hail to the might of thy powerful sword
 Precious as the breath of life, and rare as wisdom itself.
 Thou hast imprisoned that lifeless one, as one seizes the
 throat,
 Thou hast made orphan this which has no issue like a
 peerless pearl.

3. And Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán with that envious nature which is peculiar to poets, bore a grudge against Ustád, who became the cause of Mas'úd's imprisonment for ten years, he wrote this *rubá'í* (quatrain) in prison.³

¹ Abul Faraj Rúmí, a celebrated poet. The name Rúmí is from the village of Rúm (روم) in Nisápur. He was a great favourite and companion of Sultán Ibrahim, and we learn from Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán Jurjání that he fell under the displeasure of that king and was imprisoned in the fortress of Nál by the calumny of Abul Faraj, as is stated in the text a few lines further on. Abul Faraj lived for some time at Láhore, so that he is known to a few as "Láhorí." His writings were very elegant and served as a model for the poet Anwarí. A Díwán of his containing about 2,000 verses is extant. (Majma'ul Fuṣahá I. 70). See also *Atashkade-i-Azur*, pp. 137, 138.

² *Beṭle* (O B D, p. 15) says that he came from "Rúm a place near Lahore." It would appear from the text above that Badáoní attributed his name of Rúmí to his connection with the village of Rúm. The author of the *Majma'ul Fuṣahá* gives no authority for the statement above quoted so that it is difficult to decide which of the places is to be given the honour.

³ He was imprisoned in the year 672 H. by Mahmúd ibn Ibrahim in the fortress of Nál. (Majma'ul Fuṣahá loc. cit.). See note 5, page 62.

For thy prison such a prisoner as Malik Sháh is necessary
 So that thy fetter may chafe the foot of monarchs.¹
 That one who springs from the loins of Sa'd Salmár
 Even were he a serpent would not sting thy realm.

The following verses are also by him :

My heart has become rent in all directions like a comb from
 regrets
 Because I saw a white hair in the tooth of the comb.

There are extant also *Díwáns* by him in Arabic, Persian and Hindi.

'ALÁU-D-DÍN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM IBN SULTÁN MAS'ÚD,

Succeeded after the death of his father and died in the year
 508 H. (1114 A. D.), having reigned seventeen years.

SULTÁN SHERZAD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM,²

By his father's order became king, and reigned for one year.
 His brother Arsalán Sháh revolted against him and killed him in
 the year 509 H. (1115 A. D.)

SULTÁN ARSALÁN SHÁH IBN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM,

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and seized upon the whole
 of his brothers with the exception of Bahrám Sháh who fled and
 went to Sultán Sinjar³ who was the son of his maternal uncle.⁴
 In spite of all the apologies for Bahrám Sháh which Sultán Sinjar

¹ MS. (A). *تا بند تو پای تا جداران شاید*

² Cf. Raverty, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, page 107, note 7. Firsihta also mentions the accession of Kamálu-d-Daulah Sherzád, and calls the preceding monarch 'Aláu-d-Daulah also Elliott II. 278.

³ Sultán Sinjar Muizzuddín Abúl Hárís Sinjar was the third son of Sultán Malik Sháh and the last of the Saljûq dynasty in *Khurásán*. He was born A. H. 479 (1086 A. D.) in the environs of Sinjar and it was on account of this circumstance that he received this name. See L. K. (Blanc) I. 600. He governed the province of *Khurásán* for 20 years. He died in 552 A. H., at Mev of a "colique compliquée avec un devoyement." D'Herbelot.

See also Beale (O.B.D., p. 236).

⁴ The sister of Sultán Sinjar called "Mishd-i-'Irâq" was married to 'Aláu-d-Dín Mas'úd father of Sultán Arsalán Sháh. Cf. Raverty *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 107, note 6.

made the subject of several letters, Arsalán Sháh would not listen to him, and eventually Sultán Sinjar raised an army against him. He gave battle with thirty thousand cavalry and being defeated went to Hindustán. Sultán Sinjar remained forty days in Ghaznín and after presenting that country to Bahrám Sháh retraced his steps. Arsalán Sháh having collected a large army in Hindustán proceeded thence to attack Ghaznín, and Bahrám Sháh not being able to withstand him sought refuge in the fortress of Bámián and with the assistance of Sultán Sinjar having again seized Ghaznín and taken Arsalán Sháh captive put him to death in the year 510 H. (1116 A. D.). The reign of Arsalán Sháh had lasted for a period of seven years.¹

SULTÁN BAHRÁM SHÁH IBN MAE'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM

Succeeded to the throne. Hakím Sanáí² was his panegyrist. *Kalilah Damnah* and many other books were composed in his reign and on the day of his accession Saiyyid Hasan Ghaznavi³ declaimed an ode of which this is the opening couplet.

A shout went forth from the seven heavens, saying
"Bahrám Sháh is Lord of the world."

And this ode he wrote in his honour, and despatched it from the sacred city of Mekka.

Should it ever be that I again behold the face of the king
I will apply, as a thank-offering, the dust of his feet to
both my eyes

¹ This account differs from that given in other authors. The *Zabqát-i-Nasri* says that Arsalán Sháh died in 511 H., after a reign of two years. Firishá says three years. Baizáwí gives 512 A. H., as the year in which Arsalán Sháh was put to death. (D'Herbelot).

² Abú Muhammad ibn Adam Sanáí, died 525 A. H., A. D. 1130 (H. K.) A celebrated poet, author of the *Hadíqatu-l-Haqqíqat*, a Persian poem commonly known as *Fakhrí-námah*. Among his other works were :

طريق التحقيق - عشق ابد - سير العباد الى المعاد - كاربانه بلخ - مقتل نامه -

According to *Majma'u-l-Furaha* (I. 254) he died in 590 A. H. but, see note 1 p. 25.

³ Ashrafu-d-Dín Hasan ibn Náṣirí-l-'Alaví, died 565 H. *Majma'u-l-Furaha* I. 192.

Bahrám Sháh for whom may the lives of emperors be the ransom.

May it be that their lives are even worthy of the king
The planets of the sky fall like meteors, if they but place
a foot outside the boundary of fidelity to the king.

Another

Bahrám Sháh from desire of whose sweet honied name
The young tree of the kingdom hereafter brings forth
parrots, (poets).

And the *Hadīqatu-l-Haqīqat*¹ of Shaikh Sanái is written in honour of Bahrám Sháh, it was written during his imprisonment, the reason of which imprisonment was Ghaznóvide fanaticism with regard to Sunni doctrine, when this book having reached the capital of Baghdád received the imprimatur of the chief men and nobles, it attested the reality of his faith, and they wrote a memorandum which led to his being released. A short time subsequently he departed this life. It is said that when they accused the worthy Shaikh Sanái of heresy after he composed the *Hadīqat*, he wrote the following letter to the Sultán Bahrám Shái.

In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate:

Praise be to God the Lord of the worlds, and blessings upon the best of His created beings, Muhammad, his family and companions all of them. To proceed, it is said in certain traditional sayings, that two things tend to prolong life, and to cause rain to fall and trees to grow, one of these is to assist the oppressed—the other to repress the tyrannical. An argument which they have advanced in support of this is that the prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, declared that the heavens are established by righteousness (equity). Equity is like the bird² which, wherever it casts its shadow, secures an amplitude of

¹ The work mentioned in note 2 page 56. Its full title is *Hadīqatu-l-Haqīqat wa Shar'atu-t-Turīqat* (hortus veritatis et lex vite), and it treated among other subjects of the Imáms Abú Hanfís and Sháfi'í, the founders respectively of the Hanafite and Sháfi'í sects of Sunnism.

² کبوتری نیاید بزیور سایه بوم و در هوا از جهان شود محروم

No one would go under the shadow of the owl, even if the Humá were extinct from the world. See Roobuck, *Oriental Proverbs* p. 327. The Le

wealth, and the place where it builds its nest becomes the centre of durability, and rain falls from the heaven, while tyranny and oppression is as a bird¹ which, wherever it flies, leads to famine and life and modesty are lost from among mankind. And God, *may He be glorified and exalted*, preserves the Emperor of Islām, and the just king Bahrām Shāh ibn Mas'ūd Shāh ibn Ibrāhīm Shāh ibn Mas'ūd Shāh ibn Mahmūd Shāh, from iniquity and oppression, and although the whole world should combine to write and describe the stock and supply of grateful acknowledgment of this slave's heart, they would have no power to express it, and the tree which the king of the kingdom planted² for the discovery of the secrets of the unseen, even Gabriel and Michael³ were precluded from having any share therein: it is certain that in all circumstances the just man is happy and the tyrant is miserable, and the worst of all oppression is this that a small party should read a subject and not understand it, but become arrogant with regard to it and loosen the tongue of censure against the learned. Hence it is that our prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, said, Pity three people, a rich man who has become poor, the great man of a tribe who is disgraced, and a wise man among fools.⁴ A book which is written in the language of the learned in the knowledge of God, demands an acute and discriminating mind such as that of Bāyazīd⁵ and

Humā, is a fabulous bird of good omen; it is supposed that every head it overshadows will wear a crown.

¹ The owl *بومة* on the other hand is the type of ill omen.

ما ري تو که هر که را بینی بزني يا بومي تو که هر کجا نشيني بکني. ²

Thou art a snake biting everyone thou meet, or an owl destroying every place where thou alightest.

بلبله عزمه بهار بيار خبر به بهار شوم گذار ³ again

¹ O nightingale bring the glad tidings of spring and leave bad news to the ill omened owl. Rosbuck, *Oriental Proverbs* pp. 140, 349.

² Expunge *ک* from line 8 and read *جبرئيل و ميکائيل از*

³ By this tree is meant the lote tree of Paradise *شجرة المنهل* *Šidratu-l-Muntahā*. See *Mishkāt*, XXIV. vii.

⁴ Cf. *Qurān* II. 90-95.

⁵ Bāyazīd Anṣārī also called Pīr Roṣhan, founder of a Šāfi sect, called the Roṣhāniyyah or enlightened. Beale (*O.B.D.*, p. 70).

A good account of him will be found in *The Emperor Akbar* by Beveridge. Vol. II. pp. 139 and seqq.

Shibli: ¹ these men of wisdom who read that book and appreciate that which is written in it, but who have not the slightest trace of religious knowledge, it must be from spite and ignorance that they find fault with the book, and this is a proof of their blindness of heart that they call the *Al-i-Marwān* contemptible, and carry their eulogy of the elect family, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon it*, beyond bounds while they exalt the commander of the faithful 'Alī, *may God be merciful to him*, above the other companions, *may God be graciously pleased with them*, and they do not see that he has been placed below *Siādiq* ² and *Fārūq* ³ and *Zū' Nūrain* ⁴ on the ground of descent ⁵ and rightful succession, and there is a true story related of the Lord of the Created beings *Muhammad Mustafā*, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, with reference to the vices of the *Al-i-Marwān* and the virtues of the *Al-i-Muhammad Mustafā*, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*. If it is a lie, and most people believe it to be so, reason tells us that it is true, and the word of the true God is this, "Oh God, adorn the world with those learned men who fear thee or who reverence thy people, and do not make me to suffer at the hands of those who are wanderers from the path of thy love, for thy mercy's sake

¹ *Abū Bakr Dolaf Ibn Jahdar* (or *Jā'far*) *Ibn Yūnus* (his name is thus inscribed on his tomb) surnamed *As-Shibli*, a celebrated saint was born and brought up at *Baghdād*, but his family belonged to *Khurāsān*. This highly respected *Sūfi* followed the doctrines of the sect of *Mālik* and had for masters *Al-Junaid* and the other holy men of that epoch. *As-Shibli* died at *Baghdād*, A. H. 334 (A. D. 946), and was interred in the cemetery of *Al-Qaizerān*. He was born at *Surra-man-rān* (*Samarra* on the Eastern bank of the *Tigris*). *Shibli* means belonging to *Shibla* a village in the dependencies of *Qarūshun*, a large town beyond *Samarqand* in *Transoxiana*. I. K. (Slave) I. 513. See also regarding *Samarra* J. R. A. S. 1895 p. 36.

² "The faithful." The title given by *Muhammad* himself to the first *Khalifah* *Abū Bakr*, who reigned two years and died A. D. 634 (A. H. 13).

³ The second *Khalifah* 'Umar, A. H. 13 to A. H. 23. Called *Fārūq* or "the Discerner" as distinguishing Truth from Falsehood in Islam.

⁴ *Usmān*. The third *Khalifah*, A. H. 23 to A. H. 35. Called *Zū-Nūrain* "the possessor of the two lights" because he married two of the Prophet's daughters, *Ruqaiyyah* and *Ummu Kulsum*.

The above three *Khalifahs*, the first three successors to *Muhammad* according to the *Sunni* Muslims, are rejected by the *Shi'ahs* who assert that 'Alī was the first legitimate successor, the others having been usurpers.

and for thy bounty and beneficence oh Thou most merciful," and his verse is from the *Hadīqat*.

If the earth is a fit place for any court

It is for the court of Bahráṁ Sháh that it is fitted.

Then Sultán Bahráṁ Sháh brought up several armies against Hindustán and conquered the cities which his forefathers had not taken, and leaving one of his Amirs of high rank in Hindustán returned to Ghaznín. That Amir revolted, and fought a severe battle with the Sultán in the vicinity of Multán, and a bitter conflict ensued; in the end the Sultán's enemy fell a prisoner into his hands and was put to death, and a second time the country of Hindustán came into his possession, and 'Aláu-d-Dín Hasan ibn Husain Súri who is one of the kings of Ghor revolted against him and proceeded to Ghaznín. Bahráṁ Sháh fled and 'Aláu-d-Dín left his brother Saifu-d-Dín Súri in Ghaznín. Bahráṁ Sháh returned and retook Ghaznín, and having seated Saifu-d-Dín upon a cow, and having exposed him to public ridicule, killed him in the worst possible way. 'Aláu-d-Dín upon hearing this news was most distressed and made for Ghaznín with a huge army—before his arrival however Bahráṁ Sháh had reached the other world and his son was on the throne in his stead. 'Aláu-d-Dín by way of avenging his brother carried several loads of the earth of Ghaznín to Ghor¹ and set rivers of blood flowing, he is accordingly famous in his own country. Bahráṁ Sháh left this world in the year 547 H. (1152 A.D.) the period of his reign was thirty two years.

Mas'úd S'ad Salman wrote the following hexastich in praise of Bahráṁ Sháh,

Bahráṁ Sháh became the world conquering king,

He became the Sun of the Age, and the shadow of the glory of God.

His canopy which was auspicious became the glory of the humá.²

¹ Cf. Raverly, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* p. 347 note 2.

² Cf. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Raverly p. 356. This earth was mingled with the blood of certain Saiyyids whom he took prisoner from Ghaznín, and from it several towers were built on the hills of Firūz Koh.

³ The humá is according to the *Ghāṣṣu-l-Lughāt* "a bird which eats bones

God be He exalted and glorified became his guide.

That polished dagger became of increasing authority.

The face of his enemy became black like his canopy.

As long as the emperor of the world in his time sowed the seeds of justice,

Every criminal that he detected, he passed over his crime,

If the sky placed his praise upon the running water

The flowing water retained¹ his imago like an engraving on stone.

He raised² true religion and justice to the zenith.

The Emperor, dispenser of justice, lover of truth, and defender of the faith.³

KHUSRAU SHÁH IBN BAHRÁM SHÁH.

ascended the throne after his father, and 'Aláu-d-Dín Hussain ibn * Hasan Ghorí came up against him. Khusrá Sháh fled and came to Lahore, and occupied himself with the empire of Hindústán, and when 'Aláu-d-Dín, as has been related, returned from Ghaznin successful, he went back and recaptured that country, and after that the tribe of Ghuzz⁵ seized Sultán Sinjar he turned towards Ghaznin. Khusrá Sháh was not able to withstand him

and its shadow falling upon any one ensures his attaining royal dignity."

See note 2 page 57.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) *نداشته* not *بداشته* as in the text,

² *برفراشته* MS. (A) not *صرفراشته* as in text.

³ MS. (A) reads *دين ووز حق پناه*.

⁴ The text has *حسن با حسين* but the MSS. A. and B. have *بن* which is the correct reading. 'Aláu-d-Dín Hussain Ghorí Jahánsóz, the first of the kings of Ghor.

⁵ A tribe of Turks. They took Sinjar prisoner in 558 H. From them sprang the Seljúq dynasty the founder of which was Ruknu-d-Dín Tughral Beg. Originally from beyond the Oxus they established their power by the conquest of Tús in the year 420 A. H., when under the leadership of Tughral Beg and Dád they defeated the forces sent against them by Mas'úd ibn Mahmúd. Ravaging Armenia they entered Diárbakr in 433 A. H., and in 435 A. H. entered Mosul, but in the same year were defeated in an encounter with the Arabs and fled to Nasibín, and thence passing through Armenia returned to Azerbaijan.

Cf. D'Herbelot, art. Gaz. who attributes the origin of this tribe to Gaz tenth son of Japhet son of Noah; from Bulgár, one of the sons of Gaz, sprang the Bulgarians and from Perthas the other son sprang the Ghuzz tribe.

and for the second time returned to Lahore, where he died in the year 555 H., after a reign of eight years. In his time many great poets flourished and wrote odes in praise of him. The following poem is of the kind called *Tarjī'band*¹ and was written by one of them in his honour.

The revered Emperor Khusrau Sháh who with ease
Conquers with sword and mace from Hándústán to Khorásán.

It must be stated, that in the historical works by Qāṣi Baizáwi and others² it has been written that when 'Aláu-d-Dīn plundered Ghaznah and put many of the inhabitants to death, he left there Ghiyásu-d-Dīn Abul-fath Muḥammad and Shihábu-d-Dīn Abul Mazaffar who were his nephews. They then with great craft put Khusrau Sháh at his ease with regard to themselves and took up their abode in his city. Khusrau Sháh³ was imprisoned in the year 555 H., and died in the same year. and the days of the Ghaznévide family came to an end. After a time Ghiyásu-d-Dīn died, and the whole kingdom remained in the possession of Shihábu-d-Dīn, but since Khwāja Nizámu-d Dīn Ahmad deceased, has written in the *Tárikh-i-Nizámí* copying from the *Rauzat-u-s-Safá* that Khusrau Malik ibn Khusrau Sháh was the last of the kings of the Ghaznévide dynasty, I have followed him—God knows the truth.⁴

KHUSRAU MALIK IBN KHUSRAU SHÁH.

Ascended the imperial throne in Lahore after the death of his father, and spent the greater part of his time in luxury and licentiousness, so that in his time great damage found its way into the

¹ The *Tarjī'band* consists of a series of couplets followed by a couplet in the same metre, but having a different rhyme, recurring at regular intervals.

² See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) iii. 341. See also Elliott II. 258.

³ The *Rauzat-u-s-Safá* however states that Khusrau Sháh reigned at Lahore two years after he fled from Ghazni, and on his death was succeeded by his son Khusrau Malik.

The account in the text is that given by Baizáwi and other reliable authorities.

⁴ Cf. Raverty *op. cit.*, p. 112 note 5.

Baizáwi states that the Ghaznévide dynasty ended with Khusrau Sháh. The work here quoted is best known as the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, but its author called it *Tabaqat-i-Akbar-Shahi*, and Badāoni calls it also by that name as well as by the name *Tárikh-i-Nizámí*. As has been seen the present work is admitted by the author to be merely an abridgment of the

kingdom, and the dynasty of the Ghaznéviyah was growing old while that of Ghor was in full vigour, accordingly Sultán Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sâm, who is well-known under the title of Sultán Shihâbu-d-Din Ghorî, having gained the upper hand and making Ghaznî his capital, brought an army against Hindûstân and came with overwhelming force near to Lahore. Khusrâu Malik fortified himself there and was compelled to ask for quarter in a personal interview. Sultán Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sâm took him to Ghaznî, from thence sending him to Sultán Ghîyâsu-d-Din, who imprisoned him in Fîroz Koh¹ and sent an order, and after ten years' confinement made him taste the cup of destruction.

Set not your heart on this world, for it is without foundation

It is a newly-wed bride entangled with many a lover.

This event took place in the year 583 H. (1187 A. D.). He reigned twenty-eight years; the times of the Ghaznévide dynasty came to a close, and the Empire passed from their hands to those of the Sultáns of Ghor. "Thou givest the kingdom to whom thou seest fit."²

HEMISTICH.

Nothing endureth but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom.

And Qâzi Isizâwî may God's mercy be upon him states that

¹ Térîq-i-Ni-hâl. Khwâja Nizâmu-d-Din Ahmad was the son of Khwâja Muqîm Herawî Dîwân of the household to Bâbar, he subsequently served under Akbar, (Elliott V. 177 et. seq.). The real facts are that the son Khusrâu Malik succeeded his father and reigned till 583 (H.) (1187 A. D.), as is stated by our author.

² The Khondôz-Nâzir states that Khusrâu Malik was imprisoned in the fortress of Balarwân in Ghorjistân. Fîroz Koh was the capital. The story of the treachery by which Shihâbu-d-Din Ghorî took Khusrâu Malik prisoner is told by Firishîa.

See also page 44 where the author states that Ghîyâsu-d-Din imprisoned Khusrâu Shâh in one of the fortresses of Ghorjistân where he died a prisoner.

قُلِ اللَّهُمَّ مَالِكُ الْمُلْكِ تُرِي الْمُلْكَ مَنْ تَشَاءُ وَتَنْزِعُ الْمُلْكَ مِمَّنْ تَشَاءُ
 3 Qurân III. 26 "Say 'O God, Lord of the kingdom, thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever thou pleasest and takest the kingdom from whomsoever thou pleasest.'"

the duration of the Ghaznévide dynasty from Sultán Mahmūd to Khusrau Sháh was one hundred and sixty-one years in the hands of twelve persons, while Qází Yahya Qazwíní, may God's mercy be upon him, says one hundred and fifty-five years in the hands of fourteen persons, and the author of the *Tarikh-i-Nizámí*, as has already been quoted above, says two hundred and fifteen years in the hands of fifteen persons, and God knows the real truth of the matter.¹

II. THE GHORÍ DYNASTY.

Who reigned in Dehlí. This dynasty commences with Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín Ghorí² who is known as Muizzu-d-Dín Muhammad ibn Sám.

SULTÁN MUIZZU-D-DÍN MUHAMMAD IBN SÁM GHORÍ.

Ascending the throne as regent in place of his elder brother Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín, king of Ghor and Irâq and Khorásán, in the year 569 H., in Ghaznín, had the *khutba* read and the currency struck in his own name,³ and in obedience to the command of his brother brought several armies against Hindustán and raised aloft the standard of holy war. Dehli was reduced in his time.

¹ None of these estimates are exactly accurate, that of the *Tarikh-i-Nizámí* is the nearest. The actual duration of the Ghaznévide dynasty taking Khusrau Malik as the last representative was from 366 A. H. (976 A. D.) to 583 A. H. (1187 A. D.) a period of 217 years during which time there were fifteen sovereigns.

It is difficult to see how Baizáwí arrives at his statement above quoted as from the accession of Mahmūd in 387 A. H., to that of Khusrau Sháh in 552 A. H. is 165 years during which twelve kings reigned.

The statement of Qází Yahya Qazwíní is so far from the truth as to be impossible.

If we take Khusrau Sháh as the last Ghaznévide king the dynasty lasted from 366 A. H. to 555 A. H., a period of 189 years.

² Who was nominated with his elder brother Ghiyásu-d-Dín to the charge of a province of Ghor by his uncle Aláu-d-Dín Husain Jahánsor.

³ As a matter of fact the coins were struck in the joint names of Ghiyásu-d-Dín and Muizzu-d-Dín, and as Thomas remarks the superlative الاعظم "The greatest" is applied to Ghiyásu-d-Dín while Muizzu-d-Dín is only styled الملك "Great" (Thomas, Pathán kings of Dehli, p. 13).

In brief, Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn when he had seized Taginābād¹ which was one of the dependencies of Garmsir and had made over the governorship of that place to Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn, used continually to bring up armies against Ghaznī, till at last in the abovementioned year Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn brought that country within the circle of his conquests, and drove out of Ghaznī the tribe of Ghuzz, who after the captivity of Sultān Sinjar had been in possession of it, and bestowed upon Sultān Muizzu-d-Dīn Muhammad, the title of Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn.² Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn after one year of sovereignty as vicerent

تاجینا باد کہ از اعظم بلاد گرمسیر بود Tabinābād which was one of the chief cities of Garmsir. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 115, line 9, (Cal. Edn.), see *Asiatic Researches* (J.) iii. 68, also Elliott, II. 292, 293.

² The statement in the text forms the subject of considerable controversy as there are found those who assert that the title Shihābu-d-Dīn is an impossible one as applied to Muizzu-d-Dīn popularly known as Muhammad Ghori. (see Raverty's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* p. 446 note 5). It is true that the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* states that Muizzu-d-Dīn was originally called Zang while Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn was called Habshi—both of them being called Muhammad. He goes on to say that prior to Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn's accession to the throne Ghori he was called Shamsu-d-Dīn and that Muizzu-d-Dīn was called Shihābu-d-Dīn. The actual statement is

و پیش ازین لقب او ملک شمس الدین بود و لقب برادرش شهاب الدین بعد از مدتی کہ بر تخت بود لقب او سلطان غیاث الدین شد و برادرش ملک شهاب الدین بعد از فتوح خراسان سلطان معز الدین شد.

"Before this his title had been Malik Shamsu-d-Dīn and the title of his brother had been Shihābu-d-Dīn. Some time after his accession his title was changed to Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn." From this the possibility is not excluded that the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* intended to lay stress not so much upon the change of names as the change of dignity, the assumption that is, by both of the title of Sultān.

But whatever may be decided about this there can be no question that the name "Shihābu-d-Dīn" is just as applicable to the person known more familiarly as Muhammad Ghori, as is the name "Muizzu-d-Dīn," and Badāoni evidently held this opinion as he henceforth speaks of him constantly as "Shihābu-d-Dīn."

On the other hand if this really was a subsequently acquired title it is certainly strange that it does not appear on any of his coins on which he is always styled As Sultān Al-Muazzam (or Al-A'zam) Muizzu-d-Dunyā waḍ Dīn Abū-l-Muazzar Muhammad ibn Sam.

It is not however a point of serious importance as it involves no disputed question of identity.

for his brother, in the year 570 H., conquered Kardíz¹ and in the year 571 H., took Uchh and Multán and drove out the tribe of the Karmatians from those regions, and utterly destroyed the Bhatí² tribe who had fortified themselves in the fortress of Uchh,³ and having entrusted that country to Ali Kirmáj⁴ returned to Ghaznín.

Then in the year 574 H. (1178 A. D.) proceeding by way of Multán⁵ he brought an army against Gujrat, and suffered defeat at the hands of Rái Bhím Dev ruler of that country, and with great difficulty reached Ghaznín and obtained relief.

And in the year 575 H. he seized Parshúr,⁶ and in the year 580 H. (1184 A. D.) marched against Láhore; Sultán Khusrau Malik who was the last of the kings of Ghaznín, shut himself up in the fortress of Lahore as has been related, and after considerable correspondence by letter and messenger, he sent his own son with an elephant as a present, and Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín made peace with him, and set about building the town of Siálkot⁷ and having left his deputy there, proceeded to Ghaznín; and in the year 581 H. he brought an army against Diwal by which is meant

¹ Kardíz a district lying between Ghazna and Hindustán, Yáqút. Or Gardáiz, the name of a large "darak" of the Tájiks, *Tabaqat-i-Náṣirí* Raverty, p. 449, note 9.

² MSS. (A and B) agree with the text *جماعة بهتية*. For a full account of this from Firishṭa with a comparison of other translations, see Raverty, p. 459, note 2. Raverty's translation corresponds exactly with the original and, as he very justly remarks, the incorrect translations given by Briggs and others have placed Muizzu-d-Dín's conduct in a wrong light. Bhatia a strong fort of this name was situated between Multán and A. or. The Rájá referred to according to the *Mir'át-i-Jahán-Numá* was chief of the Bhatí tribe. See Raverty *Tabaqat-i-Náṣirí* 451, note 3 last paragraph. See Elliott, Vol. I. p. 61.

³ Uchh. On the Eastern bank of the Panjnad 70 miles S. S. W. of Multán. See Cunningham, A. G. of India, p. 242.

According to Tieffenthaler it is 20 miles from Multán, Tieff. I 118.

⁴ So also Firishṭa *علی کرماج* though Briggs translates, Ali Kirmápy.

⁵ In the text read *از راه ملتان* Firishṭa says, "came again to Uchh and Multán."

⁶ *بجانب پیشاور کہ در کتب سابق ہکرام و پرشور و فرشور مشہور است* (Firishṭa) cf. Raverty *Tabaqat-i-Náṣirí*, p. 452, note 8. Peshawar was known as Bagram or Farshúr.

⁷ Siálkot is said by other authors to have been founded by one of the early Hindú rulers, Tieffenthaler. 'Un chateau tres fort bâti par Mahmud

Tattah¹ and having thrown into confusion the cities on the sea shore took a vast amount of plunder and returned.

And in the year 582 H. he came again to Lahore and plundered the surrounding country, and having provided Husain with the means of fortifying and holding Siálkot retraced his steps, and from *Táríkh-i-Nizámí* which is the original source of this selection we gather that the building of Siálkot took place in this year, in contradiction to the *Mubárahsháhi*² from which we learn that the building of Siálkot was two years earlier. God knows the truth. And inasmuch as the house of history is, like the house of dreams and other things of that sort, ruinous, apologies must be made for discrepancies; and in that year *Khusrau Malik* with the assistance of the *Khúkhars*³ and other tribes, besieged the fort of Siálkot for a long time, but had to return without attaining his object. In this year also Muizzu-d-Dín again besieged *Khusrau Sháh* in Láhore, who after striving for some days, found himself

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Gasnaví ... La petite rivière d'Ayok coule le long de cette forteresse au couchant." Firishta states that Muizzu-d-Dín founded the Fort of Siálkot which lies between the Chenáb and Rávi and left Husain *Kharmíl* as governor, in the year 580 H. (1184 A. D.)

¹ Cf. Raverty 452 note 2. See also Tieffenthaler, I. 121. Tatta est tres ancienne ... on la nomme aujourd'hui Dobil ... Tatta is not the same as Debal which lies between it and Karáchi. See Abul Fedá, (Reinaud) I. ccclxxxvi.

The position of Debal. Judging by the map given in Tieffenthaler Debal lay between Karáchi and Tatta at a distance of 30 miles from the former and seventy from the latter, almost due East from Karáchi and N.W. of Tatta. It lay at a distance of about 20 miles from the sea on one of the large arms into which the Mohrán (Indus) divided in those days, but which to judge from modern maps have now disappeared or much diminished in size. It also lay a short distance to the North of Lári Bander which was at the head of an arm of the sea which had evidently in former times been an arm of the Indus also, at a distance of about ten miles to the South; the arm of the river joining the sea from Debal lay some six miles or so to the westward.

This position tallies with that of the ruined city mentioned by Ibn Batúta, Paris Edition, III. 112, 113, 114, a translation of the description of which is given in Cunningham's Anc. Geog., p. 299, 300

² By Yahyá ibn Ahmad ibn Abdulláh Sirhindí. Elliott, IV. 6.

³ The *Khúkhars*. This seems to be the same tribe as the Gakkhars, cf. *Asn-i-Akbarí* (Bl.) Vol. I. 456 note 1, and Vol. II. (J) 382 note 1, but see also Raverty (455 note 4), who asserts that the two tribes are quite distinct.

unequal to the task, and yielded to the Sultán who conveyed him to Ghaznín and sent him to his brother Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín at Firoza Koh. Ghiyásu-d-Dín imprisoned him in one of the fortresses of Ghurjistán, where he died a prisoner, and the plain of Empire once for all passed to the dynasty of Ghor without the thorn of a partner or rival, as has been already mentioned.

QITA'II

If you saddle the piebald horse of Circumstance,
 and if the white horse of state leads thee beside him,
 And if the garden of your pleasure in happiness
 copies fair the past memories of Paradise,
 Be not proud, for this mean time will unexpectedly
 draw its pen through the writing of your fortune.
 Time is like a wind, which at the first
 draws from the cheek of the rose the veil with all respect,
 Then after a week has passed in the midst of the garden,
 drags its body with ignominy to the dust
 The world at one time brings forward by turn in the
 narrow course, the horses of honour and disgrace.
 The crafty Fowler gives the bird grain, and then draws it
 into the noose of his artfully laid snare
 One man who has lost all hope, gains honour,
 Another who is always hopeful in spite of all is disgraced
 Strange is it if a man who has walked in the shadow of
 poverty should court a favour from the sun?
 Be content, if you have a portion of wisdom,
 that the ignorant should be oppressed by the foolish -
 What of that man who, in the assembly of mirth and merriment
 quaffs the wine of pleasure from the cup of
 luxuriousness?
 What of him who sitting behind the wall of sorrow suffers
 from the after effects of sorrow and the worry of
 toil?
 At last the hand of fate takes both of them straight off to
 the brink of the pit of death.
 Happy is the brave hearted man who like Sharaf draws the
 foot of fidelity beneath the skirt of retirement.

And in this year Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín left Ali Kirmáj¹ who was governor of Multán, as his Vicegerent in Lahore, and in the year 587 H. coming from Ghaznín he reduced the fort of Tabarhindah² which was the capital of the great rájás of Hindustán, and left Malik Ziyáu-d-Dín Tukilí³ with a corps d'élite consisting of one thousand two hundred cavalry soldiers, and was contemplating a return. In the meantime Rái Pathúrá the Governor of Ajmír, and Khandi Rái his brother who had been Governor of Dehli before Pathúrá, arrived with a vast army at a place called Taráyan⁴ on the banks of the river Sarsuti at a distance of seven *krohs*⁵ from Thánesar. It is now known by the name of Taráwarí⁶ and is distant forty *krohs*⁵ from Dehli. A great conflict ensued with the Sultán and the Muslim troops were defeated. The Sultán evinced great bravery on the field of battle, and in that engagement also Khandi Rái who was mounted on an elephant at the head of his army, received a spear-thrust in his mouth from the hand of the Sultán. The Sultán also was struck on the head by the Rái's spear, and his arm was also wounded but both escaped in safety. The Sultán got off his horse and taking up his son Khiljí upon his horse and mounting behind him took him off the field; the Sultán proceeded to Ghaznín, and Rái Pathúrá took the fortress of Tabarhindah from Ziyáu-d-Dín Tukilí on peaceable terms after a

¹ *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says Ali Karmákh Firishta. Ali Kirmáj,

MS. (A) علی کرمج MS. (B) علی کرمج

² Both MSS. A and B have تبرهند. Jarrett (*Afn-i-Akbarí* trans., III. 360 note 2) says he is not able to determine the position of Tabarhindah, and Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí* p. 457 note 3) thinks Tabarhindah is a copyist's error for Bathindah apparently relying on the *Lubbu-t-Tawárikh-i-Hind*. From Rennell's map in Tieffenthaler it would appear that the situation of the fortress of Tiberhind, which is there marked though not described in the text, was about half way between Bikanér and Jhunjhnaú in Rajputáná, that is to say about 100 miles north of Ajmír.

See also Raverty 458. note 3.

³ Malik Ziyáu-d-Dín Tulakí, (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*) Raverty p. 457 note 3.

⁴ MSS. (A) and (B) read نراس. See Raverty; *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* 459 note 7. Tieffenthaler mentions this place calling it Narain, but it is not to be found in the map he gives, see Vol. I. p. 155.

It is placed by Cunningham (map facing p. 327), S. E. of Thánesar.

⁵ The *کروہ* Skt. *करोह* *krosh*, is equivalent to about two miles.

See also *Afn-i-Akbarí* (J) ii. p. 116 note 2 and 414 note 2. *Cunn. Geog. of A. I.*, App. B p. 571. See also *Tarikh-i-Rushd* Elias and Ross. p. 424 note 1.

siege of one year and one month. And in the year 588 H. the Sultán again came into Hindustán with a large and brave army of 40,000 cavalry, and divided his forces into four army corps, and having given battle time after time in the place above mentioned gained a victory. Pathúrá was taken prisoner and Khandí Rái having been overcome in battle was killed and hasted to his resting-place in Hell. The Sultán, then having reduced the fortresses of Sarsuti¹ and Hánsí proceeded to Ajmír the capital of Pathúrá, reduced it and plundered its environs killing and taking prisoners. From certain other sources we learn that Hazrat Khwájá Muínu-d-Dín Chishtí² may God sanctify his heart, that revered one who is the fountain head of the great and holy men and the dignified elders of the land of Hind, whose blessed tomb is a place of pilgrimage situated in Ajmír, was at that time in the company of the Sultán, and this victory occurred through the impulse of the blessed and divine soul of that pillar of holiness. And in this year leaving Sultán Malik Qutbu-d-Dín Aibak who was his servant and adopted son, and viceregent in the town of Kúhrám which is distant seventy *krohs* from Dohli, he invaded and plundered the Siwálik range which lies to the North of Hindustán, and proceeded to Ghaznín. In the same year too Qutbu-d-Dín having captured Dehli took it away from the kinsmen of Pathúrá and Khandí Rái. Then in the year 589 H. (1193 A. D.) Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín fought with Rái Jai Chand the governor of Qanauj, on the confines of Chandwár³ and Atáwah,³ killed him and went to Ghaznín. The fort of Kol⁴ fell into the hands of Qutbu d-Dín Aibak, and he made Dehli his capital and brought its surrounding districts under his sway. From that date Dehli once more became the metropolis of the Sultáns. The erection of minarets and other buildings of that kind, such as mosques, was

¹ The country south of the Himálaya between the Satlej and Ganges as far south as Hánsí. (Raverty).

² Khwájah Muínu-d-Dín Hasan Chishtí was the son of Ghiyá'u-d-Dín Hasan born in A. H. 537 in the village of Sijz of the province of Sijistán.

He died in A. H. 633 and is buried near Ajmír.

³ Tschenthaler I. 166 mentions Atáwa and Chanouí as belonging to the Serkár of Agra. (See Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*) also p. 470 note 1).

⁴ Col. -ville munit d'une forteresse qu'on appelle Sabetghar et Rainghar. Tsch. I. 200, in the province of Agra 40 miles North of Agra

commenced in the reign of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Altamash¹ in the year 606 H., as will be related, if God (may He be exalted) so will it, in its own place. And in the year 591 H., he took the fort of Bhangar² and Badāon. And in the year 593 H. he conquered Gujerāt and took his army to Nahrwālā which is known as Pattan,³ and having taken vengeance for the Sultān on Bhīm Raī Dev, and having taken much spoil returned; and in that year Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn removed his effects from the transitory world to the eternal abode,⁴ and Sultān Muizzu-d-Dīn having heard this news when on the confines of Tūs and Sarakhs,⁵ turned towards Bādghis and performed the duties of the mourning ceremonies and having divided his brother's dominions among his kindred⁶ came to Ghaznīn and brought an army against Khwārazm, and on the first occasion Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh suffered defeat, and the Sultān pursued him and fought the Khwarazmians at the head of an aqueduct which they had dug from the eastern bank of the Jaiḥūn, and a number of the noted generals of Ghor were martyred and he could not take Khwārazm; he also fought a great battle with an army of Khitāi⁷ kings of Turkistān who had come to the help of Sultān Muḥammad,¹ on the banks of the river Jaiḥūn—he fought right bravely but at last was defeated, and being left with a hundred thousand cavalry soldiers he entered the fortress of Andkhūd where he entrenched himself, and 5

¹ Sultān Ul-Munẓam Shamsu-d-Dunyā wau-d-Dīn Abūl Muẓaffar, Tsal Timish the 1st of the Shamsiyah Sultāns. See Raverty 597 note 4.

² MS. (A) تهنکر Thankar, but it should be بنگر apparently, as in Tieffenthaler's and Banghar described as "un Fort triangulaire, construit de terre par ordre d'un prince Indien nommé Harcaran ... Banghar est à 20 milles d'Aunla à 40 de Baréli et à 8 de la rive antérieure du Gange.

Indien, "ville ancienne ... elle à une forteresse au dehors de laquelle sont des maisons. Elle est à 20 milles de Baréli, à 10 d'Aunla et à 5 de Banghar.

³ Badāon was the birthplace of the famous Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya, called "Al Bahā" or the controversialist, and "Majlis-shikan" the assembly-routers.

⁴ 20 miles from Radhanpur 40 miles from Guzerat to the N.W. Tieff. I 385. See also Bayley, Hist of Gujerat 25 &c Abul Feda (Reinaud) II il. 117. Am-ṭ-Ṭabak (J.) II. 262 and III. 59.

⁵ He died at Herat.

⁶ See Raverty (*Talagh-i-Nāfir*) 257 note 2 and 471 text and note 5.

⁷ The details of this partition are given in the *Talagh-i-Nāfir* (Rav. p. 472.)

⁸ Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh applied to Gūkhān of Qarā Khitāi for assistance. See Raverty (*Talagh-i-Nāfir*) 473 note 2.

having asked for quarter¹ returned to Ghaznī; and at that time the tribe of the Khúkhars in the neighbourhood of Lahore shewed symptoms of revolting the Sultan accordingly brought an army against them, and also summoned Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak from Dehli, and having given the Khúkhars a severe lesson returned to Ghaznī, and while on the way Lack was martyred at Damyak,² which is the name of a village of the dependencies of Ghaznī, at the hands of Khúkhar bandits—the following *qitāʿ* has been written to chronicle this event³ :—

The martyrdom of the king of sea and land Shihābu-d-Dīn,
Whose like has never yet been seen since the world began,
On the third day from the first of Shaʿbān, in the year 602
Happened in the road to Ghaznī at the stage Damyak.

The days of his reign from the commencement of the rule of Ghaznī to the end of his life were thirty and two years and some months, and he left no heir save one daughter, but he left behind him much treasure of gold and silver and precious stones, among these latter were five hundred *mans*⁴ of diamonds jewels of great value, besides cash and estates and other property the value of which we may estimate on the same scale. He made expeditions to Hindústān nine times, twice was defeated and seven times was victorious.

Thou didst see Muizzu-d-Dīn Muhammad Sām, who in war
Was stronger in heart and hand than Sām and Narīmān
He obtained, like Mahmūd, from the elephants of Hindústān
Governments of Sāsān and many kingdoms of Sāmān

¹ For an account of the incidents here briefly referred to see Raverty (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*) 478 note 6.

² A village beyond the Indus on the road to Ghaznī. Its exact situation is a matter of some uncertainty. Firishia (Bombay text) has *كشور*! Rohtak.

³ No author that I have seen records the name of the author. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* attributes it to "one of the learned men of that period."

⁴ The Tabriz man must be meant, being somewhat less than 2 lbs. while the man of Hindustān varies from 40 to 80 lbs. (Raverty).

The *Ain-i-Akbarī* makes no mention of the man as a weight unit for jewels. Two *ser*s are equal to half a man. As the *ser* was nearly two pounds this would make the man equal to eight pounds nearly. (See *Ain-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) II. 365 note 4).

The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says 1500 *mans* of diamonds.

He departed this world, and they say (the writer vouches for it)

That there remained of his secret treasure 500 mans of diamonds.

And in his reign many learned doctors and scientists and poets 55
flourished, of whom was Imām Fakhr-u-d-Dīn Rāzī¹ may God be merciful to him who wrote the *Lata'if-i-Ghiyāsi* and other books in honour of his brother Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Abū-l-Fatḥ. He remained with the army of Sultān Muizzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām, and every week used to stand up to preach, and at the termination of his sermon the Sultān used to evince great emotion, and since the Imām got very wearied of this continual coming and going, and everlasting service, one day addressing the Sultān from the pulpit he said Oh! Sultān Muizzu-d-Dīn, some time hence neither will this greatness and glory of yours remain nor the flattery and hypocrisy of Rāzī: The following *ghita'h* is by him:

If an enemy does not agree with you O friend
If behoves you to agree with your enemy,
If not, then have patience for a few days
He will not remain, nor will you, nor the pride of Rāzī.

and after the assassination of the Sultān certain mischief-makers out of envy accused the Imām of having conspired with the Fidāis,² and asserted that the Imām was well aware of their

¹ Abū Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn Omar Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn All al-Jaimi al-Bakrī at-Tabarestānī Ar-Rāzī (native of Qazvin in Tabaristān) was a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect, he was born at Rai A. H. 544 (A. D. 1150) and died at Herāt A. H. 606 (A. D. 1210). (Ibn Khalliqān). See D'Herbelot art Rāzī. See also *Majma'ul Fusahā* I. p. 374, where he is called Al-Quraishī at-Tamimi, Ibn Khalliqān does not mention the *Lata'if-i-Ghiyāsi* among Ar-Rāzī's works, while on the other hand Hāji Khalīfa gives a work of this name but does not mention the author. His reference to it is as follows. "11124 El-Lata'if El-Ghiyathiyyeh, subtilitates Ghiyāth-ed-Dīnī Liber persicus in quatuor partes divisus, quarum prima de principiis religionis, secunda de jurisprudentiā, tertia de ethica quarta de precatione agit."

² The term Fidā-i is particularly applied to the disciples of the chief of the Mulāhidah heretics, at whose hands Muizzu-d-Dīn met his death according to the express statement of the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāpiri*. (See Raverty 455 note 3). This attempt to implicate Rāzī in the responsibility for the murder is recorded also in the *Jāmi'u-t-Tawārīkh*, and the *Tājir-i-Madrir*. See Elliott II. p. 236.

hypocrisy. They made an attempt upon the Imám and he fled for refuge to Muaiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarí¹ who was one of the distinguished generals of the Sultán; he despatched him in safety to a place of security. A poet has written an ode in praise of him of which the following are two couplets.

Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín Sháh Ghází whose sword in the world
has become like the famous Zulfiqár² of Alí Murtazá.

The true Sultán Muḥammad Sám; he whose love for
the people is like the Sun of the friendship of Mustafá.

¹ *Tabaqát-i-Nadiri* states that he held the office of Vazír, and was put to death by the Turkish Maliks and Amírs of Ghaznín, together with Malik Naṣíru-d-Dín Husain the Amír-i-Shikár.

² *Zúl Fiqár*. The following is extracted from Ibn Khalliqán (Slano) Vol. IV. p. 220.

"It is related that Hárún ar Rashíd on sending Yazíd ibn Mazyad against Al Walíd gave him Zú'l Fakár the sword which had belonged to the Prophet "Take it, Yazíd, by it you will be victorious" To this Muslim Ibn al-Walíd alludes in the following verse of a *katída* composed by him in praise of Yazíd:

'You caused the Prophet's sword to recollect his way of acting and the braver displayed by the first (Muslimán) who ever prayed and fasted'

By these last words he meant Alí the son of Abu Talib for he was the person who dealt blows with it"

Lower down, quoting as his authority Hishám ibn al Kalbi, Ibn Khalliqán states that Zúl Fiqár belonged to Al-Aási son of Nabíh, both of whom were killed in the battle of Badr; Al-Aási being slain by 'Alí who took the famous sword from him—and he continues "Another author says that *Zúl Faqr* was given to 'Alí by the Prophet." I must observe that *faqr* with an *a* after the *f* is the plural of *Faqára* which means a vertebra of the back. The name of this sword is also pronounced *Zúl Fiqár* the word *fiqár* is the plural of *fiqra* (Vertebra).

At Tabarí states that *Zúl fiqár* came into the possession of Hárún ar Rashíd in the following manner:

"Zul fiqár was borne by Muḥammad Ibn Abd Allah ibn al Hasan ibn al-Hasan ibn Alí ibn Abí Tálíb on the day in which battle was given to the army of Abú Ja'far al-Manṣúr the Abbáside; when he felt death to be near he gave *Zúl fiqár* to a merchant who had followed him, and to whom he owed four hundred dinárs 'Take this sword,' said he, 'any member of the Abú Tálíb family whom you may meet with will buy it from you and give you the sum to which you are entitled. The sword remained with the merchant till the Abbáside prince Ja'far the son of Sulaimán ibn Alí ibn Abd Allah ibn al Abbás ibn Abd-al-Muṭṭalib obtained the governments of Yemen and

Another poet says :—

The Emperor of the age, Khusrau Ghází Muizzu-d-Dín 54.
From whom the glory of crown and diadem gains increase,
The origin of victory, Muhammad ibn Sâm ibn Husain
His very presence has become the mark for princely glory.¹

And Názukí Marághai too says in praise of him :—

Sháh Muizzu-d-Dín before whose princely might
The heaven stands girt like a bunch of flowers
He came to the throne like a rose at the time when
The heaven brought the Sun into the Balance. ²

Medina, and he purchased it from the merchant for four hundred dinárs. From him it passed to al-Mahdí the Son of Al Manşúr (Khalifah from 775 A.H. to 785 A.H.) from him to Músa al Hádi and from Músa to his brother Hárún ar Rashíd."

Al Asmáí relates that he saw Hárún ar Rashíd at Túa wearing a sword and that he said "Asmáí would you like to see Zúl fiqár" and on Asmáí expressing a wish to see it Hárún ar Rashíd bade him draw the sword—on doing so he found on it eighteen *faqáras*—The word *faqára* is said in a note to the above to designate "a sort of waving ornament on the blade or else a notch on its edge. It is doubtful which is meant probably the latter"

The word Zúlfiqár meaning *vertebrated* I think it quite possible that the sword in question was so called from its strength and pliability, the vertebral column being the type of the combination of these two somewhat incompatible elements.

¹ MS. (A) has موسى MS. (B) agrees with the text.

² i.e. In the time of year (autumn) when the Sun was in the sign of Libra (میزان).

The sun enters	Gemini	Taurus	Aries (Spring)	21st March.
	جوزا	ثور	حمل	
	Virgo	Leo	Cancer (Summer)	21st June.
	مذنبه	اسد	سرطان	
	Sagittarius	Scorpio	Libra (Autumn)	21st September.
	قوس	عقرب	میزان	
	Pisces	Aquarius	Capricornus (Winter)	21st December.
	حوت	دلو	جدى	

The sign Libra was a later addition to the Zodiac. It was known to the earlier Greek astronomers as $\chi\eta\lambda\alpha\iota$ of Virg. Georg. 1. 33.

He in the fire of whose wrath evil doers
Give up their sweet lives like angareeno.
The sugar of religion and the rose of sovereignty
The revolving sphere has mixed together ;
Oh Lord ! let this conserve of religion and sovereignty
Be the cause of health to the whole world.

And Qāri Hamid¹ of Balkh says :

Ghāzī Muizzu-d-Dīn wad-Dunyā with whom
On the day of battle victory marches with his auspicious
standard,

Qua locus Erigonon inter Chelaeque sequentes Panditur.

Subsequently it was called *Zygos* (the yoke) by the Latins *Jugum* and was first formally called *Libra* in the Calendar of Julius Caesar. This name seems to have been derived from the East, and must be regarded as a symbol of equality introduced into the heavens at the period when the entrance of the sun into that constellation marked the Autumnal Equinox. "In the commentary of Theon on the *Almagest* *Libra* is frequently represented by *Αἰρας* (a pound) or *Ασπαι*, a word originally borrowed by the Romans from the Sicilians, transformed into *Libra* and then restored to the later Greeks in the new sense of a balance." See Smith's (D. G. R. A.) p. 151, also *Asn-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) III. p. 13 and notes. Also Albirūnī (Sachau) p. 172, where a table is given of the signs in seven languages. Sir William Jones (Jones' Works Vol. I. p. 334) leans to the opinion that "both Greeks and Hindus received their divisions of the Zodiac from an older nation" and there can be little doubt that this was the case; the almost absolute identity of the nomenclature in Arabic, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew and Sanskrit points to a pictorial rather than to a verbal original, the more so as in the case of a pictorial symbol of ambiguous shape it was possible for the name to differ in different languages. Thus we know that the sign *Libra* was first known as *χελαι* to the Greeks from its resemblance to the claws of a scorpion, then this name was changed to *ζυγος* from the resemblance to a yoke, and finally called *Libra* a balance.

The same pictorial idea is applicable to all three words, and it is more than probable that we must look, for the origin of the Zodiac, to the same source whence we trace the origin of our Alphabet.

See also Albirūnī [Sachau (Trübner)] Vol. I. p. 219.

¹ Fakhru-l-Ulamā wa Zīnu-l-Fuzalā Hamīdu-d-Dīn Umar ibn Mahmūd Balkhī, a celebrated writer whose *Maqāmāt* called forth the praise of the poet Anwarī. He was the author of several works written in a style of great and studied elegance. He was an accomplished poet. Several of his works are mentioned by name. See *Majma'ul Fusaḥ* I. 197.

Verse.

When the head of a Sultán becomes musteady from wine
Without warning the crown of Empire falls from his head.

And after wielding power for some time he fell from his horse when playing *chaugán* at Láhore in the year 607 H., and died¹ and was buried in that city and his tomb is at present the resort of pilgrims. The period of his reign after the conquest of Hindustán, was twenty years, out of which period he was for four years a Sultán.

This ancient revolving heaven has overthrown many heroes;
So far as you are able, place no reliance on the sun and moon and Jupiter.²

Seven other individuals of the generals and slaves of Sultán Muizzu-d-Din reached princely power in Hindústán and Ghaznín and Bengála and other places, whose affairs are written in their proper places; among others Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz on the confines of Taráyan, otherwise known as Taráwarí, having fought with Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltamish was taken prisoner. Another is Sultán Násiru-d-Dín Qabácha³ who is also one of the slaves of Muizzu-d-Dín, and had married one of the daughters of Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, the other daughter was married to Sultán Qutbu-d-

1 *قالب تهی ساخت*. Literally, emptied the mould (in which he was cast). The word *قالب* though Arabic in appearance is not really so. It is in reality the Persian word *كالب* (cf. *كالبه*) in an Arab dress.

The game of *chaugán* is the origin of the modern game of "polo" the *chaugán* *چوگان* called in Arabic *صولجان* *Saulaján* is a name applied to a stick with a curved extremity. Curling locks are called *چوگان سنبل*. A pony which is fit for the game of *چوگان* is called *چوگانی* (*Burhán-i-Qāfi*).

2 In the *Ajaibu-l-Makhtúqát* of Qazwíní we find that the astrologers considered the sun as holding the place of king, and the stars are his courtiers and troops. The moon is his Vazír and Jupiter the Qāzí. The planet is considered to be a very fortunate one by astrologers who called it *معد اكبر*. The moon is also lucky so much so that everything lucky was called by the Hindus *Somagraha*, *Soma* being the Sanskrit word for moon. The sun was called *Aditya*, i.e., the beginning as being the origin of all things. See *Albiruni* (Sachau) I. 217 and seqq.

3 Who on the death of Qutbu-d-Dín proceeded to usurp Uchh and Multán according to Raverly (530, note 6). The *Zubagát-i-Násrí* states that Násiru-d-Dín Qabácha married two of the daughters of Qutbu-d-Dín. (See note 1, p. 520) (note 2, p. 532).

Din and Sultán Muizza-d-Dín during his lifetime had bestowed upon him the governorship of Uchh and Multán. After the death of Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín, he brought the whole country from Uchh¹ to Sarsutí and Kahrám under his own rule, and also took possession of Lahore, and having fought with the army of Malík Táju-d-Dín who was on his way from Ghaznín, Khwája Bha'niyyida-l-Mulk Sinjarí² being in command of that army, was defeated and went to Sindh in which country he obtained great ascendancy.

7. In the year 611 H. (1214 A. D.) a Moghul army arrived and laid siege to Multán for forty days and the Sultán Násiru-d-Dín, having opened the doors of the treasury, evinced great bravery and warded off their attacks, and at last after a reign of twenty-two years fell a prisoner into the hands of Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín and tread the way to the next world.³ Another is Malík Bahán-d-Dín Tughral, when Muizza-d-Dín Muhammad Sám reduced the fortress of Bahankar⁴ he entrusted the command of it to Malík Bahán-d-Dín Tughral, and he having built a fortress in the country of Bhasiyána⁵ elected to reside there⁶ and used continually to

¹ 70 miles south-west of Multán. For the situation of Uchh, see Gunn A. G. I, p. 242.

Tieffenthaler says that under this name are comprised seven villages the chief of which contains the tomb of Syud Bukhárí Tieff. I. 118 In Rennell's map, Vol. III. Burnstý is shown as in Long 74°5 Lat. 28°5, Koran Long. 75°4 Lat. 29°4

² See note 1 page 74.

³ In the year 612 H. according to the *Táju-l-Madsir*, but from the text it appears to have been in 610 H. or early in 611 H.

According to *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* he was drowned while trying to escape. See Raverty 542-543, notes. cf. Elliott II. 304.

⁴ Both MSS, but according to *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* and Alfí the name of the fort was Thankír or Thangír. (See however Raverty 544 note 1).

⁵ MS (B) has Bhasiyána, MS. (A) has Bhayána. *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says "the fortress of Thankír which is in the territory of Bhiána." This fortress he built was called Sultán Kot (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*).

Tieffenthaler mentions a place which he calls Beána and says, concerning it, Beána était autrefois une ville bien peuplée, aujourd'hui le nombre de ses habitants est fort diminué, après que le Rajah Indou en a chassé, il n'y a que peu d'années, les Mahometans, Afgans, et Saïdes, qui se vantent de descendre de la race d'Alí Elle est au pied des montagnes, à 14 milles communs de Jotepour au Sud-Ouest.

He mentions no fortress named Thankír or Bahankar nor does he mention Sultán Kot

⁶ Cf. *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* where this fort is called Sultánkot.

harass the environs of Gwáliár, and Sultán Muizzu-d-Din at the time of his return from Gwáliár had promised to give that fortress to Malik Baháu-d-Din who accordingly strongly fortified a position at a distance of two *krohs* from Gwáliár and harassed the garrison of the fort, so that after a year the garrison sending messengers and presents invited Sultán Qutbu-d-Din and surrendered the fort to him. On this account enmity arose between Malik Qutbu-d-Din and Baháu-d-Din. Malik Baháu-d-Din died a short time afterwards.¹

Another is Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyár Ghúri.² He was one of the great men of Ghúr and Garmsír, a man adorned with all good qualities who came to Ghaznín in the reign of Sultán Muizzu-d-Din and from thence went to Hindústán. He did not approve of having to live in Láhore with Sultán Qutbu-d-Din, and joined hands with Malik Husainu-d-Din Ughal Beg³ ruler of the country between the two rivers (The Doáb) and the country beyond the river Ganges, and Kanpilah and Patiáli⁴ were allotted as his reward. He proceeded to Oudh and conquered that coun-

¹ No date is given of these events.

² Called also Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khilji, the first to lead a Muslimán invasion of Bengal in 596 A. H. He belonged to the Khilji tribe of Ghúr, a Turkish tribe. Regarding him the *Afn-i-Akbari* states that the astrologers had predicted the overthrow of the kingdom of Nadiya by Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khilji. He destroyed the city of Nadiya (in 1203 A. D., 600 A. H.) and transferred the Capital to Lakhnauti. From that time Bengal has been subject to the kings of Delhi. *Afn-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) II. 145.

He was a nephew of Muhammad son of Mahmud. (See *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* 549) Raverly denies his having ever been a slave but from the statement in the text there seems to be no doubt that the author so regarded him. (See Raverly, p. 550 note 6).

Maliku-l-Muazzam Husainu-d-Din Ughal Beg held in fief a considerable tract of country in the Doáb, independently of Qutbu-d-Din.

³ See Raverly *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* 550 note 6.

⁴ MSS. (A.) and (B.) كنبلا Kanpila. MS. (A.) پنیالی Panéali. MS. (B.) پتیالی Patáli. Raverly p. 550 note 6, says Patálich پتیاح (Lat. 25° Long. 82° 54') and Kuntilah كنطیلا [Lat. 25° 7' Long. 82° 35'] the Kuntil of the Indian Atlas.

See the note above for a discussion of the question.

In the text كنطیلا is evidently a copyist's error for كنبلا.

try, reduced Behár and Munér,¹ and having taking large booty Sultán Qutb-ud-Dín sent him royal honours and a banner of Sultánsnip. He then brought many presents to the court of the Sultán, and received great favours and distinctions; the grandees of the court seeing they were powerless against him, became envious of him, and instigated the Sultán to such an extent that one day he made him fight with a rogue elephant,² but he struck the elephant so hard upon the trunk with a heavy club that the elephant turned and fled. The Sultán was overwhelmed with astonishment to see this, and nominated and appointed him ruler of the whole country of Lakhnautí³ in Bengála and sent him away. In the second year after this arrangement Muḥammad Bakhtiyár brought an army from Behár towards Lakhnautí and arrived at the town of Núdiyá⁴ with a small force, Núdiyá is now in ruins. Rái Lakhmia (Lakminia⁵) the governor of that

¹ *Manér* ville assez distinguée située sur la rive citérieure (du Gange) à 4 milles ouest de Scherpour—(qui est à 6 milles, de Patna) l'embouchure du Son (Soano) se trouve entre Maner à l'ouest et Scherpour à l'est. Le Son se jette dans le Gange à de cosse avant Manér Tiesl I. 423 note (a).

Behár the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadh is situated on the Pancháná river. Tiesenthaler describes it thus "Une grande ville moins peuplée aujourd'hui qu'elle ne l'a été, remarquable par des tombeaux magnifiques de Mahométans (Shaikh Sharafuddin Muniri is buried there).

Elle a été la capitale autrefois de la province. Sa distance de Patna en ligne droite est de 17 milles."

See *Hunter Gazetteer of India*.

² On the occasion of a public audience held by Qutb-ud-Dín in the Qasr-i-Safed.

³ The ancient capital city of Bengal called originally Lakshmanáwati, and possibly also Gaur. Called Jannatábád by the Emperor Humáyún See *Afn-i-Akbarí* II. (Jarrett) 122, 131 also *Imp. Gaz*, art Gaur. See also Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Nádir* 559 note 2.

⁴ Both MSS. نُودِيَا Núdiyá. Also *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí*. See *Imp. Gaz. Nadiya*, Nadiya or Nabadwip is on the west bank of the Bhágirathí, it was founded by Lakshman Sen son of Ballál Sen King of Bengal who is said to have left Gaur for Nadiyá owing to the superior sanctity of the Bhágirathí at Nadiyá. The name was called Núdiá until the time of Aurangzeb—

See Raverty *op cit* 559 note 2.

⁵ *Afn-i-Akbarí* II, (Jarrett) 148. *Tabaqát-i-Nádir*, 555.

town who had heard from astrologers¹ the fame of Muhammad Bakhtyár and his great power, fled thence to Kámrán, and property and booty beyond computation fell into the hands of the Muslims, and Muhammad Bakhtyár having destroyed the place of worship and idol-temples of the infidels founded Mosques and Monasteries and schools and caused a metropolis to be built called by his own name, which now has the name of Gaur.²

VERSE.

There where was heard before the clamour and uproar of
heathen.

Now there is heard resounding the shout of "Alláho akbar"

And after having the *khutbah* read and the currency struck in his name,³ having collected a large body of men, under the command of Amir Ali Masáj⁴ (Mích) he attempted to conquer the countries of Tibet and Turkestan and twelve thousand cavalry fully armed and equipped arrived at a city which they call Bardhan.⁵ A river

¹ For an account of the birth of Lakhmaniya see *Tabaqat-i-Albari* which relates that in order to delay the birth for two hours his mother caused herself to be suspended head downwards with her legs bound together till the auspicious moment predicted by the astrologers to ensure his reigning for eighty years arrived, immediately after delivery of her child the mother died. (see also Raverty *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 555).

² There is no authority for the statement that Gaur was ever known by the name of Muhammad Bakhtyár. Concerning the name Gaur see Hunter *Imp. Gaz. Gaur*.

³ The recitation of the *shahada* or public prayer in the name of the new Sovereign and the issue of coins bearing his name was regarded by Muhammadan nations as constituting actual secession to the throne and the statement is probably incorrect.

As to this passage see Raverty 559 note 3. See Thomas *Pathán Kings of Dehli* p. 37 and p. 110, and notes. It appears unlikely that Muhammad Bakhtyár issued coins in his own name, as he was nothing more than Sipahsalar of the Sultan Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sáur; moreover no such coins are known.

⁴ A chief of the tribes of Kúch and Mij called Ali Mij (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*) tribes between Tibet and Lakhnauti.

⁵ Regarding this the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* says that a chief of one of the

here crossed their route called the Brahmanputr,¹ which they also call Brahmkadī. It is three or four times the size of the Ganges. Shāh Garshasp² when he came to Hindustān built a bridge over that river, and crossed it at Kāmruḍ and went on his way. Muḥammad Bakhtyār crossed by that bridge, and leaving certain of his trusted generals to protect the bridge and command the road, entered the territory of Tibet, and spent ten days among the mountains and difficult roads. and at last arrived at a plain in

mountain tribes between Lakhnautī and Tibbat the Kunch-Mij-and Tilharū who are all of Turkish countenance (*همه ترک چهره اند*) and speak a language differing both from that of India and that of Tibbat, adopted the religion of Islām and agreed to act as guide to Muḥammad Bakhtyār whom he conducted to a place where there is a city called Mardhan Kot (or Bardhan kot) ... in front of which flows a vast river called the Bang Matī and when it enters the country of Hindustān they style it Samundar in the Hindī dialect; in magnitude, width, and depth it is three times the size of the Ganges.

From this point the account differs, the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says that they journeyed up the river for ten days among the mountains till they came to an old bridge built of hewn stone, &c.

Our text on the other hand states that they crossed the old bridge immediately on reaching the river *after* which they journeyed for ten days in the mountains, &c.

Badāonī's statement has more *prima facie* probability, the statements of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* moreover are somewhat confused and contradictory. Neither author mentions how long the cavalry force took to reach Bardhan.

It seems fairly certain from Badāonī's account that the city of Bardhan was on the near side of the river and that the crossing of the river was impracticable at that point, how far it was from Kāmruḍ, where Badāonī says they crossed by the bridge; does not appear.

MS. (A) *ابردین* Abardīn; MS (B) *ابردهن* Abardhan.

Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī says Bardhan (Raverty 561 note 8). Calcutta text has *موردین کوٹ*.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt* calls this river the Bog-Matī (see Raverty 561 note 1.)

For a full discussion of the identity of the river crossed and the place of crossing see Raverty pp 561-565. The only additional information given by the text is that the bridge was at Kāmruḍ, and it seems not impossible that it may be the bridge of Śil Hako and the river the Brahmaputra though Raverty thinks it was the Toesta.

² See Raverty p. 561 note 9 and *Am-i-Aḥbāt* III (Jarrett) 329 note 1.

which was a fort of great strength: the garrison of that fort who were descendants of Gushtasp (that fort too was one of the buildings erected by Gushtasp) came forth to fight, and fought so bravely till nightfall that many men were lost on the side of Muhammad Bakhtyār. He pitched his camp on that very spot, and coming down received tidings that five farsangs beyond this city there was another city¹ from which 50,000 Turke all warlike and ready for battle would come to the relief of their city. The following day Muhammed Bakhtyār not thinking it advisable to remain there, and not being able to oppose them, turned back and came to the head of the bridge. Before his arrival the Generals in charge of the road had fought among themselves, and the infidels had broken two arches of that bridge. The army of Muhammad Bakhtyār had this bridge in front and the infidels kept coming up in their rear, and fought with determined bravery. In that neighbourhood there was an idol temple of great strength.² They passed the night there by some stratagem and in the morning a ford was found, and a party of men who crossed by the ford found the sand of the river was a sort of quicksand, and the water of the river gradually growing deeper and deeper, the greater part of the soldiers of Muhammad Bakhtyār were drowned in the ocean of destruction, and the remnant which remained became fuel for the fire of the infidel's sword and attained the exaltation of martyrdom. Muhammad Bakhtyār, out of many thousand men, arrived at Deo Kot with some three or four hundred only, and fell ill from vexation and was attacked by hectic fever³ and used to say "no doubt Sultan Muhammad Muiz-ud-Din Sam has met with an accident that fortune has gone so against me." And when weakness took possession of him 'Alī Mardān one of Muhammad Bakhtyār's greatest generals arrived at Deo Kot from the district of Nārnālī⁴ and finding him

¹ Called Karpattan (*Tibbat-i-Nādir*) see Raverty p. 567 and notes for a full account of Bakhtyār's retreat and disasters.

² See Raverty 570 note 9. regarding the possible locality.

³ I take this to be the meaning of the text *بیماری دق منجر گشت*.

⁴ MSS (A) and (B) *نارنالی* See Raverty 572, note 7, where he calls this *نارنکوی*, Nārān-koe.

bedridden, pulled down the sheet from his face and ruthlessly despatched him with one blow of a dagger. This event happened in the year 602 H. after the death of Sultán Muizzu-d-Din: and after the death of Sultán Qutbu-d-Din this same Ali Mardán eventually seized the reins of power by great craft, and promulgating the *khutba* and *sikka* of Lakhnauti in his own name was styled Sultán Aláu-d-Din, and from the excessive folly and pride and arrogance of his mind sat quietly in Lakhnauti and divided the country of Irán and Túrán among his adherents, and no one dared to say "these dominions are outside the scope of the Sultán's power why do you divide them?" They say that some unfortunate merchant laid a complaint of poverty before Aláu-d-Din, who asked "where does this follow come from?" They answered "from Isfahán" then he ordered them to write a document to Isfahán which should have the force of an assignment of land to him. The merchant would not accept this document, but the Vazirs did not dare to represent this fact and reported "the ruler of Isfahán, by reason of his travelling expenses and assembling his retinue for the purpose of subjugating that country, is in difficulties." He thereupon ordered them to give a large sum of money far beyond his expectations; and when his tyranny and oppression exceeded all bounds the Amirs of *Khilj* consenting together put him to death and raised to the throne Malik Husánu-d-Din *Khilj* who was one of the nobles of *Khilj* and Garmsír and one of the servants of Muḥammad Bakhtiyár. The reign of Ali Mardán lasted thirty-two years.²

Another was Malik Husainu-d-Din³ abovementioned who became possessed of the whole country of Tirhut and Bengála and Jájnagar and Kámruḍ and gained the title of Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Din, till in the months of the year 622 H., he sent to the Sultán Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltimish thirty-eight head of elephants and

¹ Cf. *Zubagát-i-Nápiri* 578. He would appear to have been the subject of expansive delusions very likely an early symptom of the general paralysis which would have declared itself later had he not been removed.

² Both MSS. have *سی و دو سال* but as a matter of fact Ali Mardán reigned only two years and some months (see also Raverty 580 note 7.)

³ Malik Husánu-d-Din 'Iwaz.

, seventy thousand *tangahs*¹ in cash as a present and acknowledged the Sultān's authority, as will be mentioned, if God (*be He exalted*) so will it. And in the year 624 H. Malik Nāsiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad ibn² Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn went from Oudh to Lakhnauti at the instigation of some of the Amīrs,³ and Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn⁴ who at that time had taken an army from Lakhnauti to Kāmruḍ turned back, and fought a severe battle with Malik Nāsiru-d-Dīn and was taken prisoner together with the majority of his generals and was put to death. The duration of his reign was twelve years.⁵ The mention of these few kings of the regions of Hindustān incidentally with the affairs of the Sultāns of Dehli was both opportune and necessary, and the affairs of the remaining Muizziyeh kings who attained to the Sultānat of Multan and other kingdoms are mentioned in other places.

SULTĀN ARĀM SHĀH IPN QUTBU-D-DĪN AIBAK⁶

After his father, succeeded to the throne.

In the world no family remains without a master
If one departs, another takes his place;
This too is the way with this deceitful world
The father departs, the son's foot is in the stirrup.

By the consent of the Amīrs he marched from Lahore to Delhi. In the meantime Malik Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, who was a servant and adopted son, and son-in-law of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn,

¹ *Tangah* For the value of this see J. R. A. S., New Series Vol. i. p. 343 also Raverty 584 note 2. Thomas Chr. Pathān Kings of Dehli pp. 161 and p. 49 note

The silver *tangah* weighed 175 grains. There was a coin known as the *lān* which was $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *tangah*, while another coin was introduced under Muḥammad Taghlaq known as the black *tangah* which was $\frac{2}{3}$ of the silver *tangah*.

The value of the silver *tangah* was about the same as the rupee. See *Ain-i-Albari* III. (Jarrett) 362, note 3

² The text should read *بن سلطان شمس الدين* MSS. A. and B.

³ Malik Izzu d-Dīn Jāni. See Raverty, p. 594, note 1.

⁴ Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Iwaz ... Hūsain Khilji.

⁵ He was the last of the Muizzi Sultāns according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*.

⁶ Succeeded his father in 607 H. Cf. Raverty, 529, note 4. Thomas pp. 40.

and had tributary relations with Malik Násiru-d-Din Qabáchá, at the invitation of Sipah Sálár Alí Isma'il, had come from Hardwár and Badáun to Dehli and had taken possession of the city and its country. When Arám Sháh arrived in the vicinity of Dehli Malik Shamsu-d-Din came out against him in battle array, and Arám Sháh was defeated. The duration of his reign was just a year.¹

2 All of us young and old are doomed to die
No one remains in this world lastingly
This is the way of the lofty sky. It holds
In one hand a crown in the other a noose.

SULTÁN SHAMSU-D-DIN IYALTIMISH³

Called by the title of "Yamin-i-Amír-al-Múminín"
(Right hand of the Commander of the Faithful.)

In the year 607 H. ascended the imperial throne of Dehli; and the reason of the name Iyaltimish is that his birth occurred on the night of an eclipse of the moon, and the Turks call a child

¹ Minháj-us-Siráj mentions that at Arám's death Hindustán was divided into four principalities. Sind in the possession of Násiru-d-Din Qabáchah; Dehli and its subordinate divisions belonged to Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltimish; Lakhanauti was held by the Khilj chiefs 'Alí Mardán having thrown off his allegiance on the death of Qutbu-d-Din, and Lahore remained a subject of contention between the rulers of Sind, Dehli and Ghaznín. See Thomas' Pathán Kings, p. 40.

² Not in either MSS These verses are from the Shahnámah of Firdausí. (vide Shahnámah, Calcutta Edition, by Turner Macan, 1829, Vol. I. p. 361, line 8, and Vol. I. p. 372, line 6. The editor of the text has apparently quoted these lines from memory or possibly they were in the MSS from which he prepared the text.)

³ In MSS. A and B this word is clearly written ايلتمش This text has ايلتمش

Iyaltimish or Altamish as he is generally called was the first sovereign who reigned in Dehli with independent power. He received a diploma of investiture from the Khalíf of Baghdád [Al-Mustansir b-illáh, A. H. 626] a most important recognition to a Muhammedan sovereign and one that is remarkable as being the earliest notice taken by the arrogant court of Baghdád of this new Indo Muhammedan kingdom. (Thomas, p. 43).

born under these circumstances Iyaltimish.¹ His father was the chief of many of the tribes of Turkeatán. His kinsmen under pretence of taking him for a walk took Iyaltimish into a garden and sold him like Joseph to a merchant, from there he happened to be taken to Bokhárá, and thence in the time of Sultán Muhammad Sám to Ghaznía; and in these days Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín after the conquest of Nahrwálah and the taking of Gnjráh had gone to Ghaznía, and since without permission of Sultán Muhammad Sám no one could purchase Iyaltimish he asked permission from the Sultán to sell him. Sultán Muhammad Sám said that since he had given orders that no one there should buy that slave they were to take him to Dehli and sell him there. Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín after his return from Ghaznía bought a slave named Ibak, a namesake of his own, and Iyaltimish, at Dehli for 100,000 *tangahs*; at first he called him Amír Tamghách,² and appointed him to the Amírship of Tabarhindah,³ and at the time when Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín fought with Tájü-d-Dín Yaldüz, Ibak his slave tasted the cup of death. At that time he made Iyaltimish an especial favourite, and after the capture of Gwáliár he made him Governor of that place, and subsequently bestowed upon him the rule of Baran⁴ and its environs, and since he 61 began to shew signs of extraordinary hardness he entrusted the country of Badáún to him, and in the war of Muizzu-d-Dín with the Khúkhars (as has been already related), Iyaltimish having got together a huge army from Badáún and the foot of the hills, joined hands with Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín in the service of Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín, and armed as he was having forced his horse into the river⁵ engaged the enemy bravely several

¹ Concerning the origin of the name see Thomas, p. 44, note 1. The note is too long to transcribe here, but briefly it may be said that Mr. Redhouse to whom the above text was submitted by Mr. Thomas thinks it probable that owing to errors of transcribers of the Turkish compound word the *ل* has become displaced and that the word should really be written *ایتلمش* *ay-tutulmash* = eclipse of the moon.

This explanation seems most plausible. In Turkí the word *آلتمش* *altamsh* means the advanced guard of an army, or the number sixty.

² *تمغاح* MS. A. *تمغاج* MS. B.

³ Tabarhindah in MS. A is written *تبرهندة*.

⁴ Baland-bahá, (Thomas). See Hunter Imp. Gaz. (p. 141).

⁵ See *Tibagat-i-Nafis*. It was the river Jhilam.

times: Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín bestowed on him fit' ing honours and distinguished him royally and gave him high recommendations to Malik Qutbu-d-Dín, and went to the greatest possible lengths in his care for him; and that same day Malik Qutbu-d-Dín wrote his letter of emancipation, and by degrees raised him to the dignity of Amir-ul-Umará (Chief of the Amirs) till his affairs reached the height they did. And in the beginning of his reign certain of the Muizziyeh and Qutbiyeh Amirs rebelled against him and suffered punishment and became food for the pitiless sword. And Malik Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz after he had suffered defeat by the Army of Khwárazm obtained possession of Lahore; Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín coming from Delhi to meet him in the year 612 H. drew up in battle order on the confines of Taráyan which is known as Serái Taláwarí.¹ After a severe battle Sultán Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz being defeated fell a prisoner into the hands of Shamsu-d-Dín who sent him to Badáon. The bird of his soul there escaped from the prison house of the body and took its flight to the nest of the next world. His tomb is in that city.

And in the year 614 H. Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín came into conflict with Sultán Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabácha who had married the two daughters of Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín one after the other, and was in possession of Uchh and Multán, and victory rested with Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín, and for the third time² Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín went up in person against him. He, having fortified the castle of Uchh, himself went to the fortress of Bhankar, and Nizámul-Mulk Wazír Jandí pursued him while the Sultán reduced Uchh. After hearing the news of the capture of Uchh, Náṣiru-d-Dín sent his own son Bahrám Sháh into the presence of the Sultán and sued for peace. Bhankar also was captured. And in the year 615 H. Náṣiru-d-Dín was overwhelmed in the sea of destruction in the Panjáb, and surrendered the property of life to the flood of death, and the Sultán turning back came to Delhi. In the year 618 H. Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín raised an army against Sultán

¹ Cf. Raverty, p. 608, note 8.

² According to the *Tazkiratu-l-Mulúk* this was the first occasion in which Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín had shown hostility to Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabácha. On the other hand the *Tabaqát-i-Naṣirí* states that there used to be constant contention between them. Badáoní is very likely correct in his statement. See Raverty p. 609, note 1.

Jalálu-d-Dín Mangburní¹ son of Khwárazm Sháh who having suffered defeat at the hands of Changiz Khán after Táju-d-Dín, came to Ghaznín and thence from fear of the incursions of Changiz Khán had gone to Lahore with his family and relations; and Sultán Jalálu-d-Dín not being able to withstand him went towards Sindh and Síwistan and from there by way of Kuch and Makrán arrived at Kirmán and Iráq.²

And in the year 622 H.³ Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín, took an army towards Behár and Lakhnauti and brought Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín Khiljí, who has been before mentioned, into obedience, and having accepted the present above mentioned,⁴ established the *khutba* and *sikka* in his own name⁵ and having given his elder son the title of Sultán Náqiru-d-Dín Mahmúd⁶ made him his heir, and having made over that country to him returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Eventually Malik Náqiru-d-Dín Mahmúd having fought with Ghiyásu-d-Dín on the confines of Lakhnauti got the upper hand, and having taken him prisoner put him to death, and great booty fell into his hands which he divided into portions and sent it as rewards⁷ to each of the nobles of Dehli.

¹ So called because of a mole which he had on his nose (Raverty 255, note 3). He was the last of the Khwarazm Sháhi dynasty. He is said to have turned devotee and to have lived till 688 H (Raverty 299, note.) There is some question as to the orthography of this name. Thomas p. 90, note 1, judging from inscriptions on his coins calls him Mangburnin, as he considers the final letter to be و not ی. The etymology given above is probably correct as the word مینگ (meng) in Turkí means grain de beauté while بورون means "nose" (Dict. Turk. Orientalc Pavet-de Courteille) the word originally being مینگبورون mengbúrún would in Persian have become altered in pronunciation to منگبورون mangburun and with the addition of the yá-i-nisbat منگبرنی Mangburní.

² For a full reference to the bibliography of this expedition, see Elliott II. 549. See also Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II. Jarrett 343, and notes. D'Herbelot art. Gelaleddin, Vol. II. p. 57.

³ Mistake in text ۴۲۲ where 422 H. is in figures.

⁴ "Thirty elephants and eighty laks of treasure." (Zubaydt-i-Nasiri.)

⁵ See Thomas' Pathán Kings, p. 46. It is not said here what kind of coinage—Thomas puts the year 626 A. H. as the first of the silver coinage.

⁶ منگبورون MS. (A)

⁷ The word انعام in MS. A is omitted in the text after the word دهلي. MS. A continues after the word فوسناد as follows:—

وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم و متبائة سپاهي گران

¹ [It is well known that a poet name Násirí arrived in t... from Dehlí in the service of Hazrat Khwāja Qutb-u-d-Din Ushī² may God sanctify him and said I have composed a Qasída in praise of Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín. Read the Fātiḥa that I may get the accustomed reward." They read the Fātiḥa and he having been admitted to the Sultán's presence read this *Maḡla'*

Oh thou from dread of whom sedition has sought refuge,
Whose sword has sought from the infidels property and
elephants.

The Sultán by the mere reading of that *maḡla'* learnt it by heart and repeated it, and when the poem was finished he asked How many couplets does this Qasída contain? The answer was fifty and three. He thereupon ordered them to give him fifty-three thousand white tangahs.³] Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín in [the year] 623 H. made an attack upon Ranthambhúr⁴ and having brought an army thither reduced that fortress, and in the year 624 H. having

بمزیت تمشیر قلعه سدور نامزد ساخته ان قلعه را با کوه سواک در حیر ضبط
اورد و بدھلی مراجعت فرمود و ہمدین سال پیر روحانی کہ از افاضل ان
روزگار بود و در حادثہ چنگز خان از اسجا بدھلی آمد و در تہنیت این فتوحات
قصائد غرا گفته از اسجملہ اینست قصیدہ

و سلطان شمس الدین ... عزیمت و نیتور نمود
و لشکریان طرف بردہ انقلعہ را مفتوح گردانید و در سنہ اربع و عشرين
و ستمایہ سپاہی گران بہ مزیت تمشیر قلعه سدور نامزد ساختہ...

I do not know what MS. the Maulavi Ahmad Ali used for his edition, but it cannot have been either of the MSS. to which I have access.

¹ The words in [] brackets are not found in either MS. I have consulted.

² A famous saint known as Kékí from the "Kák" or Cakes which were supplied by the prophet Khizr for the sustenance of his family for whom his devotions left him no leisure to make provision. See *Ain-i-Akbari* II. (Jarrett) 303, note 2. He died A. H. 634, and is buried in Delhi. See also Raverly p. 621, note 6, third para. [*Ain-i-Akbari* II. (Jarrett) 279.]

³ The silver tangah piece of 175 grains.

⁴ A figure of this fortress is given in Tieffenthaler Vol. I. facing p 320, plate xx. He describes it as a fortress so situated at the head of a narrow gorge that it can be held by "une poignée de soldats" having a spring of water arising from the rocks and forming a stream which runs down

detailed a large army to attack and capture the fort or *mandūr*,¹ brought that fort together with the Siwālik hills into the circle of his conquest and returned to Dehlī, and in this same year Amīr Rūḥānī² who was one of the most learned men of that time came to Dehlī from Bukhārā in the affair of Chāngiz Khān, and wrote several brilliant odes of congratulation upon these victories, of which the following verses are an extract.

The faithful Gabriel carried the tidings to the dwellers in
heaven,

From the record of victories of the Sultān of the age
Shamsu-d-Dīn,

Saying—Oh ye holy angels raise upon the heavens,

Hearing this good tidings, the ³ canopy of adornment.

That from the land of the heretics the Shāhanshāh of ⁴
Islām

Has conquered a second time the fort resembling the sky;

The Shāh, holy warrior and Ghāzī, whose hand and sword

The soul of the lion of repeated attacks ⁵ praises.

And there are also other many charming poems attributed to him, of which the following ode is one:—

From the tongue of the pen my own story I tell in the
words of the pen

to Scherpour two miles distant (This place is not marked on Rennell's map). Besides this there are cisterns hewn out of the rock in the fort to collect the rain water. It is entered by four gates approached by steps cut in the rocks.

¹ Or Mandawar (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 613, note 3, Mandwar MS. (A).

See Rennell's map. Monorpour Long. 77 Lat. 27. This fortress answers apparently to the situation of Mandā or Mandawar. Tieffenthaler I. 323, mentions "Mandarpur ville de marque avec une forteresse a 15 milles Nord de Djipour" This is probably the fort here called Mandā.

² Hakim Abu Bakr ibn Muḥammad Ali Samarqandī.

³ MS. (A) we have instead of *كله آیین* as in the text, the words *كله تزین* which appears a better reading, "the canopy of adornment,"

I have preferred it.

MS. (B) has *كله برزین* which is evidently a copyist's error for *كله تزین*

⁴ *حیدر گراو* is a name of *علی* 'Alī who is called *Asad 'Ullah* or by the Persians *Shīr-i-Khudā*, The lion of God.

On the page of my life, though the writing of grief has
 been traced by the pen
 Since I lived in this world with the pen all my days have
 been black as the pen
 And swift as I write my account, so fierce is the point of
 the pen
 That like to my own gentle voice is the sharp loud lament
 of the pen.
 Although in the midst of my loss I reap always rewards
 from the pen,
 Still no one will mention my state to my Lord save the
 tongue of the pen.
 'Tis from *Khwāja Mansūr bin Sa'id* thrives the market of
 test of the pen
 That great one whose words load the burden of truth on
 the van of the pen.
 He has mounted his beautiful thoughts on the steed of his
 swift running pen.¹
 In the road of just ruling he gallops, light holding the rein
 of the pen.
 His skill hand in hand with his wisdom reveals hidden
 arts of the pen.

And in the year 626 H. Arab Ambassadors came from Egypt²
 bringing for him a robe of honour and titles, and out of joy at this
 they built triumphal arches in the city and held banquets. And in
 this same year the tidings arrived of the death of his son Sultān
 7. Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, Governor of Lakhnautī, and the Sultān, after com-
 pleting the duties of mourning, gave his name (i.e., Nāṣiru-d-Dīn)
 to his younger son after whom the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* is named. In
 the year 627, H., he proceeded against Lakhnautī and quieted the
 disturbances of those regions, and after entrusting the govern-
 ment of that place to Izzu-l-Mulk Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khāfi³
 returned to the capital and in the year 629 H. reduced the fortress
 of Gwāliar. Mālik Tājū-d-Dīn the Secretary of State, wrote the

1 MS. (A) خود بنان و سوار کرده بود.

² This must have been from Baghdad from the *Khalifah Al Mustansir* b-illah. See Raverty 616, note 2.

³ MS. (A) علاء الدین MS. (B) علاء الدین خانی as in the text. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* reads Alāu-d-Dīn Jānī. See p. 618, notes.

following quatrain upon the taking of that fort, and they engraved it upon stone:—

Every fort which the king of kings conquered
He conquered by the help of God and the aid of the faith:
That fortress of Kálewár and that strong castle
He took in the year six hundred and thirty.¹

It is apparently the date of the siege which accounts for the difference of one year. And in the year 631 H.² having made an incursion in the direction of the province of Málwá and taken Bhilsá³ and also captured the city of Ujain,⁴ and having destroyed the idol-temple of Ujain which had been built six hundred years previously, and was called Mahákál, he levelled it to its foundations, and threw down the image of Rái Vikramájít from whom the Hindús reckon their era⁵ (the author of this selection, by the order of the Khalifa of the time, the Emperor, the Shadow of the Deity, in the year 972 H and again anew in the year 1008 H⁶ with the assistance of Hindú pundits translated 32 stories about him which are a wonder of relation and strange circumstance, from the Hindú into the Persian tongue and called it Náma-i-Khirád Afzá—) and brought certain other images of cast molten brass placed them on the ground in front of the door of the mosque of old Dehlí⁷ and ordered the people to trample them underfoot and a second time he brought an army against Multán;⁸ this expedition was in every way unfortunate

¹ 26th of the month Šafar 630, A. H. (*Tabaqát-i-Nasirí*), 1232, A.D.

² 632 H (*Tabaqát-i-Nasirí*) p. 621, note 6.

³ Bhilsa on the Betwá, is a place of Hindú pilgrimage, in its neighbourhood are many interesting Buddhist topes.

⁴ Ujain on the Sipra, was in ancient times the capital of Málwá, and the spot which marked the 1st meridian of Hindu geographers. It was the city of Vikramaditya. See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, and Tietz. Vol. I. p. 345.

⁵ *Ain-i-Albari* (Jarrett) II. 15, notes 2, 3. Alberuni, (Sachau) II. 5, 6. The Samvat era commencing from 57 B. C.

⁶ 1564 A.D. and 1594 A.D. Al-Badkoni died according to the *Tabaqát-i-Sháh Jahán* in the year 1024, A.H. (1615 A.D.). I can find no mention of the Náma-i-Khirád Afzá, and can offer no suggestion as to what this work was a translation of, possibly it was of one of Kálidáśa's poems. مسی و دو (B). ثلث و الف می و دو (A). The text (C) agrees with MS. (B).

⁷ See *Imp. Gaz.* art. Dehlí.

⁸ See Raverly 623, note 8, who holds that this should read بنیان. Banián. Both MSS. (A and B) have ملتان. as also has Firishá.

for him, and a very severe bodily illness afflicted him, he so returned and came to Dehli, and in the year 633 H, (1235 A D.) left this lodging house of the world for the eternal mansions of the next world. The duration of his sultanate was twenty-six years.

Verse.

For this reason this heart-enthralling palace¹ became cold.
Because when you have warmed the place, they say to you
Rise¹

And the prince of poets² (*on him be mercy*) says:—

² [In all Hindustán you saw the dust of the troops of Iyaltimish

Look now drink your wine, others walk in his plain]

It is the same Dehli one would say, yet where is his victorious canopy?

It is the same kingdom at all events. where has that royal dignity of his gone?

The earth is a house of mourning, and mourns too for its own sake

the time of the birth of that child whom they see weeping.

It is a well known story that Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín was a man of a cold temperament, and once upon a time he desired to consort with a pretty and comely girl, but found that he had not the power. The same thing happened several times. one day the girl was pouring some oil on the head of the Sultán and shed some tears upon the Sultán's head. He raised his head and asked the cause of her weeping, after a great deal of hesitation she answered: I had once a brother who was bald like you and that reminded me of him, and I wept. When he had heard the story of his being imprisoned it became evident that she was the own sister of the

¹ Nizâmí.

² Mir Khusrú Dehlaví A few translated selections from the works of this poet will be found in Elliott, Vol. iii. p. 523, and a notice of the poet historian at p 67 of the same volume. His full name was Yáminu-d-Dín Muhammad Hasan, he is said to have left behind him some half million of verses. He was born in 651 A. H. (1253 A.D.) and died in 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) but according to the *Atash Kaula* his death occurred A. H. 752 (A.D. 1351).

³ Not in MS. (A).

Sultān, and that God *be he glorified and exalted* had preserved him from this incestuous intercourse. The writer of these pages 69. heard this story from the lips of the Khalifah of the world, I mean Akbar Shāh *may God make Paradise his kingdom* in Fathpur and also in Lahore, one evening when he had summoned him into the private apartments of the capital and had conversed with him on certain topics, he said, I heard this story from Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban and they said that when the Sultān wished to have connection with that girl her catamenia used to come on [and this occurrence was at the time of writing].¹

SULTĀN RUKNU-D-DIN FIROZ SHĀH IBN SHAMSU-D-DIN

Who in his father's time had several times been in charge of the districts of Budāon, and afterwards had received the canopy and staff of authority, and while holding the country of Lahore was his heir-apparent, succeeded to the throne by consent of the authorities in the aforesaid year,² and Malik Tāju-d-Din his secretary³ wrote this congratulatory ode in honour of his accession —

All hail to the everlasting kingdom,

Above all to the king, in his heyday of youth,

Yamīnu-d-Daulat Ruknu-d-Din

Whose door became like the Rukn-i-Yamānī⁴ from its auspiciousness.

When he ascended the throne, he opened the doors of the treasury, and gave full scope to his taste for rioting and wantonness and indolence and sloth, and used to spend his precious hours in the company of prostitutes and vagabonds.

When thy heart inclines towards the wine shop

Except the tavern keeper⁵ and the musician who will praise thee.

¹ The words in brackets are not found in either MS. (A) or (B).

² 633 A.H.

³ MS. (A) omits *و* before *دبیر*.

⁴ The south corner of the Ka'aba, a spot of special veneration to pilgrims.

Barton's pilgrimage to El Medina and Mecca, III, 162. Hughes Dict. of Islam, 548. See also Muir's Life of Mahomet, II. 36, note.

⁵ *Le* text MS. (A) *لے*.

And his mother Turkân Khātūn,¹ who was a Turkish slave girl, having gained absolute power, used to vex the other concubines of the Sultān against whom her envious heart burned, in various ways, and put to death Qutbu-d-Dīn the eldest son of the Sultān by another concubine. The treasury became empty, and Malik Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh the younger brother of the Sultān, who was ruler of Oadh, refusing to acknowledge his authority revolted against him, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn² and Kabīr Khān Sultānī governor of Multān, and Malik Saifu-d-Dīn feudatory of Hānsī, entering into correspondence with one another raised the standard of opposition. Sultān Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīroz Shāh had arrived in the neighbourhood of Manṣūrpūr and Tarāyan with the intention of quelling this disturbance, and before this occurrence Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Junaidī the Wazīr and Agent of the territory of Hindustān, fearing the Sultān had fled to Kīlūkhari³ and had gone in the direction of Kol and joined hands with Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sālārī; and other trusty Amīrs who had remained in the army having fled from the vicinity of Manṣūrpūr went to Dehli and having sworn⁴ fealty to Razziyah Khātūn who was the eldest daughter of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, and his heir apparent according to her father's will, and a woman endowed with excellent qualities, brave, generous, and intelligent, raised her to the throne and imprisoned Turkān Khātūn. When the Sultān having returned from the army, arrived at Kīlūkhari, the troops of Sultān Razziyah went out to meet him, and having seized him without fighting imprisoned him, and he died in prison.⁵ The duration of his reign was six months and a fraction.

¹ Shāh Turkān, styled Khudāwanda-i-Jahān.

² The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* says, "Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn, Muḥammad Sālārī who was the feudatory of Budān broke out into rebellion: and in another direction Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kabīr Khān Ayūz feoffee of Multān, Malik Saifu-d-Dīn Kūjī feudatory of Hānsī, and Malik Alan-d-Dīn Jānī who held the Baf of Lahor united together" and revolted. Raverty, pp. 633, 634.

³ Kīlūkhari, a suburb of Dehli.

⁴ MS. (A) برغية خاتون.

⁵ In the year 631 H., 18th of Rabī'u-l-Awwal.

His death was probably due to violence, occurring as it did according to Minhāj-u-Siraj on the day of his seizure and imprisonment. See Raverty, p. 638, note 4.

Do not set thy heart upon the world, for it is a stranger
Like the singer who is every day in a new house.

Among the poets of that age [and the master of that time]¹
of Rukn-d-Dīn was Shihāb Muḥammara Badāoni² as Mīr Khusrū³
on him be mercy says in one of his opening odes

In Badāon Muḥammara rises intoxicated from sleep
If there comes forth from this melody the sound of the
birds of Dehli

And Maliku-l-Kulām Fakhr-i-Mulk 'Amīd Tūlakī⁴ mentions
him as a master⁵ and since the speech of the modern (poets) after
the appearance of the cavalcade of the Prince of poets has be-
come like the stars at the time of the raising of the banner of 71
the glorious sun, and like the seven poems⁶ at the time of the
descent of the inspired revelation upon the best of men, and the

¹ [] not in MS. (A).

² The name is wrongly given in MS. (A) MS. (B) and the text. The real
name of this poet is Shihāb-d-Dīn ibn Jamāla-d-Dīn Muṭmara (متمرة).
He was known as Shihāb-i-Muṭmara. The verse here quoted should be as
follows:

در مدامان مست بر خیزد شهاب متمرة
بشنسود گونشده مرغان دهلسی زمین نوا

In Madārān Shihāb-i-Muṭmara rises intoxicated

If he hear the sound of the singing of the birds of Dehli in this
melody.

Vide *Majma'u-l-Fuṣṣḥā*, Vol. I. page 304.

³ Mīr Khusrū, the celebrated poet born at Paliālā 651 A.H. Died 725 A.H.
the author of 99 poetical works (Beale) (*Majma'u-l-Fuṣṣḥā*) see note 4, page 68.

⁴ MS. (A) لویکی Lūyaki We should read 'Amīd Lūmalī. Fakhr-i-Mulk
Khawāja 'Amīd-d-Dīn commonly known as 'Amīd Dailamī, the panegyrist of
Sulṭān Muḥammad Yamin, said by some to have been a native of Gilān,
called also 'Amīd Lūmakī. *Majma'u-l-Fuṣṣḥā* I 358.

⁵ MS. (A) وچون.

⁶ The سبع المجلات or seven poems. The well-known poems of the
Jābīliyat or pre-Islāmic age.

See *Introduction to Ancient Arabian Poetry*, by C. J. Lyall, pp. xxii (Effect
of al-Islām on the old Poetry) and xlii. (The Mu'allaqāt).

See also Kōldeke (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber*,
pp. xvii and seq.

See also *Arabian Poetry* (Clouston) pp. xxxi and seq.

Lord of the world on him be peace, remains concealed as by a curtain—men speak and write less concerning them, nay more they do not even possess them—accordingly in harmony with the saying, *The first comer has the best of it*, I have thought it incumbent upon me to include a few odes from that eminent author as a benediction and blessing, in this composition of mine, and to leave a memorial for his friends, and to establish my own connection with the master, and to display upon the dais of evidence the excellencies of that doughty knight of the arena of eloquence, and more especially to fulfil the demands of fellow-citizenship. The master poet Shihāb¹ Muḥamra [Badāonī] then says as follows:—

I am Alif in the table of existence and of no value as a sign.²

My existence depends upon the duration of the existence of others, my own existence is transitory.

I stand at the end of the row³ in the hope of obtaining a better position, having rested from all movement with the attributes of insignificance.

I have not the attributes of Alif for Alif has no crookedness.⁴

All my writing has become crooked on the page of desire.

There is the song of the nightingale, the rose is happy; while I am careless like the lily.⁵

¹ See note 5, page 70.

² Alif stands for 1, in the numerical value of letters, and is looked upon as having no intrinsic value, but merely serving as the starting place or origin for other numbers.

In its literal value also it is ساکن بالذات that is, it has no capability of being pronounced till it is compounded with some other sign such as ⁴ hamza.

³ Alif must stand at the end either of a word as in لَیْ baqā, or a syllable as in قَامت qāmat. The Alif at the commencement has a hamza.

⁴ MSS. (A), (B) گری ندارد

⁵ The lily is said by the poets not to be affected by the song of the nightingale and to remain speechless, cf. Hāfir.

حقیقت بلبلِ چو من اندر چنین چمن
با این لسان عذب که خامش چو سوسنم

Pity it is that such a nightingale as I living in such a garden and having so sweet a tongue should be silent as the lily.

Like Alif I have no tongue, what have I to do with ten tongues¹ ?

Since I can seize it² while thus at rest, Why should I pursue ?

Since I cannot see openly how can I follow a hidden path ?

By stratagem, I can recognise no distinction between earth and heaven, although I am like the heaven in my whirling, and like the earth stationary.

I am not like water in freshness, nor like fire in sublimity, nor like the wind in sweetness, nor like the earth in heaviness.

¹ The ten tongues of the lily are of frequent mention in Persian poetry, cf. Hâfiz.

بسیان سوسن اگر ده زبان شود حافظ
چو غنچه پیش تویش مهر بردهن یا شد

Were Hâfiz like the lily endowed with ten tongues
His lips in thy presence would remain sealed like the lips of the rosebud
also

ز صر و قاعه من بنشیند — م آزاد
همه تن گر زبان باشم چو سوسن

I sit alone utterly heedless of thy cypress-like form
Even though like the lily my body were cleft into tongues.

The lily سوسن Sâsan is of four varieties. The white variety is called Sâsan-i-âzâd, see Burhân-i-qâli' s. v. سوسن; according to the Bahru-l-jamâhir its properties are those of heat and dryness and it is useful in the headaches of fever.

The Makhsûsu-l-adîbiya states that the word Sâsan is an Arabicised form of the Syrian Sâsânî. The article may be consulted for further information regarding the varieties and properties of these lilies. The linear leaves of the lily are compared to tongues.

² MS. (B) چون گیرم MS. (A) چونگیرم

The text should read—

چو بگیرم آرمیده چه روم پسی دویده
چونہ بینسم اشکارا چه روم ره نهستانی
فلک از زمین بخت است نشناختم ارچه مستم
چو فلک بخیر گردی چو زمین بنا روانی

I am not made out of these four elements.¹ I am composed of the effluvia of the kennel. The refuse of the sewer water has boasted of piety.²

My wisdom, as though incarnate, seems to have taken to praise my faults; my avarice,³ huge as a mountain, has girded its loins for taking presents.

I am become fixed in the way of avarice, not a sign of truth remains in me. The oppression of my vices has overwhelmed the mercies of the Sacred Book.

My greediness has so deceived me that the five sensual appetites have taken away from my heart with disgrace the blessings of the readings⁴ of the 'ashars.

My inner nature as well as my body is devoid of meditation and recollection. My eye like my ear is inclined to the singing women and their songs.

I desire brilliant speeches to fall from my tongue which is like a well-tempered sword. My pen has made me bent like a sickle⁵ in the pursuit of my daily bread.

My speech has failed me because its glory was in the relation of this story. Yes! all this loss of honour was owing to inordinate desire for bread.

I am that mean one, less than the least, who am not worth a groat,⁶ if you think me worth a barleycorn, you will not buy me for nothing.

¹ For the constitution and properties of the four elements, see *Sadīdī*, (Asiatic Lithographic Press, Edition 1244 A. H., page 7.) *نهیست الارکان* *Bahgu-l-Arkān*, two of the four are light and two of them are heavy. Fire is absolutely light, air is relatively light. Earth is absolutely heavy while water is relatively heavy..... The three kingdoms (animal, vegetable and mineral) are composed of an admixture of these four elements.

² MSB (A) (B) *نه ازین چهار طبعم ز بخار پارگیذم*
فضلات پارگینی زده لاف پارگانی

³ MS. (A) *طعمم*

⁴ The reading of the Qur'ān, which is divided into portions called 'ashars consisting of ten Āyats.

⁵ The *دھری* a bill-hook or reaping hook, is curved like a sickle and very sharp. It is also called *داس* *dās*, (*Burhān-i-Qūtī*.)

⁶ MS. (A) *بجبت نیرزم*

Oh Shihāb it is strange that you in this road of kingly affairs
are neither the Amīr of the Eight Squares¹ nor the Knight
of the Seven Places²

You are not an angel, nor are you a devil, from what workshop
are you? You are not a sojourner nor yet a traveller,
from what court are you?

Your heart and intellect are careless of the tortures of the
grave, you have dressed yourself in Gūrkhānī silk.³

You have become utterly regardless from lust, owing to desire 73.
for license, from urgent desire, by means of false accusation
you have planted the foot of success.

Sorrow for the tulip-cheeked beloved has shut fast the door of
your wisdom. The vein of your eye has shed blood from
desire for the cup of red wine.

You are corrupt like the wind, you stand paralysed like the earth.

You are a pearl of transitory existence, a shell empty-mouthed.
With breath like the burning lightning you are the enchanter
of bad and good: with heart like a flint, you are the
whetstone of dry and moist.

Naturally with desire you revolve like the sky in its figure-
designing, from your youth hasting with greed, you are
like a child in weakness.

You carry the sorrow of the seven (heavens) and the four
(elements) in your heart, and every moment from pride you
are put to a hundred thousand devices in the performance
of one genuflection.

You are as coarse as the earth, and yet your speech is always
of the moon in the heavens; you will not reach the dignity
of a king from the station of a doorkeeper.

¹ The Wazīr at chess.

² "The Wazīr having a straight move can be placed on all the squares which
shows the great honour and advantage attached to rectitude of conduct."
Bland. On the Persian game of chess, J. R. A. S. XIII, p. 11.

³ The seven labours of Isfandiyār, see the *Shāh Nāma* (Turner Macan)
Vol. II, pp. 1126 and seqq.

⁴ Gūrkhān, the hereditary title of the kings of the Kara Khitāi, the mean-
ing of the title being "universal king." It must not be confounded with the
title of Gurkhan which was a Mongol title bestowed upon all who were allied
by marriage with the house of Chingiz Khān.

See *Tārīkh-i-Rāshidī*, Elias and Ross, p. 278, note.

⁵ MS. A برسی. I prefer برسی as in the text.

You yourself owing to frivolity have not attained even for a moment, freeing yourself from the imperfections of the world, to the religious duties at stated times.

From the advice of the holy men may you be informed at least once, that in these two worlds at any rate ¹ you are famous for creating dissensions.

Perversity springs from your heart as pride springs from foolishness. Evil arises from your body as rashness does from youth.

You are the moisture of the gullet of hypocrisy, the blast of the forge of tyranny, you are the flower of the garden of inordinate desire, and the mud which befouls the reservoir of the soul.

When present you melt the soul, perchance you spring from the heat of Tamūz²; in your ode you scatter snow³ perchance you are of the breath of autumn.

You like a child seek throughout your life after vain images; from your fancifulness the sorrows of time have made you old in your youth.

Poetry is but a desire, and its metro is like the mirage which is void of water. This breath of life is grief to me, but its savour is better than the water of life.

When your desire becomes collected that fancy becomes enjoyment, when your breathing is harmonious, it becomes a scatterer of pearls.

How long this desire of the imagination? make one breath pearl-scattering in praise of that man whose equal wisdom has not seen even from the beginning.

¹ MS. (A) باری.

² Tamūz. The fourth month of the Jewish year originally sacred to the god Tammūz; see Ezekiel viii. 14 "and behold there sat women weeping for Tammūz," Tammūz was a deity of the Phœnicians called by the Greeks and Romans Adonis. The word signifies "dissolution" or "diffusion" see Gesenius s. v. תָּמֻז. See also Albirūnī's Chronology, (Sachau) pp. 68-82. Tammūz was coincident with the sun's position in Cancer which is called the horoscope of the world because by its creation the creation of the four elements became complete, and by their becoming complete all growth became complete (Albirūnī) Corresponds to our July, the hottest month of the Persian summer.

³ When any one's speech is not considered pleasing the Persians say of him
کالامش یخ است Kalāmaš yakh ast. His speech is ice.

The King of the throne of "Kun"¹ is Muḥammad who pitched the tent of dignity by the side of the door of the Protector (God) from the house of Ummahānī.²

He was a mortal of angelic beauty, a sky with the loveliness of earth. Like the sky he was pure in body, like the Angels he was pure in soul.

He was a pearl whose place was in the treasury of God, and he was a moon whose brightness shone forth from the sky of eternity.

He was such a pearl that nothing of more value than his nature was ever produced by the medium of the elements from the sea of heaven.

He was such a moon that in every early morning the face of the star of Yaman became black as coal³ from shame at his cornelian-like lips.

So sweet tongued a prophet that the salvation of his disciples comes by faith in his words,⁴ from the eloquence of his utterances.

So eloquent in pearl-like speech that the beauty of his utterance 75 makes the heart's blood like the hidden wealth of the mine, a royal treasure.

The brightness of the eastern sun is shamed by the beauty of his face, and the stature of the cypress of the garden is bowed before the perfect uprightness of his form.

¹ In the technical language of Sūfī philosophy *کن* kun is called *عالم امر* 'ālam-i amr the world of the order, or potentiality. *فکن* fakāna is called *عالم خلق* 'ālam-i-khalq the world of creation, or the material world.

² Ummahānī, daughter of Abu Tālib, the uncle of Muḥammad, and sister of 'Aīl. The reference is to the nocturnal journey of Muḥammad called *مِراج* mi'rāj (the ascent) which took place from the house of Ummahānī. When Muḥammad awoke from his Vision in which he seemed to have prayed in the temple of Jerusalem, Ummahānī attempted to prevent him from going out of the house and telling the Vision to others, thus exposing himself to mockery from unbelievers. See Muir *Life of Muḥammad* II. 220.

³ MS. (A) (B) *چو شبه سياه گشتي*. The text as it stands is meaningless.

⁴ MS. (A) *بعقيد زبانش*. The text and MS (B) have *بعقيد زبانش* which is evidently wrong for two reasons. Firstly, because of the sense of the passage, and secondly, the *تبيين* between *عقيد* and *عقيد*.

By his accountants he has adopted the way of absolute monarchy; and by his eloquence he has opened the door of auspicious government.

The attraction of secret desire, by revelation has drawn him from the expanse of the natural world to the ocean of apiritual existence.

By the good tidings of his friend, his heart became intoxicated with the hope of a meeting. The son of Abū Qahāfah¹ has drunk from the cup of his friendship.

His speeches have founded a fortress² for the decrees of God.³ 'Umar by his justice became the builder of it, by right government.

One, third in order,⁴ has placed the footstep in this way, whose path to the enjoyment of this world was not obstructed by pride.

His fourth pillar was 'Alī⁵ who at the time of battle made the face of the sun pale from the glitter of his sword.

Oh, King! I entreat you by your friends deliver me during the whole of my life⁶ by your aid from the calamity of foolish friends.

He who demanded from me⁷ this Qaṣīda, may his life like my Qaṣīda be ornamented with the jewels of meaning —

¹ Abū Bakr, whose original name was Abdūl Ka'bah Ibn Abī Qahāfah. He was the companion of Muḥammad in his flight to Medīna.

² رباط. A frontier fortress. The same word is used in more recent times to signify a traveller's rest house or caravansarāi.

³ قضای حق را MS. (B). If we read قضای حق را we must translate "for the expanse of the truth he has founded a rampart."

⁴ عثمان, 'Uṣmān the third Khalīfa, who was rich and thus able to enjoy the good things of this life.

⁵ علی انکه شد کین MS. (A). 'Alī the fourth Khalīf whose sword زین العار Zū-l-ṣiqār. (See note 2 page 74), was brought by Gabriel to Muḥammad from heaven, and by him given to 'Alī.

⁶ Text همه عمر و ارمانی MS. (A) reads همه عمر و ارمانی and MS. (B) همه عمر و ارمانی both of which are wrong. Only the first half of the Qaṣīda is given in the Majma'ul Fajāhā.

⁷ Text ز من انکه MS. (A) (B) have ز من انکه

The following Qazida also he wrote, imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing the words "hair" and "ant," in a declaration of the unity of God and in praise of the Prophet, may the peace of God be upon him.

Although with my tongue, I split hairs at the time of discourse, still in the praise of God, by reason of amazement, I am dumb as the ant. 76

¹ And in the pursuit of the fairy-faced ones with chainlike looks, through desire often have I bound fast, like the ant, my life to my waist with my heart.

And for the sake of the ant-eyed and sugar-lipped ones, in my fancy I have bored the hair of speech a hundred ways by way of trial.

That I might have a store like the ant,² in his praise I have cleft the hair into halves, and have not received one jot from any one in recognition.

Henceforth, like the ant, I will gird my loins at the door of the Incomparable one, and from the root of each hair,³ with a hundred tongues will I proclaim his gracious aid.

How can I open my lips, I that am voiceless as an ant and a fish. Nay rather will I make each hair a tongue to scatter pearls.

With this ant-like writing and these sugar-like words,⁴ by means of poetical arrangement I will split the hair in the declaration of the unity of God the discernor of secrets.

That God to whose workmanship each several hair bears witness, and all that exists, ant and fish and snake, wild beasts and birds, men and genii.⁵

He who alone is self-existent, and is not within the bounds of computation, from whose wisdom⁶ in both worlds nothing is hidden, neither the track of the ant nor the point of the hair.

¹ MS. (A) وزین

² MS. (A) چو مور

³ MS. (A) وزین هر مو بتوفیقش

⁴ MS. (A) لفظی چون شکر از

⁵ Insert وحش in text after MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ MS. (A) نیست از علمش

If, though as a single hair, His favour is shed upon the egg
of an ant, from it there will issue in a single moment a
hundred Jamshids, each one like a hundred Jamshids.

If, though as a single hair, he lets fall his wrath upon an
elephant, the elephant will experience that which the
cub of the raging lion suffers from the ant.¹

The intellect herein cannot understand, even by a hair's breadth,
the reason why the offspring of the powerful lion should
become the prey of the powerless ant.

In his decree there is not the space of a hair's point open to
criticism, even though he should give the kingdom of a
Solomon to an ant without recompense.²

By his decree, the shape of the ant and the lion are
similar, and by his art the colour of hair and bone are
opposites.

By his grace it is that every hair has knowledge of him, and
from his equity it comes to pass that there is a ³ guardian
over every ant, that ⁴ dust in the palm is endowed with
chemical properties, and water in the sea becomes converted
into pearl; ⁵ that the ant appears to the eye as a dragon,
and a hair of the limbs as a spear.⁶

¹ It is said that the ants attack the newly born lion cub as yet unprotected
by hair and kill it. The Arabs call the ant *أبو شمس* *Father Busy* and
أم نمر *Mother Turnabout*, and have some curious legends about them and
regard them with somewhat of superstitious awe. They say that to see in a
dream ants entering a house betokens prosperity to its owner, while to see ants
crawling on the carpet betokens prolific offspring. The appearance of flying
ants in a house where there is a sick person betokens his death, and on no
account, they say, should ants be permitted to crawl over any one lying sick
(*Haiṣtu-l-Haiwā*). They say also that the ant has no stomach, and that it
lives upon the air it breathes, and that it never sleeps.

² See Qur'ān, xxvii. 15-20.

³ MS. (A) *أول*

⁴ *قطرات مياه* *Qaṭrāt-i-Mā'ih*. The drops of rain falling in the month
of Naisān are said when received into the shell of the oyster to become
converted into pearls (*Qhiyāṣu-l-lugḥāf*). Naisān (*Burḥān-i-Qāṣi*) or Nisān
was the first month of the Jewish year corresponding to the month of April,
see Exodus xii. 2, xiii. 4; Albirūnī, Chronology (Saebau) 62, and seq.

⁵ MS. (A) *أشبه* *ashshab* *أشبه* *ashshab* *أشبه* *ashshab*

Oh Thou by whose power hair and blood and bone take shape,
Oh Thou¹ who art surety for the daily supply of food to
bird and ant and snake and fish.

In the body of every ant there is an exact account of thy
equity, on the point of each hair there is a boundless praise
of thy bounty.

The eye of thy mercy provides² sustenance for every ant and
locust. The hand of thy favour tints the hair of all both
old and young.

The pen of thy skill shews³ that of which a manifest sign
is shewn on the body of every ant, and appears on the end
of every hair.

The mole on the cheek of the brides appears⁴ like spots on a
mirror.

The hair on the face of kings appears like ants upon the
Arghawān.⁵

By thy order it is that the stomachless ant is hungry in
the way.

By this bounty it is that the motionless hair upon the body
is satisfied.

1 MS. (A) وی

2 MS. (A) مین قضاوت پای مژده The reading in the text پای مژده
is preferable.

3 MSS. (A) (B) خاتم صفت نماید

4 The Arghawān, or (Arabic) Arjunwān is according to the Makhsanu-l-
Adwiyā, a tree which grows in Persia, bearing a brilliantly red flower of
beautiful hue but slight odour, having a sweetish taste. It is used as a
dessert by the Persians by whom it is regarded as an exhilarant, and as
clearing the voice. Its wood is soft and light. [The article from which the
above is extracted may be consulted for an account of its properties].

The Burhān-i-Qāfi states that a drink is made from the flowers which
relieves the after effects of drinking, and the ashes of the burnt wood are used
as a hair dye and hair restorer.

Vüllers-Lexicon Pers. Lat. states p. 81. Hec arbore designari videtur arbor
Jodae, i.e. Cercis siliquastrum (Linn.); cf. J. A. S. 1845, Dec. p. 457.

That the dye obtained from it is of blood colour appears from the lines in
the poem (Mellagah) by Ibn Kulgūm, where he writes

کأن ثيابنا منا ومنهم خضبن يار جوان او طليبا

As though both our garments and theirs had been dyed or besmeared with
Arjunian.

¹ He who did not turn away ² his head from your door even by a hairs' breadth, the ant, although tongueless, began to praise him like the lizard.³

When he like the ant became sleepless and fasting in devotion to you then without doubt with the sword of the finger he split the moon into two parts like a hair.⁴

He was a sign like the true dawn, hair-splitting in his speech. His followers were as successful as ants in opposing the scorpions of religion.

The silvery body of the seven heavens, would become (black) like ants, when he cast aside the covering from his dark locks.

¹ The poet passes on from the praise of the Almighty to praise Muḥammad.

² MS. (A) سر ناپید The metro shows this reading to be right.

³ This story is related as follows in the *Haiātu-l-Qulūb*,—

One day the Prophet was sitting alone when an Arab came who had caught a lizard and had it in his sleeve. He asked the people who that was sitting there, they answered God's prophet, he replied, addressing Muḥammad, "I swear by Lāt and 'Uzzā that I consider you my greatest enemy and were I not under an oath to my tribe, I would certainly kill you." The prophet said "Accept the true faith." The Arab cast the lizard from his sleeve and said "I will never accept the faith till this lizard does." Then the prophet spoke to the lizard saying, "Oh thou lizard." The lizard answered him in choice Arabic saying "I am thy servant, Oh thou ornament of the Muslims." The prophet asked "Whom dost thou worship?" He replied "That God who is in Heaven and Earth, whose kingdom is in the earth and his wonders in the sea, and his marvels in the deserts. Him I worship who knows what is in the womb, and has established his punishment in the fire." The prophet asked "Who am I?" the lizard replied, "Thou art the prophet of the upholder of the world, and the seal of prophecy. He is rightly guided who believes in thee, and he is lost who denies thee." The Arab said—"I require no more cogent proof than this; when I approached thee, I had no greater enmity to any one than to thyself, but now I hold thee dearer than my life, my father and my mother." (*Haiātu-l-Qulūb* by Aghā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī)

⁴ شق القمر See Qur'ān, Sūrah 54. "The hour draws nigh, and the moon is split asunder" (Sacred Books of the East Vol. IX). In the *حيات القلوب* *Haiātu-l-qulūb* a MS. copy of which dated 25th Zūl Hijjah 1087 A. H. (1676 A. D.) is before me. I find the following account of the miracle performed by the prophet Muḥammad at Mekka. "The tribe of Qoreish sought as a sign from Muḥammad the performance of some miracle; the prophet pointed to the moon and by the power of God Most High it split into two halves. A trustworthy Hadīṣ by Ḥaṣrat Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq has come down to us, relating that fourteen infidels who were desirous of working

He lived like ants upon the earth in the midst of poverty,
For this reason the heaven appeared in his eyes as inferior in
value to an eyelash.

In that place where the angels would have always cast their
wings like ants,

If he had placed his foot even one hair's breadth beyond his
abode.

In intercession from the lightness of his spirit he split a hair,
So that for the sake of an ant, intercession was not heavy to
him even by the weight of a hair.

If for the sake of an ant one fell into error, he would make
his excuse.

He remained without bounty if he was not thankful in the
least.

On that night when he caught the least glimpse of that
illuminated dwelling

Wings² grew upon him like the ant in his desire for the
infinite.

Having cast his eye upon the fat morsel of the world which
perishes like a hair, he closed the avenues of his appetite
against this turquoise-hued table,³ like the ant.

the prophet's destruction came to him: on the evening of the 15th of
Cul Hijrah and said to him, 'Every prophet has shown some wonderful
miracle, so this evening we desire you to shew us some great miracle.'
The prophet asked what miracle they desired him to shew them. They
replied, 'If you have any power from God order the full moon to
divide into two halves.' Thereupon the angel Gabriel came down from
heaven and said to Muhammad, 'The Lord of heaven and earth sends greeting
and has ordered all things to become obedient to you.' Then the Prophet
raised his eyes to heaven and commanded the moon to divide into two halves,
whereupon it split into two parts, and the prophet knelt to shew his gratitude
to Almighty God All authorities relate that this took place in
Mekka; and further it is related that when certain travellers arrived they
said in answer to questions: 'We too saw on that night that the moon was in
two halves.' Consequently the infidels believed that it was a true miracle
and not merely magic." He also relates that these infidels imposed upon
Muhammad the task of restoring the moon to its original condition, and also
of turning one-half of the orb of the moon black while the other half was
bright.

¹ MS. (B) صوری سقیت

² MS. (A) پر پر آمد

³ MS. (A) زین پیروزه خوان

For the ants of religion he carried away so much provision that there remained on the point of each hair an evidence of that bounty¹ for ever and ever.

Oh thou Creator, I have made every hair a tongue, but yet like an ant I complain in my heart of my voicelessness to sing thy praise.

If thou hadst illumined the eye of the ant like the thread of hair, without the permission² of thy mercy this caravan would not have passed.

I am like an ant in water, or like a hair in the fire, because this sugar-scattering mind of mine is not fit for this relation.³

I have the foot of effort : the stirrup of devotion to you like the ant; as long as one single hair remains of me⁴ I will not desist from this endeavour.

How can my burden be in the least degree lightened apart from thy consent? How can I gird my loins like the ant through avarice,⁵ in the service of this one or that?

Although like the ant I have been crushed by the (iron) hand of desire

Yet I never contemplated the slightest idea of profit or loss apart from thee.

Since this is from thee I am happy, although my heart is distraught and pained, my heart is like the eye of the ant and my⁶ condition is like the hair of the heart-ravishing one.

If the ant brought the foot of a locust into the presence of Solomon, Shihāb would have come headlong to thy door with the feet of his soul about his head as hair.

The ant of thy generous table O Sālīh showed him (Shihāb) that path of rectitude.

¹ MS (A) نعمت.

² MSS. (A) (B) بی چوڑا.

³ MSS. (A) (B) داستان.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) چون مرز دارم یک صوی من ماند.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) نه حرص پیش این و آن.

⁶ MS. (A) و حاله.

O Lord! grant him protection in crossing that hair like bridge¹ over the fire

On the point of each hair of his you have a hundred favours,
for this reason that the heart of an ant is not vexed by him by so much as a hair's breadth in the world.

Oh Lord!² keep a watch upon the enemy of the king's dominions, for this is best, that he should be as a hair in the fire and as an ant in the running water.

And he also wrote in praise of Sultān Raknu-d-Din Firoz 80.
imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing four things³
as follows:—

Every moment this old wolf lion-hearted infant-eating⁴

Does with me that which the elephant and rhinoceros do at the time of contest.

The elephant-like sky wears away my body as does the rhinoceros

The time like a lion takes away my patience like a wolf.

I have not the strength of the rhinoceros, and the sky is like a fierce elephant towards me

It displays the boldness of a lion like the old wolf of the time.

The elephant did not so treat the rhinoceros, nor did the wolf so treat the sheep

As the lion-like heaven treated this being who is thin as hair from oppression.

The Lion of the sky has the craft of the wolf and the strength of the rhinoceros.

For this cause he heaps pain continually on my heart like the load of an elephant.

¹ The *Ṣirāṭ* or bridge across the fire of Hell. The *Ṣirāṭ* or bridge crossing internal fire is described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword and is beset with briars and sharp thorns. The righteous will pass over it with the swiftness of the lightning but the wicked will soon miss their footing and will fall into hell fire.

² See Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art *Ṣirāṭ*. See also *Qur'ān* I. 5.

³ MS. (A) خصم ملک شاه را یارب نگامش دار به.

⁴ The words *کَرگ* *karg* rhinoceros, *گُورگ* *gurg* wolf, *شیر* *shir* lion, *فیل* *fil* elephant.

⁵ MS. (A) هر زمان این یگر گُورگ شیر خوی طفل خوار

A maddened elephant¹ in this wolf-haired rhinoceros.
Even if mankind are like male lions still sooner or later he
effects their ruin.

The sky, the overthrower of the rhinoceros, the conqueror of
the lion, if, in play, like the wolf it brings against the life
of Rustam a strong move like "pīlband."²

¹ MS. (A) پیل و سگسخت.

² پیلبند A stratagem in the game of chess See Albirūnī (India) I. 183-184 The *فیل* or elephant it appears had the same mobility as the queen does in our modern game, that is it commanded both rank and diagonal.

There was one pawn known as the *Piyāda-i-Aqlī* or original pawn, which had certain privileges attached to it. It was permitted once in the course of the game to remove to any square on the board where it might inflict the greatest injury on the adversary, as by attacking two pieces at once—"forking" them as chess players call it. under certain combinations this pawn was utilized to give mate. Thus in Anbādī's Life of *Khwāja 'Alī Shāh*ranjī we find

خواجہ دہقان علی شطرنجی کہ چون رخ بعروضا فکرت نہادی شاهان
مستون را دو اسب و فیل طوع دادی منصوبہ باز خیال در فیلبند حیرت پیادہ مات
انقادی

"When he moved his *Rukh* in the Board of imagination he gave the odds of two Knights and the Bishop to the kings of rhetoric: the strategist of imagination fell into the pawn's mate from the "Pīlband" of confusion."

This (فیلبند) was explained to me by a Muhammadan friend, a chess player, thus: suppose the white king at his own square, and a hostile pawn on his second square guarded by Black Bishop at Q. Kt. 4, the adversary brings his other Bishop to Q. R. 4 (ch) mate, white having other moves, but none which can prevent this final move of the Black Bishop.

The *Bahr-i 'Ajar* gives the following definition of پیلبند.

پیلبند نام یکی از منصوبہای شطرنج - و پیلبند دادن عبارت از مات کردن
بکشت پیل

Pīlband is the name of a manoeuvre in chess. "To give pīlband" means to mate by giving check with the Bishop (Pīl).

چو در جنگ پیلان کشائی کند
دہی شاه قسوج را پیلبند

When in contest with elephants thou disengagest thy noose. Thou defeat
est the king of Qanauj with the "pīlband" (Nizāmī).

The wolf of my patience casts off from him the waterproof
like a lion, if the elephant of this cornelian castle has
made me over to his charge like a rhinoceros.

The lion of the sky, like the elephant in colour, a wolf by a
nature, takes and tears to pieces the armour of my patience
like the hide of the rhinoceros.¹

Last night when the lion of the sky became elephant coloured
in the hide of the rhinoceros, countless Josephs² appear-
ed from the wolves of the heaven.

My life is in the hands of the lion, and under the foot of the
rhinoceros of pain, until from the elephant bodied sky the
tail of the wolf³ became evident.

The claw of the lion and the horn of the rhinoceros, the tears
of the elephant and the hair of the wolf.

Although these four are of use in making the amulet⁴ of
heart's attachment.

Of what use are the special properties of the lion and rhino-
ceros and the wolf and the elephant, when that silvery
cheeked one demands from me gold more than the weight of
an elephant

Since I do not possess the ferocity of the rhinoceros, the
heart of the lion, and the breath of the wolf, I will go to
meet my beloved with an elephant load of sorrow.

Hazan Dehlavi also says.

ایمان است که پیلانند مشقت

ایمان است که کشاد نتوان

Alas! that the "pillbear⁵" of thy love cannot easily be overcome.

For an excellent paper on the Persian Game of Chess by Bland, from which
some of the above information is extracted, see J. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, pp.
1-70.

¹ This reading is in the text. MSS. (A) (B) have a different reading

جوشن و بوم ز چرم گرگ سارم تارنگ

² i.e., when it became dark countless stars appeared. See Qur'ān XII. 1-15.

³ The morning Zodiacal light. A light which appears in the east before the
true dawn. It is called also صبح کاذب. Subh-i-Kāzib the false dawn; see
J. R. A. S., July, 1878; also a name of one of the mansions of the moon called
also شولة Shanla. Du-hān-i-Qāzib.

⁴ امیلت MS. (A). An amulet made of these four things is said to be
efficacious in securing affection. We are reminded of the witches in Macbeth,
"Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf," &c.

In the jaws of the lion and under the foot of the rhinoceros,
and of this old wolf, my beloved one keeps me as though
depicted upon the tear of the elephant on account of
love.

My beloved with the rhinoceros-hilted sword is trotting like
a wolf, I, like the elephant, am following him with a body
thin as thread.

Afterwards the wolf in rhinoceros-like armour, the elephant-
like heaven, the lion-hunter of the sky appeared like the
torch of the king.

The pillar of the world, the elephant-conquering king with
the lion-headed mace, by whose wolf-swift horse the
rhinoceros is fiercely attacked.

The eye of the wolf of the sky is of all colours from his lion-
like mace, the hump of the rhinoceros of the earth is trodden
into hollows by the foot of his elephant.

His elephantine club empties the forest of wolves, his wolf-
swift horse¹ seizes the meadow from the lions.

His rhinoceros-like staff of office is in the heart of the wolf
of the sky, his club² like a pillar has cleft asunder
the lions.

From the point of his javelin, and lion-headed mace, that
happens to the wolf and elephant which happened to
the life of Gurgsār from the sword of the brazen-bodied
one.³

Oh thou from whose lion-headed mace, rhinoceros-destroyer
elephant-crusher, the tomb becomes narrow and dark for
Gurgin⁴ like the pit of Bizhan.⁵

¹ گرگ پیوه خدگش.

² MS. (A) گرز.

³ Isfaudiyyār at the conclusion of the seventh stage of the Haft khwān.

⁴ Gurgin-i Milād one of the chief warriors of Kai Khusrau.

⁵ Bizhan, son of Geo, and nephew of Rustam, was the lover of Manijeh daughter of Afrāsiyāb, Gurgin being jealous of his prowess plotted against him and treacherously betrayed the secret of his amour, and Bizhan was condemned to be confined in a deep pit head downwards. He was eventually released by Rustam, Gurgin was punished by Geo, and then imprisoned. For an epitome of the story, see Atkinson's *Shāh Nāma*, pp 300-324.

See *Shāh Nāma*, Vol. II, pp 771-797. (Turner Macan Edition).

The reflection of thy elephant coloured¹ sword if it falls upon lion and wolf makes their eyes which are like the jujubes² of Gurgān to become like the pomegranate.

If the breeze of your lion-standard blows upon the dust of the world the maddened rhinoceros will seek shelter from the elephant, and the wolf from the sheep.

When thou brandishest³ thy elephantine mace, the lion casts away its teeth, the wolf its claws, the rhinoceros its gall bladder, and the snake its head-stone.⁴

Rhinoceros-like in attack, wolf-like in gait, lion-like in bravery, elephant-like in body is thy steed, Oh hero! hundreds of thousands like Rustam are thy slaves.

Oh King! in thy praise I have become more powerful than wolf and rhinoceros, lion and elephant, by the order of the Lord who rules the sky.

1. MSS. (A) (B) **پیلگون**.

2 **مناب** 'Unāb, *Ziryphus jujuba* (N. O. Rhamnaceae), a tree bearing an oval bacate fruit of a reddish colour called in Hindustānī **بیر** ber, nearly allied to the Lotus of the Lotophagi, both leaves and fruit were used by the Arabian physicians. According to the *Bahrū-l-Jawāhir* the fruit is useful to purify the blood from evil humours, and is of service in dry coughs and roughness of the chest and lungs, also in pain in the kidneys and bladder. The lips of a mistress are compared to this fruit. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi*).

3 MS. (A) **بورگوانی**.

4 **صهرق مار** The serpent is popularly supposed to carry a stone in its head. The *Maḥṣanū-l-Adwiyā* says:—*Hajatu-l-Haiyyah* (**حجر الحية**) called in Persian **صهرق مار** *Muhra-i-Mār* is of two kinds: one a mineral which is known as **صهرق** *Mār Muhra*, some say that it is found in emerald mines. It has an emerald colour, inclined to black or ashy, shaped like a square signet stone; weight from one to two *misqāla*.

The other is an animal product which is found in the hinder part of the head of certain vipers. It is not found in all vipers, in fact it is only rarely found in any of them; when it is taken from the muscles it is soft, but in contact with the air becomes stony hard. In size it is about the size of half a shell, (cowrie) oblong in shape, ashy-coloured. Certain stones are black and hard, striped with three white stripes, others are white and soft. Some are artificial. In order to distinguish the good and true from the false, place it upon the bite of a snake, it will stick to it if genuine. If milk is poured on it, the milk becomes clotted and changed in appearance; and it is said that when some of them are placed in milk the milk does not become coagulated: and when all the poison has been extracted by the stone it falls off, refusing

Thou art elephant-bodied, lion-conquering, thy mace if it so wishes, can place the rhinoceros firmly on the head of the sky like the tail of the wolf.¹

That Wazir who to the punishment of the wolf of the sky has given his heart, like the rhinoceros and the elephant and the lion, instead of being confused.

Without the craft of the wolf, and the power of the rhinoceros, his determination strikes the head of the elephants with the driving hook² and brings sparks to the eyes of the lions.

In thy kingdom, Oh King¹ from the strategy of thy caution the lion has laid aside its oppression, the wolf its deceit, and the rhinoceros its disorder through fear of thee.

Oh thou, whose order is like the decree of fate, thou from whose dignity the Emperor like Fate overcomes the rhinoceros, the wolf, the lion and the elephant.

Skin, and horn, and hair, and tear, of wolf, rhinoceros, lion and elephant will be of use in the way of life, and heart, and nature, and speech.

to adhere any longer, and does not coagulate milk. Whilst it is extracting the poison its colour changes, and when it is thrown into milk it returns to its original condition.

Another test is, when you rub it upon black or blue woollen cloth the cloth becomes white, if rubbed very hard for a long time the cloth becomes black and all whiteners disappear.

Another test. When it is placed in a porcelain vessel in lemon juice, it begins to move in a circular fashion. This test is not peculiar to this stone, but most shells and snails too, show the same phenomenon. (*Makhran-i-Adwiyā*).

The *Bahr-i-Jawāhir* says only

حجر الحية حجر الفاذهر منه ما هو ثقيل اسود و منه ما هو رمادي
و منه ما فيه ثلاثة خطوط

Hajaru-l-Hayyāh. The stone *Pādzahr* (Bezoar stone,) some kinds are heavy and black, some are ashen-grey, and some have three stripes.

¹ See note 3, page 115.

² *کڑی* MS. (A). The hook or goad with which elephants are driven called in Hindi *बिड़वा* *bidhwa*.

For your armour and shoes, when did the wolf-natured sky
select tears and skin from the elephant and lion and
rhinoceros ?

For that purpose again and again,¹ this old wolf from the
elephant and lion and the rhinoceros, brings as an offering
its hide and skin and teeth as a present of rare value.

The she-wolf drives away the he-lion,² as a good omen,
If in hunting it comes in sight of your rhinoceros-conquering
elephant.

Elephant-bestower, I desire a desert place in Badāon;
Even though these regions are the abodes of the wolf and
rhinoceros and the lion.

As long as the lion and the elephant are co-partners in awe,
and the wolf and the rhinoceros are alike in writing³ so
long may your wolf-crafty enemy, Oh rhinoceros-destroyer
and elephant-like in strength,⁴ be humbled in the dust
before the lion of your portico.

May your enemies bereft of life become like the lions and
elephants and wolves and rhinoceros at the end of the
stony line in the public baths.⁵

SULTĀN RAZZĪYĀH BINT SULTĀN SHĀHSU-D-DĪN

Came to the throne in the year 634 H. (1236 A.D.), and followed
the path of equity and the principles of justice; set in order the
affairs which had remained in confusion, and set before her the pur- 84
suit of beneficence, (which is as great a fault in women as stinginess
is in men) as the object of her ambition, and made Nizāmu-l-Mulk

¹ MS. (A) تو تو MS. (B) has تو تو.

² Text and MS. (B). MS. (A) has در مکر. To sight a jackal when going
to the chase is considered a good omen. a snake or a sheep is considered a
bad omen. The she-wolf is held to represent craft and cunning while the
lion represents strength. The meaning seems to be the triumph of stratagem
over force.

³ گری and گری. These words are exactly alike in writing.

⁴ MSS. (A) and (B) پیل پیل.

⁵ The custom of ornamenting the walls of the public baths with frescoes
of animals and other subjects obtains at the present time in Persia, as it did
in ancient in the public baths of Greece and Rome. The walls and ceilings
of the baths at Pompeii are an example of this.

Jundī (Junaidī) Chief Wazīr.¹ Antagonism and strife shewed itself among the Amīrs, and Sultān Razziyah formed an excellent plan, and threw these disloyal Amīrs into confusion so that they fled in all directions, and she having selected certain of them for punishment put them to death,² and Nizāmu-l-Mulk retired to Sir Mūr³ and took up his abode in the secret place of death, and Khwāja Muhazzab the Deputy succeeded him in office. The kingdom of Razziyah gained considerable power, she despatched an army to relieve Rantanbhūr,⁴ which, after the death of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, the Hindus had invested continuously, and liberated the Muslims from their captivity, and Jamalu-d-Dīn Yāqūt, the Abyssinian, who was Master of the Horse, became her confidant and trusted adviser, to such a point that Sultān Razziyah whenever she rode horse or elephant used to rest upon his arm or shoulder.⁵ He became an object of envy to the Amīrs, and the Sultān Razziyah came out from the curtain of chastity⁶ and wearing the garments of men, regardless of propriety, used to wear a tunic and *kullāh*⁷ when seated on the throne to rule the kingdom. And in the year 637 H. (1239 A.D.) Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Iyāz, Governor of Lahore, displayed hostility. Sultān Razziyah proceeded against him and having reduced him to obedience added Multān also to his *jāegir*,⁸ and in the same year she brought up an army against

¹ See Thomas, *Pathan Kings*, p. 104 and *seqq.* *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* states on the contrary, that Junaidī refused to acknowledge her. She accordingly issued orders for his arrest, but he became aware of this and went into hiding, eventually dying in the hills of Sir Mūr Bardār.

² Malik Saifu-d-Dīn Kūjī and his brother Fakhru-d-Dīn were taken prisoners and put to death. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 640

³ MS. (A) در کوه سر مور رفت. Retired to the hill country of Sirmūr.

⁴ The fortress of Rantanbhūr in the province of Ajmīr, 75 miles south-east of Jaipur, see p. 92, note 4

⁵ The text has بازی او می کرد but this is a misprint for بازی او می کرد which is the reading of the MS. (A).

⁶ In the MS. (A) we have the following از پرده برآمد came out of retirement, that is simply abandoned the habits of *pardah-nishīni* generally imposed on Musalmān ladies. This seems the latter reading (see Raverty, p. 642, note 8, with reference to this subject).

⁷ The *qabā* and *kullāh* were a tunic and hat worn by men.

⁸ After making over Multān to Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn, Sultān Razziyah returned to the capital on the 19th of Shābān 637 H. (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*)

A *jāegir* was land held in fief, generally bestowed as a reward for some service.

Tabarhindah, and on the way the Turkî Amirs witnessing her immodest behaviour, rebelled, and seized both Sultân Razziyah and Jamālu-d-Dīn Yāqūt the Abyssinian, who had risen to be the Chief Amīr,¹ and confined them in the fortress of Tabarhindah.²

Seek not fidelity to its promise from the indolent world.

25

For this old woman is the bride of a thousand lovers.

³ There is no sign of faithfulness to promise in the smile of the rose.

Lament, Oh heart-reft nightingale, for here is cause for complaint.

SULTÂN MU'IZZU-D-DIN BAHRĀN SHĀH⁴ IBN SHANSU-D-DIN.

Next succeeded to the throne, and came to Delhi. At this time Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Altūniyah⁵ the ruler of Tabarhindah having espoused the Sultân Razziyah, and having gained over certain of the Amirs and a body of the Jats⁶ and Khūkhars, and all the landholders, brought an army towards Delhi. Sultân Mu'izzu-d-Din Bahrām Shāh, sent the Malik⁷ Balban the younger (who eventually became Sultân Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn) with a vast army to oppose Razziyah, and a battle ensued in which the forces of Razziyah were defeated. She then went to Tabarhindah, and a second time collected her forces and rallied her scattered troops, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the village of Kāthāl⁸ with the intention of conquering Delhi, and again being defeated at the hands of the

¹ *Rauzat-i-Safā* calls him Chief Commander of troops. For subsequent events up to death of Razziyah see *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*.

² *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* states that they put Jamālu-d-Dīn to death.

³ *Hāfiz*. Ode beginning *میت بنیادست*.

See *Diwan Hafis Rosenweig Schwannau* I, p. 30.

⁴ Son of Iyaltimish.

⁵ Altūniyah was appointed by Razziyah as feudatory of Baran (Bulandshahr) immediately upon her accession, he was afterwards made feudatory of Tabarhindah. The account in the text differs slightly from that of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, see Raverly 647, note 9.

⁶ Elliott I. 507 Treffenthaler II. 206

⁷ Malik Badm-d-Dīn Sankar Rūmī had become Amīr-i-Hājib on the death of Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn. He was the patron of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban for whom he obtained promotion to the dignity of Amīr Akhūr. The account in the text tallies with that given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, but see Raverly 648, n. 2.

⁸ Kāthāl Skr. Kapisthala. Lat 29° 43' 7" N., Long 76° 26' 26" E 38 miles distant from Karnāl, and about 100 miles N. W. of Delhi. See Hunter, *Gaz.* vii. 302.

Malik Balkan the younger, took to flight and both she and Altūniyah fell into the hands of the Kawāra¹ and were put to death by order of Sulṭān Bahrām Shāh.

This event took place in the year 637 H. (1239 A.D.),² and the duration of the reign of Raṣṣiyah was three years six months and six days.

A head which the neck carries loftily

That same head later finds a rope round its neck.

When the sovereign power was firmly established in the hands of Sulṭān Bahrām Shāh, Malik Iḥtiyārū-d-Dīn Itkin who was formerly Hājib and was married to a sister of the Sulṭān, and had got all the affairs of the kingdom into his own hands by the assistance of Nizāmu-l-Mulk Muḥazzabū-d-Dīn, being accustomed always to keep a large elephant tied up at his door, like a king, was murdered in the year 638 H. together with Muḥazzabū-d-Dīn Wazīr, by certain Fidāīs,³ by the orders of the Sulṭān, and in this year the Sulṭān dealt with a party composed of Amirs and chief men, and leading nobles, and grandees, and judges who used to hold secret meetings to discuss a change of monarchy and the appointment of a new king. Some of them he put to death, and

¹ The printed text and MS. (A) and MS. (B) all have كواران Kawārān. There is some little uncertainty as to the identity of this tribe. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says "Sulṭān Raṣṣiyah with Malik Altūniyah fell captive into the hands of Hindūs" (See Raverty's translation page 648 and note 8.)

It seems probable that the Kawārān here spoken of were a tribe of Jāta otherwise known by the name of Gaṭwārās. They are mentioned by Elliott, as holding villages in Gohana, in Sonipat Banger and in the Doāb on the opposite side of the Jumna (see Elliott, *Races of the N. W. Provinces of India*: Vol. I. page 128).

² 638 A.H. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. There is a confusion here in the dates.

Firishta says that the armies met on the 4th Rabi'ul Awwal 637 A.H., and that Raṣṣiyah and Altūniyah were put to death on the 25th of the same month. As Raṣṣiyah came to the throne in 634, 637 would seem to be the correct date but see Raverty, p. 648, note 2.

³ فدائی چند is the reading of MS. (A). Firishta says "two Turks in a state of (feigned) intoxication." Minhājū-s-Sirāj writes, p. 102, Cal. Text دو نفر ترک مست را بر صوم فدائی از بالای قصر فرو فرستاد. He sent two intoxicated Turks, after the manner of Fidāīs, down from the roof of the palace. A Fidāi is one who voluntarily and cheerfully undertakes any enterprise which he knows will cost him his life. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi*) see Raverty *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* p. 651 n. 7.

come, as for example Badru-d-Din Sangar Amīr Hājib¹ he sent to Badson where they died in prison. Among them was Qāzī Jalālu-d-Din Kāshānī, whom they removed from his military command and appointed Qāzī of Badson, and Qāzī Shamsu-d-Din the Qāzī of Mārhirā² they threw under the feet of an elephant in the same way.

And in the year 639 H the troops of the Mughūl Changiz Khān came and invested the city of Lahore, and Malik Qarāqash the Governor of Lahore fled one day at midnight and came to Dehli, where the Sultān pledged the Amīrs anew to fealty, and having summoned a conference sent Nizāmu-l-Mulk³ Wazīr, who at heart was not friendly to the Sultān, to oppose the Mughūl force in the Panjāb. He, with craft and hypocrisy wrote a letter to the Sultān and made many complaints of the Amīrs who were with him, and begged the Sultān to come. The Sultān, however, not thinking it advisable to go in person, wrote a despatch to him in apparent sincerity, saying, "those recalcitrant Amīrs shall meet their punishment in due time, you should treat them with civility⁴ till then." He showed that despatch in original to the Amīrs and brought them over to his side, and the Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din Bahrām Shāh sent Hazrat Shaikhu-l-Islām Khwāja-i-Khwājagān Qutbu-d-Din Bakhtiyār Ūshī,⁵ may God sanctify him, to the Amīrs to put

87.

¹ Who had been appointed Amīr Hājib when Ikhtiyār-d-Din was murdered.

² The MS. (A) reads قاضي شمس الدين قاضي صرهرة را که پای فیل which reading I follow Ferihta writes

قاضي شمس الدين وقاضي قصبه صرهرة را در پای فیل انداخت

Tabaqāt-i-Nāiri gives the details of this circumstance and states that it was brought about by the machinations of a Daiwesh who was jealous of Qāzī Shamsu-d-Din and had sufficient influence over Bahrām Shāh to compass an enemy's death.

³ He calls the town Mār. (Raverty 657 and note 4), MS. (A) has صرهرة Mārhirā.

⁴ Tabaqāt-i-Nāiri states that the Sultān nominated Malik Qutbu-d-Din Hazrat ibn 'Alī Ghūrī, together with the Wazīr the Khwājā Muharrabu-d-Din for this purpose, and that the letter referred to in the text was written by him. (See Raverty 657, 659)

⁵ MS. (A) تو باید که تا انومان با ایشان مدارای بکنی. Carrying into effect the maxim بادروندان تلطف با دشمنان مدارای.

⁶ See Raverty, p 658, note 2, Qutbu-d-Din Ūshī after whom the Qutb minar of Dehli is called died in 633 H. See Raverty 622, note 6.

⁷ See also page 92, note 2. This was another man Saiyyid Qutbu-d-Din.

matters straight and to quell the disturbance, but without success; the Shaikh-i-Islām returned and came to Dehli, and just at this juncture Nizāmu-l-Mulk and the Amīrs also arrived and besieged the Sultān in Dehli,¹ and taking him captive imprisoned him, and after a few days despatched him to the next world² and set up another king in his place.

The times of old have had this habit
To take from this man and give to that.

The duration of his reign was two years and one month and fifteen days.

SULTĀN ALĀU-D-DIN MAS'UD SHAH IBN RUKNU-D-DIN FIROZSHĀH

Having been released from prison by the consent of his uncles Sultān Naṣīru-d-Din Mahmūd and Sultān Jalālu-d-Din, the sons of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltimish, became king at the end of the year already mentioned (639 H.), after that 'Izzu-d-Din Balban³ (the elder) had occupied the throne for one day and had issued a proclamation. None of the Maliks or Amīrs had been satisfied with this arrangement and reverted to Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din, and appointed Malik Qutbu-d-Din Hasan as Deputy, and Malik Mubazzānu-d-Din Nizāmu-l-Mulk Wazir of the kingdom, and in the year 640 H. the Amīrs of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din Mas'ud put to death Nizāmu-l-Mulk the Wazir.

One should not desire brief kingship like that of the rose
For a torrent speedily breaks down a bridge.

The Wazirship was conferred upon Sadru-l-Mulk Najmu-d-Din Abū Bakr, and Malik Ghiyāsu-d-Din Balban the younger who had at first been called Ulugh Khān and afterwards attained the dignity of Sultān,⁴ became Amīr Hājib and in succession to him the governorship of Nāgor and Sind and Ajmīr was conferred

¹ On Saturday the 19th of Sha'bān 639 H. The siege lasted till the month of Zi Qa'dah (Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, p. 639).

² On the 13th of Zi Qa'dah 639 H.

³ Malik 'Izzu-d-Din Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, see Raverty p. 776 and 660 note 1.

⁴ Malik Ghiyāsu-d-Din Balban was dignified with the title of Ulugh Khān and made Deputy of the kingdom and leader of the troops in the year 647 H. but was deprived of his office in 650-51 H. He was Amīr Akhūr till 642 H. when he became Amīr Hājib.

See Aīn-i-Akbarī (Jarrett) II. 293.

permanently upon Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban, the elder, Budāon was conferred upon Malik Tājū-d-Dīn; and in this year 'Izz-ud-Dīn Tughā Khān who had advanced from Karrāh¹ to the neighbourhood of Lakhnautī sent Sharfu-l-Mulk Asha'ri to the Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn with a written despatch, the Sultān then sent a red canopy and a special robe of honour in charge of the Governor of Oudh² for 'Izzu-d-Dīn Tughā Khān who was in Lakhnautī, and having brought both his uncles aforementioned out of confinement, assigned the district of Qanauj to Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn, and Bahraij to Malik Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd, who acquitted themselves in those districts to his satisfaction. And in the year 642 H, the Mughūl forces³ arrived in the district of Lakhnautī, the assumption is that the Mughūls must have come by way of Tibat and Khitā, and Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn sent Timūr Khān Qarā Beg⁴ to the assistance of Tughā Khān and the Mughūls were defeated. Hostility arose between Tughā Khān and Malik Qirān,⁵ Tughā Khān came to Dehli, and Lakhnautī remained in the hands of Timūr Khān.⁶

The printed text has كراچی but MS. (A) has كرا which is correct. Karrāh is on the right bank of the Ganges Lat. 25° 41' N. Long. 81° 24' E (see Hunter, Imp. Gaz.) Vol. VIII. Before Akbar's time Karrāh was the seat of government.

² Qāṣi Jalālu-d-Dīn Kāsārī (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*)

³ This is an error which has according to Raverly been handed on from author to author. The way the mistake originated is pointed out by him in his note 8 on p. 665.

The original reading was كُفَّار جاجنگر Kufār Jājnagar which by some strange perversion became كُفَّار حَبْكِر خَن thence to كُفَّار چنگز خان and so to our author's statement.

Jājnagar or Jajpur on the Baitarani river in Orissa, capital of the province under the Lion Dynasty the Gajpati or Lords of Elephants (*Ain-i-Akbari* II. 210 n. 1) (see Imp. Gaz. Vol. VII, and Stat. Acc. of Bengal, XVIII. 85-89).

The كُفَّار جاجنگر Infidel hordes of Jājnagar were of course Hindūs and not Mughūls, hence the assumption in the text to account for their presence before Lakhnautī is as unnecessary as it is absurd.

⁴ The real name of Timūr Khān Qarā Beg as he is called in the text, is Malik Qamaru-d-Dīn Qirān-i-Timūr Khān and he is the Malik Qirān referred to a line or two later. In other words Malik Qirān and "Timūr Khān" are one and the same person. In the text قيران is a misprint for قيران MS. (A) See also Raverly 666, n. 3.

In this year the Mughūl army¹ arrived in the vicinity of Uchh and assaulted it, and the Sultān proceeding by forced marches with all possible speed, reached the banks of the river Biāli, and the Mughūls raising the siege of Uchh took to flight; the Sultān on reaching Delhi took to arresting and putting to death to such an extent that the Amīra and nobles turned against him, and agreed to summon Malik Nāsiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn from Bahrāij, and upon his arrival at Delhi in the year 644 H, they threw Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd into prison and he speedily exchanged that confinement for the prison house of eternity.

This is the way of the changeable world.

In kindness it gives and it robs you in wrath.

The duration of his reign was four years and one month.

SULTĀN NĀSIRU-D-DĪN MAḤMŪD IBN SHAMSU-D-DĪN IYALTIMISH

Succeeded to the sovereignty in the year 644 H, (1246 A.D.) and the Wazīrship was conferred upon Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban the younger, who was in reality great, and was the slave and son-in-law of the father of Nāsiru-d-dīn.³

At the time of his accession great largesse was given, and the poets recited many congratulatory odes from some of which the following verses are taken—

¹ 1244 A.D. This was really a Mughūl force, under the command of "the accursed Mangūtah" (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

² On the 23rd of Muharram 644 H. (1246 A.D.).

His reign extended to a period of four years, one month and one day (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

³ Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish.

Nāsiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish was born at the Qaz Rāgh in Delhi in the year 626 H. (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

It will be remembered that he was the second son of Iyaltimish to bear the name of Nāsiru-d-Dīn, which was given him upon the death of his elder brother (see p. 94) in 628 A.H. (see *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Cal. Text p. 201, l. 18.)

He was a man of quiet and retiring disposition and spent most of his leisure in making manuscript copies of the Qur'ān. Thomas (*Pathān Kings*) thinks that this faculty "possibly had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coinage, which display a remarkable advance on the earlier mintages in the fineness of the lines and the improved definition of the Persian characters" (p. 125).

That great Lord who is a *Hâtim* in generosity and a *Hustam* in energy.

Nâsir-i-Dunya wa-Din Mahmûd ibn Iyâltimish.

That great world conqueror, the roof of whose palace is the heaven.

In the height of his dignity this lower sphere is his vesture.

How can we measure the glory the *Sikka* acquires from his auspicious titles.¹

Or how compute the exaltation of the *Khubrah* at the mention of his happy name.

The records of his equity and his laudable qualities are evident from the book called *Tabaqât-i-Nâsiri*² which was composed in his honour.

The Sultân entrusted all the affairs of the kingdom to *Ghiyâs-ud-Din Balban* and in giving him the title of *Ulugh Khân* said, "I deliver into thy hands the reins of absolute authority, beware lest thou commit thyself to any evil action,³ for tomorrow thou wilt be at a loss in the presence of Almighty God and thou wilt bring shame upon me and upon thyself." The Sultân himself would generally retire into his chamber and occupy himself in devotion, and reading the *Qur'ân* and in repeating the sacred names of God may He be glorified and exalted; and it is currently reported that on the occasion of a public audience he used to clothe himself from head to foot in regal apparel, while in private he used to wear an old ragged garment; and they also say that he used to devote his time to the copy of the *Qur'ân* which he was writing,⁴

1 His titles as given in the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsiri* were:

An Sultân-i-Azam-i-Muazzam, Nâsir-i-Dunyâ wa-Din, Abû-i-Muza'far-i-Mahmûd Shâh ibn-i Sultân Iyâltimish Yamin-i-Khalîfat-i-Ilâh Nâsir-i-Amîr-i-Mu'minin.

The *Tabaqât-i-Nâsiri* of *Minhâju-s-Sirâj* was written in his court and dedicated to him: hence its name.

2 *Tabaqât-i-Nâsiri* of *Minhâju-s-Sirâj* is a general history up to 658 H. composed by Abû Umar Minhâju-d-Din Usmân ibn Sirâju-d-Din al Jazjânî. See Elliott II, 259. An English translation by Major Raverty has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica, by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

3 زہار کاری بد نگنی

4 Ibn-i-Batûta states in his history (French edition, Vol. III, p. 169).

وكان ملكا صالحا ينسخ نسخا من الكتب العزيزة ويبيعها ببقايا ثمنها
وتد وقفي القاضي كمال الدين علي من خطه منقح حكم الكثرة

further that he used to write it himself in private so that no one might recognize his handwriting and buy it for more than its fair value, and he used to sell (these) in the Bāzār. They relate also several other strange stories about him, which resemble the narratives regarding the rightly directed Khalifs—among them I have seen it written in a book that one day his wife was complaining of not having a servant, and she said “Whenever I bake bread for you my hands get burned and blistered. He wept and replied, “The world is passing away, bear your toil for these few days for God Almighty on the morrow of resurrection (*we trust in Him and believe in Him*) as a reward for this labour, will surely give you a Hūrī to wait upon you, as it is, I cannot possibly buy a slave girl for you from the public funds. His wife too, agreed to this.

The world is but a dream in the eyes of the vigilant,
A wise man does not set his heart upon a dream.

And the Sultān in the month of Rajab in the year of his accession, took an army towards Multān¹ and in Zūl Qa'dah having crossed the river of Lahore (Rāwī) and having appointed Ulugh Khān as leader of the forces,² sent him towards the Jūd hills³ and the country round Nandanah, and he himself halted on the banks of the river Indus. Ulugh Khān having punished that part of the country brought it into subjection, and having given a lesson to

C' était un souverain pieux : il copiait des exemplaires du livre illustre (le Koran), les vendait, et se nourrissait avec le prix qu'il en retirait. Le Kādhi Camāl eddīn m' a fait voir un Koran copié de sa main, artistement et élégamment écrit

¹ We find, بنیان Baniān in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* (Raverty 677, notes 5, 6.) but both MSS (A) and (B) read Multān.

² مقدمة الجيش Also in MSS. (A and B), but this must be a copyist's error for مقدم الجيش.

³ The Kohi Jūd (See Rennell's Map Koh-i-Jehond) is apparently a part of the Salt Range, Lat 32° Long. 71°. Bāber states that the tribes of Jūd and Janjūhah descended from a common ancestor, are the ruling races of the district and of all the tribes between the Sind and Babrah. *Āin-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) II. 405, note 2).

Tieffenthaler (I. 105), places Nandanah or Nandānpour (fortress on a hill on a mountain) between the Behāt and the Indus it must have lain somewhere near the line Jhelum to Peshāwar.

he Khūkhars¹ and other contumacious tribes, joined the Sultān and returned to Dehli, and in the year 645 H., having taken Mīwāt² turned his attention to the country of the Doāb, and the same year having sent Ulugh Khān from the confines of Karrah to oppose and overthrow the rebels of that district, arrived at Dehli with great spoil.

And in the year 646 A.H., he proceeded against Rantanbhūr, and having punished the seditious tribes of those districts he returned, 91. and in the year 647 H., he married the daughter of Ulugh Khān.

Then in the year 648 H., he took an army towards Multān, and after some days Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Buzurg, the Governor of Nāgor, withdrew his foot from the circle of allegiance and rebelled,³ but when the Sultān proceeded thither, he begged for pardon and joined the Court.

And in the year 649 H. he marched in the direction of Gwāliār and Ohandārī and Mālwa, and Jāhir Dev⁴ the Rāi of that

¹ Khūkhars, see Tieff. I, 104 and 105, Le district des salines est habité par les Khocars ce sont ceux qui tirent le sel des mines, c'est une nation qui a quitté l'idolatrie pour embrasser le mahométisme. See also this volume, p. 67, n. 3.

² Text and MS. (A) میوات Mīwāt. This place is not mentioned in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, it is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbarī* (I. (Jarrett 307) as the place to which Nāṣrat Khān fled from Dehli when it was seized by Iqbāl Khān, some 150 years later than the events recorded in the text.

Tieffenthaler, Vol. I, p. 211, Mēvāt est un canton assez étendu, borné par les provinces de Dehli et d'Adjmere et par les Districts de Djepour et de Dik. It extends "north and south from Badshāpur to Harsana, 47 miles, and east and west from Dik to Narnol, 57 miles." Alwar is about the centre of it now.

Tieffenthaler goes on to say "Cette contrée est habitée par beaucoup de Mahométans qui étaient ci-devant gentils. Elle appartenait auparavant aux Afghans dans le temps qu'ils regnoient à Dekli. Le Gouvernement passa ensuite aux Mogols. Maintenant le Djat (Jats) s'en est approprié la plus grande partie et une partie est tombée au pouvoir du Rājā de Djepour (Jaipur) qui en a expulsé beaucoup d'habitans mahométans.

He speaks of the abundance of Nīm (*Melia azadirachta*) and Sissoo (*Dalbergia sissoo*) trees, and praises the cattle and horses of the country.

He speaks of Narnol the capital city of the district, as having formerly been populous and flourishing. See also Rennell's Memoir (1788), p. 75.

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says this occurred in 649 H., which is more probably correct, as it is the account of a contemporary historian.

⁴ This Rājā is called in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Chāhar Ajārī, he was independent sovereign of Narwar in A.D. 1246 (644 A.H.) under the name of Chāhar Deva, his coins bearing the inscription श्री चारदेव देव. He was a very powerful Rājā (see Thomas 67 et seqq. and Raverty 690 note 1.)

country with five thousand cavalry and 200,000 infantry came out to meet him and gave battle to the Sultān in great force, but was defeated and the fort of Narwar¹ was taken. And in this year Sher Khān Governor of Multān, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Din Balban who had left Nāgōr with reinforcements for him reduced the fortress of Uchh, and Sher Khān remained in the fortress, while Malik 'Izzu-d-Din Balban came to pay his respects to the king, and received from him as a *jāegir* the districts of Budāon and was given the title of Kashlū Khān.

And in the year 650 H. (1252 A.D.) he left Dehlī intending to proceed to Lahore, and from there he went to Multān and Uchh, and in this expedition Kashlū Khān accompanied the Sultān as far as the river Biñh.

And in the year 651 H. marching from Dehlī, he detailed forces to act against Tabarhindah and Uchh and Multān of which Sher Khān had lost control, and of which the Sindhīs held possession; and having regained possession of them, handed them over to the charge of Arsalān Khān and returned. And in the year 652 H. having assembled an army on the confines of the country at the foot of the hills² of Bijnor, and having crossed the Ganges by

¹ Narwar —In the *Ain-i-Akbarī*, we find the Sarkar of Narwar as having 500 Cavalry, 20,000 Infantry. Narwar itself had a stone fort (see also Raverty 690, note 1).

In the text *نرو* is a misprint for *نرو* MS. (A).

Narwar. Tieff. I. 175 gives a sketch plan of the fortress of Narwar and a long description from which the following note is abridged.

A town of moderate size about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile long and ten in breadth, protected in his time (about 1780 A.D.) with stone walls, but formerly unprotected. Latitude 25° 30' N. Longitude taken from the Islands of the Blest 93° 24'. (Cf. *Ain-i-Akbarī* [Jarrett] III. 60.) Houses well and substantially built with flat roofs.

It has four gates, and there was a Christian family of Armenian stock who had built a palace, and a chapel where a Jesuit father said mass. The fortress was built upon a mountain having two peaks or spurs running parallel North and South.

He considers it must have been impregnable in old times before the invention of gunpowder "pour le malheur du genre humain et la ruine des villes."

A good supply of water is furnished by a large tank paved and flanked with stone. He also speaks of a magnetic iron ore from which they procure iron by smelting for export in various forms, and a flint of a whitish colour and marvellous hardness used for flint locks.

² Of Bardār and Bijnor (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*). In the text instead of

the ford of Miāpūr¹ and hugging the skirt of the mountain, reached the banks of the river Rahab,² and having taken much booty and made many prisoners, giving themselves up to rapine and making prisoners,³ invaded the country of Kaṣīhar⁴ going to Badāon and from thence to Oudh, and hastened to the capital. And after some time news arrived that certain of the Amīrs, namely Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, and Arsalān Khān and others, in concert with Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn, the brother of the Sultān, had commenced hostilities in the vicinity of Tabarhindah. The Sultān thereupon marched from Dohī, and in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindah and Kuhrām and Kaithal,⁵ by the intervention of a party of Amīrs, the Amīrs agreed to peace, and with many protestations and on the suing for pardon came into submission to the Sultān; and the Sultān conferred upon Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn the Governorship of Lahore, and proceeded to the capital. And in the year 653 H. the feelings of the Sultān underwent a change with respect to his mother Malika-i-Jahān. He gave Qutlugh Khān, to whom Malika-i-Jahān was married, a jūegir in Oudh,⁶ and a short time after turning against him also⁷ sent him to Bahraij. He took fright at this and came to the hill country of Sir Mūr, and Malik Izzu-d-Dīn Kahlū Khān and certain other Amīrs made common cause with him and laid the foundation of revolt; the Sultān

کوہ پادہ بیجنور لشکر which is manifestly wrong I read کوہ پادہ لشکر as in MS. (A).

¹ Here again the printed text is hopelessly wrong. MS. (A) reads as follows:—

و از آب گنگ بگذر میا پور گشته which is intelligible and tallies with Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri. Where the reading جوالا پور in the text comes from, it is hard to say.

² MS. (A). The text reads قالب آب راست رسید; see Albirānī (India) (Sachau) II. 261; also Elliott, I. 49 as regards the Rahab.

³ MS. (A). و بتاراج و اسیر داد.

⁴ The Calcutta text of the Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri calls this کاشهر. Our text has کاشیر. MS. (A) has کاشیر (?) MS. (B) کاشیر (!) see Raverty 696, note 4.

⁵ See Elliott, II. p. 354.

⁶ The printed text gives در اورد. It should be در اورد. MS. (A)

⁷ This should read و در اندک مدت التوا نیز تغییر نموده not as in the printed text.

accordingly detailed Ulugh Khān Balban with a large army¹ to oppose them, and when the two forces had arrived within a short distance of each other the Shaikh-i-Islām Saiyyid Qutbu-d-Dīn and Qāzī Shamsu-d-Dīn of Bharāij and another party of men incited Qutluḡ Khān to come into Dehli, and inspired him with a desire to possess that country;² the inhabitants of Dehli joined in this instigation. Ulugh Khān represented this at the Sultān's court, and the Sultān issued an order for every individual of that party to go separately to his own place, and Qutluḡ Khān and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān after this defeat, traversed the distance of a hundred *krohs*³ in two days and came from Sāmāna to Dehli, but did not find the party

3. which had been the cause of their being summoned. Qutluḡ Khān and Kashlū Khān also were separated, and Ulugh Khān following them arrived in the Sultān's presence⁴. And in the year 655 H. the Sultān issued an order for the expulsion of certain nobles and grandees from the city of Dehli, and at the end of this year the Mughūls arrived on the boundaries of Uchh and Multān; Kashlū Khān Balban made common cause with them and the Sultān came up in hot haste against them. The Mughūls were not able to stand against him and turned back towards Khurāsān. The Sultān also raised the banner of return towards the capital and having bestowed a robe of honour upon Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn Jāni marched towards Lakhnauti.⁵ And in the year 656 H. (1258 A.D.) ambassadors came to the Sultān from Turkistān, and he sent them back loaded with presents, and in this year Ḥazrat Maḥdūm Ganjshakar,⁶ *may God magnify his power and exalt his*

¹ This account differs from that given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. (See Raverty p. 708 and seqq).

² و تطمیع دران ملک کردند MS. (A). The word تطمیع is omitted in Calcutta text.

³ About 180 miles, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* II, p. 414, also Cunn. A. G. I., p. 571.

The ancient *Krosa* of Magadh was about 1½ miles, the *kes* of the Gangetic provinces was rather more than 2½ miles. The Akbarī *kes* was rather less than 1½ miles and this is the standard referred to above.

⁴ These Malika (Qutluḡ Khān and 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān) retired towards the Siwālik territory foiled in their object (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

⁵ Compare the account in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* according to which these events took place in the year 656 H. not in 655 H.

⁶ Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-shakar was the grandson of Farrukh Shāh of Kābul, and son of Kamālu-d-Dīn Suleimān who came from Kābul to

memory, left the lodging house of separation and disappointment for the home of nearness and fulfilment.

And in the year 657 H. elephants and great treasure and jewels and cloths without number, arrived from Lakhnauti, as presents, and in Rajab of this year Malik 'Izzu-d-Din Keshlū Khān Balban earning relief from the turmoil of this transitory world, hastened to the next world, and in this year Qhānu-i-'Alam Hazrat Shaikh Bahāu-d-Din Zakariyā³ the Multānī, may God sanctify him, raised the tent of⁴ close union with God Almighty, and a celebrated poet wrote this couplet to record the date:

By the arrow of the love of God one was wounded (*zakhmī*)
the other perished (*khūn*).⁵

Multān in the reign of Shihābu-d-Din Ghūrī. He was one of the numerous disciples of Bahāu-d-Din Zakariyā, and died two years later than his master, according to Firishta (see also *Āin-i-Akbarī* [Jarrett] III. p. 383).

His tomb is mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (I. 325) as being at Ajūdhan (Pāk Patan or Patan-i-Panjāb).

There is, as will be seen, considerable discrepancy in the dates, Badāonī gives 656 H. as the date of Farīdu-d-Din Ganj-i-shakar's death and 657 H. as that of the death of Bahāu-d-Din Zakariyā, while according to Firishta the latter should be 666 H. and the former 668 H. The *Āin-i-Akbarī* gives 668 H. as the date of the death of Farīdu-d-din Ganj-i-shakar and 665 H. as the date of the death of Bahāu-d-din Zakariyā.

¹ MS. (A) اجل الله قدره و اعلى ذكره. The printed text is wrong here.

² Shaikh Bahāu-d-Din Zakariyā was a famous Muhammadan saint of Multān. He was the grandson of Kamfāu-d-Din 'Alī Shāh Qur'ishī who left Mecca for Khwārazm and thence came to Multān, the Qubbatu-l-Isām, and resided there, and became acknowledged by the people as their teacher and guide. Shaikh Bahāu-d-Din was the son of Shaikh Wajīhu-d-Din by the daughter of Həsām-d-Din Tarmadī and was born in the fort of Kot Karor in 587 H. He died at Delhi about the year 668 H.; while engaged in devotion in his chamber an angel bearing a sealed missive having appeared to his son Sadru-d-Din 'Arif with a command to give the missive to Bahāu-d-Din. He did so and retired, but returned on hearing voices in the room saying دوست بدوست رسید. "The friend has joined the friend" when he found his father lying dead.

This account is abridged from Firishta. The account of the saint given by Beale differs from this but the source of the information given there is not stated. See also *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) III. 382 and note.

The tomb of Bahāu-d-Din Zakariyā is in Multān.

³ MS. (A) در جوار قدس ذوالجلال.

⁴ The word زخمی gives the date 657 H. the word یخ gives the date 66 H. See page 133, note 1.

And in the year 658 H. Sultān Nāṣir-u-d-Dīn Mahmūd, chastised the country of Mīwāt¹ and the rest of that district, and when he was fully established as Malik in the year 664 H. he fell sick and closed his eyes on the world of dreams and fancies, and went to the eternal kingdom.² He left no heir; the duration of his reign was nineteen years, three months and a few days. His tomb is well known in Dehlī, and every year crowds flock to visit it.

Verse.

Come and cast one thoughtful look upon this dust.
For it is the dust of the resting-place of trusted kings.

And of the number of those who sounded the drum of poetry and attained the rank of Maliku-l-Kalām (Lord of Eloquence) during Nāṣir-u-d-Dīn's reign, one was Shamsu-d-Dīn Dabīr³ whose manifest excellencies and perfection are beyond description and need no narration and praise, and Mīr Khusrū,⁴ may God sanctify him, who tested the genuineness of his own poems by the touchstone of their acceptability to that other (Shamsu-d-Dīn) used to boast of them, and in the preface to the *Ghurraṭu-l-Kamāl* and at the end of the *Hasht Bihisht* greatly embellished his words in the mention of the praiseworthy qualities and in spreading

¹ The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* Cal. Text, p. 227 reads:

خان معظم الخ خان اعظم بر طرف جبال دہلی برای دفع فساد متمردان
میلوات کہ دیو از ایشان در هراس باشد نہضت فرورد

Khān-i-Mu'azzam Ulagh Khān-i-A'zam marched towards the hills of Dehlī to quell the insurrection of the robbers of Mīwāt who would be a terror to devils.

For a full account of the province of Mīwāt see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. IX. It includes the British districts of Muttra and Gurgāon, part of Ulwar and Bhartpur. See also page 129, note 2, of this Volume.

² On the 11th Jamādu-l-Awwal; as he came to the throne on the 23rd Muharram 644 H. his reign was twenty years three months and some days, not as stated in the text. He left no issue, his only son by the daughter of Ulagh Khān having died in infancy.

³ There is no mention of this poet in either the *Majma'u-l-Faḥḥā* or the *Atashkade*. There are some highly laudatory verses at the end of the *Hasht Bihisht* in praise of one Abū Hanīfah, possibly referring to Shamsu-d-dīn.

⁴ Amir Khusrū (who has already been mentioned at page 96, note 2), son of Amir Mahmūd Saifu-d-Dīn was born at Patialā 651 A.H. and died at Dehlī in 725 A.H. (Beale p. 151).

abroad the excellencies of (that friend of his). And Saltān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban having at the end of his reign appointed him Secretary for the countries of Bangāla and Kāmrūd had left him in the service of his elder son Nāṣiru-d-Dīn¹ Bughrā Khān, and these few couplets are from an ode of his.

Oh thou² of whom this work of my heart is unworthy though my ignorance; thou gavest me last night a false promise of entertainment.

All night I kept my eyes awake and³ I did not know that that was longing of that kind which you know to be vain.

I keep my heart⁴ exercised thinking of thy face, and wondering why thy colour is so ripe and thy forehead like virgin silver.

The date assigned for his birth seems unlikely as he would only have been thirteen when Nāṣiru-d-Dīn died. The *Majma'ul Fuṣṣḥā* gives no date for his birth but says his father came to Dehlī from Turkistān in the time of Changīz Khān's invasion, and obtained great distinction in the court of Saltān Mahmūd ibn Tughlaq Shāh and was killed in a rebellion of the infidels, when his son Amir Khusrū was appointed as his successor in his Amīrahīp, which he eventually gave up and acquired great skill and distinction as a poet. He died in 725 H. and was buried in the tomb of Shaiḥ Shākarganj (Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganjshakar see note 1, page 133).

He was the author the celebrated *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain* the poem which was written to commemorate the meeting of Saltān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn with his son Saltān Kai Qubād on the banks of the Ghāgra, and of several other works (see Elliott, III. pp. 523 and seqq.).

MS. (A) reads correctly سلطان ناصر الدین. Saltān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān second son of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban. He was placed in charge of Bengal after the revolt and defeat of its governor Tughral.

He married a daughter of Saltān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh by whom he had a son and successor Kai-Qubād. (See Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* 716 n.).

In Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Dehlī* there is given a copy of an inscription of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd which was engraved over the doorway of the minaret at Aligarh bearing the date 10th Rajab A.H. 652, and the author mentions in rather too mild terms the wanton Vandalism which allowed a record of this kind to be destroyed in 1861.

Thomas advances the opinion that the original design for this inscription both in matter and form was the work of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn himself, (cf. Thomas op. cit 129-130).

¹ MS. (A) ای.

² MS. (A) و.

³ MS. (A) دل دارم دل.

I am overcome with idleness though it urges me on to strenuous endeavour—but there is a loose bond between me and distraction.

Do not make me prepared with (the fire of) thy love¹ since I am thy guest, because it is a great virtue to offer sacrifice of unprepared flesh.

We said “no Muslim will eat raw flesh,” but look! thy grief has devoured me raw. Is this your religious devotion.

² You call me “raw,” if I cut open my own breast, I will shew you that the heart which thou considerest raw, is ready. So amazed am I at thy beauty and the glory of the king, that my imperfect work remains raw from my amazement. /

Since the king is a second Khusrū, my work will never remain unfinished, by reason of the kingdom of the second Khusrū—

Conqueror of the world³ and of religion, he in view of whose sovereignty the desire of Emperors for the Kingdom of Suleimān was vain.

The king Mahmūd Shāh, that Sultān from whose father's glory the cauldron of one single⁴ desire, by reason of his empire, is not left unfilled.

If the Sun of his benevolence shines in the direction of the garden no fruit issues from the branches of the garden turipe.⁵

What resource has the Sky if it does not support the burden of thy dignity—how can you expect a raw baggage animal to bear a heavy load!

Thy enemy deserves this that you should sew him in a raw hide⁶

¹ MS. (A) عشق

² MS. (A) خام میخوانیم او سینه خود بشکافم
بخته بندایم آن دل که تو میخوانی خام

³ MS. (A) ناصر دنیا. The text has ناخبر which is meaningless and spoils the scansion.

⁴ MS (A) دیگ یک ارزویش

⁵ MS. (A) ناید از شاخ

⁶ This was a favourite mode of punishment in olden times: the unfortunate victim was sewn up in a raw hide which as it dried, shrunk and inflicted terrible tortures.

Vide, page 12, note 2. Muḥammad Qasim, (Elliott and Dowson I. 209)

for on the body of an inexperienced man of what use is
 it for you to fit a raw-hide.¹
 Thy enemy bathes in blood,² instead of the collar of his 28
 garment the prisoner places on his neck every moment a
 raw-hide.
 Every deed of thine is like³ perfected gold, and those who
 wish thee evil are imperfect in their work from frivolity
 and the assurance of shame.
 Thy enemy is that naked demon⁴ who has a skin made of
 the whole of the Earth, and that too, if you take it off him
 is a raw-hide.
 If thou dost not spread thy table every day twice before the
 people, they will perforce eat raw grain, since the hand of
 despair from lack of bread has no other resource.
 If thy enemy becomes ruined⁵ what fear is there? although
 he advances in a futile attack, like the lion of the flag he
 is helpless though impotence.⁶
 Of what avail⁷ is the sorcery of Fara'un since the dragor
 of your standard will swallow the fictitious serpent.
 Oh Khusrū! Shamsu-d-dīn⁸ is thy secretary, strong and
 well proved in speech—he is not like the worthless Scribes
 an inexperienced scribbler.
 He himself is experienced⁹ and his verse is like purified
 gold—his words are not like the best sayings of Khāqānī
 still in the rough.
 The sky has prepared a perfect kingdom¹⁰ for thee—Oh Lord

1 MS. (A) چه باستانی خام.

2 MS. (B) agrees with the text. MS. (A) reads
 خن خضم است بخون جای زه پیراخن

The textual reading is adopted with زه in place of زه

3 MS. (A) چو.

4 MS. (A) ان غول که از کل جهان

5 MS. (A) مراد

6 (Burhān-i Qālī) بمعنی دیوت کشکان

7 MS. (A) چه یارده چو

8 شمس الدین دبیر. See page 134 n. 3

9 MS. (A) هست او را پخته و

10 MS. (A) بهر تو ملکت یارب The line as it stands in the text will not scan.

in thy favour grant that his perfect work may never revert to imperfection.

And the King of Kings and of Speech Amīr Fakhru-d-Dīn 'Amīd Lūmakī¹ writes in a Qasīda of which this is the opening couplet.

When my loved one takes² the lute, and binds the plectrum on her fingernail

Her nail strikes Nāhīd³ with a hundred wounds in the heart through envy.

Through envy of her harp fever seizes upon Nāhīd at that instant.

Her nail becomes altogether blue from the effect of that fever.⁴

Consider the henna on her nails to be like blood, which at the time of the springing of the strings from the harp dry as a reed, has spurted forth and made the nail moist.

If in play my nail has scratched your lip, do not be vexed⁵ at that,

Because now and then they dip the nail into sugar by way of tasting it.

Keep the point of your nail as sharp as a glance my love, for the harp has no confidence in the fingers save for the sharpness of their nails.

Bring me consolation by the tenderness of thy kindness,⁶ because compared with thy face, the bride of the moon has brought blood to its nails through envy.

Give me wine red as the blood of a hare at the remembrance

¹ Fakhru-d-Dīn Khwāja 'Amīdu-d-Dīn, commonly known as 'Amīd Dailamī or 'Amīd Lūmakī said to be a native of Sannām and eulogist of Sultan Muḥammad Yamin.

² MS. (A) reads چو بردارد نگارم چنگ و بندد زخمه بر ناخن MS. (B) reads پردازد i.e. plays the lute.

³ Nāhīd. The planet Venus زهره, zuhra whose seat is in the third heaven (Burhān-i-Qāṭi', called also رقص فلک, raqqās-i-falak. (the dancer of the sky). Astrologers say that this planet is of a pearly hue, of beneficent aspect, and with the quality of excessive moistness.

⁴ از تاثیر آن تب MS. (A). This reading is preferable to that of the text.

⁵ ازین مشکن MS. (A).

⁶ بیاورد بلطف مهر دلداري MS. (A). MS. (B) is like the text.

of the assembly of the king, for his wrath has forced off the claws from the paws of the male lions.

Shāhanshāh Nāsir-i-Dunyā wa-Dīn Mahmūd, by whose equity the partridge with its beak has torn off the claws of the swift-flying¹ hawk.

By the fate-like oppression of his enemy he has fallen in danger of ruin,² just as one's nail is in danger in the hands of an unskilled barber.³

His head is in danger of severance⁴ by the sword of the daring, like the nail at the time of paring, in accordance with the Hadīḡ.⁵

¹ MSS. (A) (B) ز باز نیز تر

² MS. (A) آید. is the better reading as in the text.

³ Compare the Arabic proverb. *في رأس اليتيم يتعلم الشحام*. *In capite orphani discit tensor.*

There is also a Hindī proverb to the same effect, which runs:—

سیکھیکا ناو کا کٹیکا بناو کا

The barber's son will learn and the traveller's head will be cut.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) سرش بر ذرو قتلست. The reading in the text is a copyist's error.

⁵ MSS (A) (B) تقليم الاظفار. *Jāmi' u-l-akhbār*. In the *Jāmi' u-l-akhbār* of تقليم الاظفار يمنع الاء الاعظم ويزيد في الرزق. we find شيخ صدوق

"Paring the nails prevents the worst of all diseases (i. e., poverty) and increases the means of subsistence." Also,

من قلم اظفاره و قس شاره في كل جمعة ثم قل بسم الله وعلى سنة رسول الله اعطى بكل قلعة حتى رقية من ولد اسمعيل -

"He who pares his nails and trims his beard every Friday saying, "In the name of God and in accordance with the ordinance of the prophet of God," every paring shall be counted to him as the manumission of a slave of the sons of Isma'īl."

Special rules are laid down for cutting the nails. They must be cut on Friday, and Muhammad said, He who cuts his nails in alternate order will never be afflicted with blind eyes. It is also said in a Hadīḡ by Ḥamīd ibn 'Abdū-r-Rahmān.

من قس اظفاره يوم الجمعة دخل فيه شفاء و خرج منه داء

"He who pares his nails on Friday is filled with health and sickness leaves him." The preferable time for paring the nails is Thursday after the evening prayer. In the case of the right hand one should commence from the little finger, proceeding to the middle finger and thence to the thumb, thence to the ring finger and lastly to the forefinger. The order in the left hand is (1) Thumb (2) middle finger (3) little finger (4) forefinger (5) ring-finger.

From the dread of the falcon of his equity it behoves that they should take to flight ¹ when the eagle with lancet-like talons casts his feathers and talons (through fear).

Such a quarry do they see,² that from their absence of claws and their distress, their claw demands as a loan from the small-clawed partridge its claws.

For this reason that in the presence of his power, the sky scratches his head for envy, and each month, because of that power, displays the body of the ³ moon in the shape of a nail paring (crescent).

Compared with the perfumed dust raised by his charger the dust-like grains of the musk-bag have become valueless as the dust which is found under every nail.

You would say his arrow is a finger from the hand of victory because it appears as though his nail were like a willow-leaf-bladed soul-destroying spear.

A finger which if he so wills it, like an Indian spear embeds its nail in the mind of iron and the heart of separation.⁴

The sword of his wrath has imprinted such a scar on the cheek of his enemy as remains on the cheek of the mother from the anger ⁵ of the infant.

Grudging the life of his evil-disposed enemies, lo! the boars of Fate have sharpened their tusks, and the lions of Destiny their claws.

Power of the world! when the point of thy sword scratches the hearts, it has carried away from the paws of the oppression of the dog-natured sky its claws.⁶

How can thy enemy be at all like thee, how can he approach thy dagger, whereas when he brandishes his dagger it becomes at that moment ⁷ like a finger nail.

¹ چوپر ناخن. The text should read thus.

² چنان بینند MSS (A) (B).

³ MS. (B) writes چرم قمر.

⁴ This line should read. نشانده در ضمیر آهن و قلب حیران ناخن. MSS. (A) and (B)

⁵ Text از سوز پسر MSS. (A) and (B) have از سوز پسر which must be wrong

⁶ The text is wrong, we should read از پنبه جوهر سپهر مدی میر ناخن MSS (A) and (B).

⁷ The text it appears should read انگامی MS. (A)

If his pride so misleads him that he finds fault with you, the tip of his finger becomes as dust in his hand and his nail as nothing.¹

The edge of thy sword protects the face of the world,² if there had not been the nail as a shield behind the back of the finger tip it had not been well.

If the envious of the nail of thy bravery bears a grudge against thee, perchance poor fellow it is because he does not know that the nail is poisonous.

I have brought in the word nail (*nākhun*) as *radīf*³ in this 99. poem which is like a charm. Verily it is as useful in magic, as the hair of the head or the tip of the nail.⁴

Oh king, do not desert me, so long as the spiteful heaven strikes every moment one nail upon another by way of producing the notes of my fate.

Inasmuch as the mention arose of 'Amīd, who was controller of all the states of Hindustān, it is essential to reproduce something from poems of his which are rarely met with :

Arise 'Amīd, if thy heart is not cold and dead

Leave thy love-poems, and speak the praise of the Lord of the world.

Praise the Court of Heaven, for he has raised on high many an azure dome without the irksome aid of tools ;

¹ MS. (A) و هدر ناخن

² MS. (A) پناه روی عالم

³ رَدِيف Radīf. The name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme but in no way essential to it. Thus in this poem the word ناخن *nākhun* is the *radīf*, the rhyming letter or قَافِيَه *qāfiyah* being ر (r). In MS. (A) these verses are in the order given here.

⁴ In Persia it is the custom to bury the parings of the nails, and the cuttings of the hair, lest some harm should happen to the owner should they fall into the possession of a malicious person with magical power. The butchers also make a hole or a cut in the blade bones of sheep for the same reason, as they are considered a powerful instrument of magic. In the list of charms given in Gaster's translation of the "Sword of Moses" we find "69, to send plagues, take (parings?) from seven men and put them into a new potsherd and go out to the cemetery and there say No. 69 and bury it in a place that is not trodden by horses and afterwards take the dust from this potsherd and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house" J.R.A.S., Jan. 1895, p. 185.

He has appointed two kings (the Sun and Moon) to travel over this blue dome, and has allotted to them the planets as attendant cavaliers on all sides.

The tiring woman of his skill has displayed a hundred beauteous stars at nightfall from behind the curtain of nine folds.¹

He has ordained for the lady of the world, in Night and Day two able handmaids with the titles of Rūmī and Hindū (i.e., fair and dark).

Without any shop-keeper in the small shop of the sky, he has suspended in one corner a pair of scales with two pans.²

His skill has caused the crimson anemone³ to grow upon the summit of the mountains, his bounty has caused the Sūrī⁴ and Rāhū⁵ to blossom in the garden.

¹ The nine heavens, beginning from the lowest are:—

- 1 فلک القمر Falaka-l-qamar (Moon).
- 2 فلک العطار Falaka-l-utār (Mercury).
- 3 فلک الزهرة Falaka-z-Zuhra (Venus).
- 4 فلک الشمس Falaka-sh-Shams (Sun).
- 5 فلک المريخ Falaka-l-Mirrīkh (Mars).
- 6 فلک المشتري Falaka-l-Mushtarī (Jupiter).
- 7 فلک الزحل Falaka-z-Zuhal (Saturn).
- 8 فلک الثوابت Falaka-t-tawābit (Fixed stars).
- 9 فلک الاطلس Falaka-l-Atlas (The plain sky).

N.B.— اطلس Means an unstamped coin)

See the *Qhiyāsu-l-Lughāt*.

See also *Ain-i-Akbari* III. (Jarrett) 37, note 1.

See also *Kashshāf* Bib: Ind. Vol. II., p. 1134 and seqq.

² The constellation Libra, called ترزوی چرخ (tarāzū-i-charakh) or فلک ترزوی (tarāzū-i-falak) or میزان (mizān).

³ سوري "A beautiful red rose of an odoriferous and exhilarating flavour" (sic.) Steingass. In the *Hasht Bihisht* of Amīr Khusrū, we find لب پر راهر. A full smiling lip like the flower of the Sūrī. None of the dictionaries give this word nor can I ascertain what the flower is.

شقائق النعمان Shaga'iqu-n Nu'mān so called because of its redness as being likened to the flashing شقیقة of lightning or from النعمان in the sense of "blood" as resembling blood in colour so that it signifies "pieces of blood," (Lane) s. v. شقیقة

At one time with the point of the compasses of his bounty
he has limned the form of the mouth : at another with the
pen of his favour he has delineated the two eyebrows.

The face of day by his bounty has become a blaze of whiteness 100.
The locks of the night by his skill have become a marvel of
blackness.

The kings of the earth¹ with submission and humility, in
search of honour have rubbed their faces in the dust of
his threshold.

Every month has its moon upon the plain of the sky, at one
time curved like the *chaugān*,² at another round like the ball.
So just is he, that at the time of dispensing justice he has
never injured any one even an hair's breadth by oppression.
That one who sought his food in the heart's blood of grapes
he made on the morrow black with disgrace like the cheek
of the plum.³

The partridge with its (weak) claws could attack a hundred
hawks if so many heads of ants give such power to the
partridge.

The morning breeze bestowed out of his all-encompassing
bounty upon Chīn and Khātā⁴ the perfume of the bag of
the musk deer.

Hear from me oh friend, since you have heard the declaration
of unity, a piece of advice to hearing which both your ear
and mine are attentive.

Beware of giving an ear to the sound of the strings of the harp.
Beware of turning your attention to the flagon fashioned of
earth (wine flask)

Those who in this way live on good terms with their lovers,
such as you, do not say, Where is one of that company ?

سلاطین مجازی (Salāṭīn-i-majāzī) So-called kings, as opposed to
سلاطین حقیقی (Salāṭīn-i-ḥaqīqī) true kings, i.e., the prophets.

چوگان According to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*⁵ this name is given to any stick
with a bent end, especially to the bent stick with which they play the
"chal" and "naqqāra" (kinds of drums). Also applied to a long pole
with a curved end from which is suspended a steel ball as one of the insignia
of royalty. Here it is a "polo" stick.

Wine is forbidden to Muslims by their religion, Cf. Qur'ān, II. 216 and
127.

Khātā *Khafā* Cathay vid. D'Herbelot, II. 431 *Khathai*.

Do you yourself behold every morning, for the dove on the garden bough by its song of Kū Kū¹ bears witness to this beneficent one.

11. Cast thine eye upon the ground that thou mayest see poured out there many a friend of kind aspect, and many a sweet natured loved one

Do thou 'Amid again lay hold of the thread of confession & unity

And hang it upon the rosary of thy prayers as it were pearls
Oh Sovereign Lord! world-possessing Deity who art ever living

Yet without (the intervention of the vivifying) spirit,² an eloquent without a (material) tongue.

1 کوکو: The song of the dove, Where? Where?

روای

آن قصر که بر چرخ همی زد پهل
بر درگاه او شاهان نهادندی رو
دیدیم که بر کنگره اش فاخته.

(Omar Khayyām). اول همی داد که کوکو کوکو

You palace towering to the welkin blue
Where kings did bow them down and homage do
I saw a ring dove on its arches perched
And thus she made complaint Coo Coo, Coo Coo (Whinfield).

The pious Muhammadans in India say that the ringdove's note is

سبحان تیري قدرت سبحان تیري قدرت. Subhān terī qudrat, Subhān te qudrat. Praise be to Thee for thy power.

² ریح Rēḥ is the vital principle the "breath of life" (Gen. ii 7), distinguished from the نفس nafs or conscious manifestation of life, or the consciousness itself. Thus we find in the Qur'ān XV. 29.

وَنَفَّثْتُ فِيهِ مِنْ رُوْحِي wa nafakhtu fihi min rūḥi, "and breathed into it my spirit;" and again in Qur'ān V. 116.

إِنْ كُنْتُ قُلْتُهُ فَقَدْ عَلِمْتَهُ تَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِي

In kuntu qultuhu faqad 'alimtaḥu ta'lamu mā fī nafsī.

"Had I said so verily thou wouldst have known it, thou knowest what is in my soul"

It is said in a tradition that God created Adam and put into him a نفس nafs and a ریح rīḥ.

It would seem as though the word نفس nafs connotes the same idea as the word mind, using this word in the sense of the phenomena produced by

By thy order three daughters have come forth from the soul¹
Without the pangs of childbirth, and without the intermediary
influence of a husband.

Compared with thy ancient order what is Kisrā² and what
is Qaisar

In face of thy decree what is the Khāqān and what is Halākū?
Without thy command no ant can draw a single breath
of its own will,

Without thy knowledge no sleeper turns from one side to the
other.

the action of the روح *rūh* or vital principle upon matter: the highest form
of matter, with which we are familiar, namely, the nerve structures of the
human brain, admits of certain phenomena which in their totality we call
mind: the existence of a higher form of matter capable of higher manifesta-
tion than those which come within our present experience is obviously pos-
sible. A force apart from matter may, for anything we know, exist in a way
that we cannot figure to ourselves for want of some example. Such a force
self-existent would be روح *Rūh*.

1. These three daughters here referred to are the three divisions of نفس
nafs. نفس *nafs*, is by Arabian metaphysicians divided primarily into two
divisions (a) نفس لعل *nafsu-l-'aql* which is also called النفس اللطيفة
annafsu-n-nāfiqah the reason, mind, or discriminating faculty and (b)
نفس الحياة *nafsu-l-hayāt* the breath of life.

The first of these is again sub-divided into two, that which commands and
that which forbids: thus they say *فإن يروى نفسه* *fulānun yu'ẓmiru*
nafsihi. Such an one consults his two minds, i.e., weighs the pros and cons.
See Lane article نفس and روح, also Ghayāṭu-l-lughāt, and *Kushshaf art.*

نفس.
The Chosroes. Qaisar قيسر Caesar; an Emperor.
خاقان Turkish word meaning Emperor. The name given to the
Emperor of China and potentates of Chinese Tartary. (See de Courteille
Turk. Orient. Dict. خاقان). Khāqān. Originally the title Qān was given
to the supreme sovereign of the Moguls, while the subordinate prince
of the Chaghatai and other Chingizid lines were styled only Khān.
After a time the higher Qān lost its peculiar distinctive dignity and was
used by many besides the sovereign (see *Tārīkh-i-Rashidi* (Elias and Ross)
p. 30 n. 1).
Changiz Khan descendant of Changiz Khān.

Although I like a harp am hump backed and head downwards,¹
 Yet in the assembly of thy hope I play the air of Yā Huwa.²
 On that day when out of awe of thee all the assembly of the
 prophets own their allegiance on bended knee,
 Oh Lord do thou of thy clemency bestow upon me, wretched
 man that I am, forgiveness, for I am defiled with disobedi-
 ence and engulfed in it on all sides.

His also in the following in praise of the prophet may the peace
 and blessing of God be upon him ³

I fashion now a garment of song the embroidery of whose
 sleeve, flows gracefully from the⁴ adornment of the soul
 as the ornament of its divine Creator

12 I choose the path of thy forming by the ornament of straight-
 forward praise,

Because the two worlds are an indication⁵ of the embroidery
 of its sleeve;

Rose of the garden of the prophetic office, than whose spikenard⁶

¹ The word چنگ *chang* in its original sense means bent or curved, hence it
 means a hook, and especially the hook called also "gajak گچک" with which
 elephants are driven. Another secondary meaning is the bent hand and fingers
 of man, or the claws of animals and talons of birds. Also the name of a
 musical instrument (*Buḥārī* i. Qs(1')). The چنگ was played with a plectrum
 called زخمه *Zakhma*, and from its description as کوز *Kāz* and سرنگون
serngān was like the عود *'ūd* of the Arabs, and very similar to the mandolin
 of our times.

² یا هو. *Yā huwa*. An invocation to the most High—equivalent to "My God
 and my Lord."

³ These words are not in MS. (A) which has no introduction to the poem.
 MS. (B) has وَلَهُ قَصِيدَةٌ فِي الذِّكْرِ

⁴ MS. (A) لِبُحْرَةٍ. MS. (A) لِبُحْرَةٍ. ⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) لِبُحْرَةٍ.

⁶ سبيل *Sambal* (*Nardostochys jatamansi* N. O. Valerianaceae) *sāp̄d̄os*, or
 spikenard of the ancients, a perfume held in high esteem. (St. John xii. 2)

In the *Buḥārī* i. Jan. *īḥir* it is stated that there are two kinds of *Sambal*—
Sambal-i-Hindī, and *Sambal-i-Rūmī*

It is laxative and a tonic to the brain useful in dropsy, in flatulences,
 and as a hemostatic in metrorrhagia.

The perfumed sambal is the variety called *Sambal-i-Hindī* while the
Sambal-i-Rūmī is also called *Narqīn*.

See also *Ibnū-l-Batṭar* (Southeimel), Vol. II., pp. 59 et seqq

the morning breeze has never borne from Ohin to Māchin
a rarer odour from the fragrant mask.

Head of the created beings of the world, by whose glorious
advent, the heaven has brought forth a pearl of great
price from the shell as an offering

The heaven has placed its two standards firmly planted in the
seventh of its citadels, throughout the length and breadth
of the world in the five stated times of prayer¹

His onyx-like² eye has not cast one glance upon the signet of

¹ Cf. Tiesenthaler III. 107, Abul Fads (Reinund) II. II, 122. D'Herbolet
Vol. II. Art Khatāi. Māchin or Mahā Ohin r'as Ain-i-Akbari, II. 118 and note 2.

"Japhet is credited by Orientals with the paternity of Ohin who received
the Celestial empire as his inheritance and begot Māchin his first born."

² The phrase *عَيْنُ مَسَدَسٍ* means literally the six-sided over shaped (world).
The six sides or divisions of the world are—

عالم الانس 'alamu-l-ins, the world of mankind.

عالم الجن 'alamu-l-jinn, the world of the jinn or genii.

عالم الملائكة 'alamu-l-malā'ikah, the world of angels

عالم الحيوان 'alamu-l-hayawān, the animal world.

عالم النبات 'alamu-n-nabāt, the vegetable world.

عالم المعدن 'alamu-l-ma'adin, the mineral world.

The five stated times of prayer are known as—

فجر fajr, *ظهر* zuhr, *عصر* 'asr, *مغرب* magrib, *عشاء* 'ashā and *فجر* fajr.

The two standards *عالم* 'alam are the sun and moon, cf. Qur'an. XXXVI,
88, 89.

³ M. S. (A) reads *عَيْنُ مَسَدَسٍ*. His onyx-like eye, &c.

This must be taken to refer to a saying of the prophet Mahammad "The
cornelian for me and the onyx for my enemies." According to the *Muḥḍatu-
d-dahr* (p. 63), he said this "because the onyx causes its wearer to become
ill-tempered, rash, precipitate, and litigious ... There are several varieties
of onyx..... the best is that in which the markings are of equal breadth....
The whiteness of the onyx increases as the moon waxes, and diminishes as it
wanes. The onyx softens when boiled in oil, sparkling and emitting light.....
The people of China (*صين*) where the onyx is found, will not approach
the mines on account of the unlikeness of the stone, so that only the
poorest class will work there.

One property possessed by the onyx is that of curing scald-head in children;
it also acts as a sialagogue causing them to dribble when it is hung round
their necks"

See also Lane Art. *حجر* where it is stated that the wearing of an onyx
in a signet induces anxiety, disquietude of mind, grief and terrifying dreams

Solomon¹ because there is the stamp of his seal upon every-
 thing from the moon above to the fish below.²
 Fate and Destiny are his guardians, Eternity and Hope his
 helpers,
 Earth³ and the time are his advocates, angels and heaven
 pledged to him.
 His lip is honey and his cheek a rose, what an advantage to
 both worlds,
 His gulangabin⁴ (confection of rose and honey) relieves the
 tremor of disobedience,
 The mouth of the shell is full of the pearls of his pearl-like
 words,
 The belt of the horizon is bejewelled with his widespread
 faith,
 The prosperity of the body of the faithful is in his left hand,
 and the good fortune of the face of those who follow the
 path of his religion is in his right hand.
 The pages of the seven heavens are but an atom of his being,
 The two worlds, compared with the stream of his might, are
 but a sweat drop from his forehead,
 The tongue of a green lizard⁵ is one of the marks of his seal,
 The web of the spider was a curtain which concealed his
 relation,⁶

¹ Solomon's power lay according to tradition in the signet of his ring, on which was engraved the "most mighty name"

See Lane *Arabian Nights* introduction n. 21 and Chap. i. n. 15. This stone was supposed to show Solomon every thing he wished to know.

See D'Horbélot art. Solmān.

² Called يَهْمُوت Yāhmūt upon which the world is said to rest. See page 152, n. 2

³ MS. (A) زمي وزمان

⁴ گلنگبین The properties of the rose are said in the *Bahr-i-Jawāhir* to be laxative, expectorant, and anaphrodisiac: while honey is said to be a light dew which falls upon flowers and is collected by bees, it is hot and dry in the second degree. It relieves dimness of vision and is a stomachic tonic, is a laxative and expectorant. *Sadīdī* further says that honey is beneficial to old men, but injurious to youths and people of hot temperament, is aphrodisiac when heated with pulp of roses, and cures the bites of snakes and of dogs. Neither book mentions its use in the treatment of tremors specifically, but *Sadīdī*'s statement that it is good for old men may refer to senile tremors

⁵ This line should read بزبان سوسپاری رقمی بد سچلس See page 110,

In the moon-bedecked heaven, one glance of his cleft the heart of the moon the beloved of the sky into two halves as though it were a piece of cloth.¹

Both beasts of prey and birds have girded the loins of faithfulness to him.

Both young babes and old men have opened their lips in his praise.

The rose and the thorn of fragrant flowers are the fruits of his love and kindness.

The (sweet) sugar and the (bitter) colocynth are both reminders of his love and wrath.

The garden, in submission² to his creative power, like the violet has scratched its cheek (with vexation), Look! there is a blue mark upon its jasmine cheek.

His body is composed of spirit of divine sanctity, which is the purification of³ the spirit of the human. One cannot reach to his essential constitution, for his composition is of light.

note 3, for the story of the lizard. When Muhammad was fleeing from Mokka to Medina in company with Abu Bakr as Siddiq, his father-in-law, they came to a cave in the Jubal Qur and took refuge in it from their enemies. In order to conceal their whereabouts a spider was directed to spin its web over the entrance, which led the pursuers, who had followed them thus far, to conclude they had not entered the cave.

Haiatu-l-Qulub. See also Muir's *Life of Muh.* II. 257 note.

Compare the following lines by Ya'qūb al-Manjāniqī, quoted by Ibn Khalliqān.

ایہا المدعی الفخار دع الفخر لدى الکبرياء والتجبروت
نسج داود لم یفد لیلة الغار وكان الفخار المنکبوت

Oh thou who art so vain glorious! leave glory to him who is the lord of might and of power

David's weaving would have been of no service on the night of the cave
The honour was all given to the spider.

See Ibn Khalliqān (*de Slane*), Vol. IV., p. 875.

According to another account immediately after Muhammad and Abu Bakr had entered the cave, an Acacia tree grew up at the entrance and a pair of pigeons had already nested in it, while a spider's web closed what remained of the entrance. D. Herbelot II. 231 art. (Hegrah).

¹ MS. (A) چو قرارة.

² MSS. (A) and (B) چمن از نیاز خلقتش.

³ MSS. (A) and (B) که صفه روح انسی.

When Barāq the lightning-fleet came under his stirrup he leapt towards the highest heavens so that the curved crescent moon was like the hinder part of his saddle.

When his courser trod the face of the plain of the earth he placed his foot in such a way that the heaven became like the earth to him.

One step of his reached to the extremity of the earth from the house of Ummahānī,¹ the second step reached to the Sidra² from the earth like the angels.

The orb of the sun, the untamed steed, was led along in his cavalcade.

The moon having stamped a brand upon its quarter with its horseshoe shaped crescent.

Consider the goodness of his nature in that for our sakes in the next world, he has long pleaded the cause of his followers with a heart full of pity.

Wisdom, by his favour, is drawn out from the well of superstition by the rope of the cord of Chastity³ which was his mighty title

Asad Ullah leaving his lair, with his polished spear has torn out the heart of the envious cur-hearted ones like the tongue of a dog.

A band⁴ like the ants of the ground travelling fast⁵ along a path slender as a hair.

Shining like the lightning from the brilliancy of the torch of his religion.⁶

A band (of men lost) like a hair which has fallen into heaven⁷ by reason of his wrath fell into the fire from the bridge, with their waists bound like the ant in their hostility.

¹ See note 2, page 105. See Qur'an Sur. XVII.

² A tree in the seventh heaven having its roots in the sixth: "After that I was taken up to Sidratu-l-Muntahā and behold its fruits were like water pots and its leaves like elephants ears" (Mathew) Mishkātu-l-Masābih, Vol. II, p. 694.

See also Hughes' Dict. of Islām. (Sidratu-l-Muntahā).

³ حبل عمت MS. (A) (B) Qur'an Sur. III. 98.

⁴ MS. (A) گروهي. This alludes to the Muslims.

⁵ MS. (A) پويان.

⁶ MS. (A) شمع دينش.

⁷ MS. (A) and Text نعيمير MS. (B) نعيمير. These are Kāfirs, infidels.

On the surface of the board of his sincerity who can raise his head in deceit¹ since not even the heaven survives the throw of his two dice.²

Seven pillars are established by his four friends, for the seven heavens which are firmly fastened to the pole.

Of these four stars³ there are two conjunctions both of which are fortunate. The Moon and Jupiter⁴ are in conjunction, each one with its own partner.

In the two ears of the four elements how happy is my earring. From the two earrings⁵ sprang eight Paradises with the two lights which give sight to the eyes.

'Amid has devoted his powers in all directions to sing his praises, if perchance the good and bad of his words may gain some currency.

How can I boast of my descent, here, when I from my heart supplicate the intercessor of the day of judgment whose religion God approves.

From the embroidery of my eulogy, what legality⁶ is evident, in my magic? It is like wine whose pure brilliancy is enhanced by the crystal cup.⁷

From the sugarcandy of his sayings the lips of the parrots

¹ دُعا MS. (A) (B)

² MS. (A) (B) مكة نه چرخ Ka'batuin. The temples of Mokka and Jerusalem.

³ The first four Khalifs the "rightly-directed." MS. (A) reads دو قرآن.

⁴ Both the Moon and Jupiter are fortunate. See Ibn Khaldūn Proleg: (De Slane) II. 217, and seqq

⁵ دو قرطه; Hassan and Husain. ششت جنت Their eight children. دو نور Ali and Fātima.

⁶ See Ibn Khalliqān (Slane) III. 344 n. (8). Magic was held to be unlawful except the magical effect of eloquence such as in poetry which is called السحر الحلال As-saḥr u-l-ḥa'āl. Hāfiẓ says,

مستیزست این شعر یا سحر حلال

هاتف آورد این سخن یا جبرئیل

Is this poem a miracle, or is it lawful magic?

Has a heavenly messenger brought this message or was it Gabriel himself?

See Hughes' Dict. of Islām article Magic, also Lane sub voce سحر.

⁷ This couplet is omitted in MS. (B).

MS. (A) reads چو می که صوف مقربت چو پیماله شد معیش

are imbued with sugar as though from the tray of eloquence they have eaten the crumbs of his wisdom.

What person am I, what parrot am I, I that sing these verses? When I sing his praise it is like the buzzing of a fly. May the breath of the parrots of my soul not fail for a single moment from the singing his praise and proclaiming his triumph.

ANOTHER QASIDA.¹

Oh thou from awe of whose order the heaven is bowed in submission, the proclamation of thy might is this, Thou standest alone thou hast no companion.

Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, thy dominion is the dominion of uprightness.

Thy empire is no changeable empire. Thy rule is not a divided rule.

The rays of the brightness of thy holiness are the portrayers of the sun and moon. The recluse of thy kingdom is in the highest altitude of Simāk reaching even to Samak.²

At one time thou givest to the partridge of the day wings and feathers of fiery hue, at another in the liquid cage of the heavens thou makest the moon-tailed pigeon of the night³ as an angel.⁴

Thou hast broken the cup of the moon at the head and foot of each month.⁵ Thou hast bound thine all-encompassing contemplation around the star Parak.⁶

¹ MS. (A) has the words *ألف لاله* *Aīzan lahu* Also by him.

² The fourteenth house of the houses of the Moon. There are two Simāk one *As-Simāku-r-Rāmin*, the lance-bearing Simāk (Aroturus); and the other *As-Simāku-l-A'zal*, the unnamed Simāk (Spica Virginis) Both of these are in the feet of the constellation Leo. The word Simāk is said by the Arab commentator on *Ulug Beg* to denote great altitude, in derivation from the root *Samaka* to rise, to be exalted. See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane) Vol. I. note 11.

Samak, the fish, which is below the Earth bearing on its back a cow which bears the earth on its horn. (*Ghīyāṣu-l-Lughāt*).

³ *بُرْهَانُ الْقَائِلِ* *Burhān-i-Qā'il*. A bird having claws, with a black and white tail from which they make feathers for arrows: Also a pigeon all black with white tail.

⁴ MS. (A) reads *غُلّ* which seems to have no meaning. The text reads *فَلَك* with a variant *مَلَك* which we find in MS (B).

⁵ Both in the new moon, and in the last quarter, the moon has a defective form; crescent or decreescent

⁶ *پَرَک* *Parak*. The star Canopus. *Burhān-i-Q*

Thy power is the gardener, the four quarters of the earth
are his tilth. Thou hast cast around that as the shelter of
an eyelid, the bounty of the seven oceans.¹

From the midst of the oven of the east, thy order bringeth
forth the loaf of gold of the west after the silvery loaf.²

In the garden full of thy skilled works, the hand of the tiring
woman of the morning-breeze rubs on the rouge of adorn-
ment like the beauties³ do over the patches.⁴

103.

The rose with the mark of the mole on its cheek, displayed
its buds. Like the cheek of the beauty the moon displays
its face from the heavens.⁵

On the extremity of the plain of spring, issuing from the door
of thy creation, the tulip sits with a shield, the willow
stands with its arrow.

The jasmine and the rose proclaim thy skill with lip and
cheek.

Thy care preserves the sugar of the confection with salt.⁶

Except thy eternal existence how can any caravan arrive at
secondary existence.⁷

In the eye of truth there is *kuhl*⁸ (of ornament), in the eye

these are according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*.

بحر جرجان *Bahr-i-Jurjān*, بحر طبرية *Bahr-i-Tabariya*.

بحر نیلوس *Bahr-i-Nīlas*, دریای روم *Daryā-i-Rūm*.

دریای مغرب *Daryā-i-Maghrib*, دریای چین *Daryā-i-Chīn*.

بحر خوارزم *Bahr-i-Khwarazm*.

MSS. (A) and (B) read خبک.

تُرک مَنار MSS. (A) and (B).

خاک - خبک "A patch" for the face (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi*).

¹ I read here چون رخ ترک صد که آوری نماید از فلک. This seems the
best reading. Both MSS. (A) and (B) lend countenance to it. The reading
in the text is impossible.

² That is to say the sweet lips of his beloved are so pliant that it seems
as though they were tinged with salt. Conserve of roses is called پَرِکارِش.

³ قَدَم (qadam) Existence from all eternity. For حُدُود (*hudūd*) see note
page 1.

⁴ The کحل *kahl* was used as a collyrium. مِل کَشیدان (*Mil Kashidan*)
is to put out the eyes. مِل *mīl*, called also مِلْمِل *milmīl*, is the bodkin
or style used for applying the *kahl*.

of infidelity and doubt there is the probe (of destruction).
Whoever has the inscription on his ring in accordance with
thy way¹ verily is saved, but whoever has on his forehead
the brand of opposition to thee verily he is lost.

In the glory of thy approbation why should any one take² to
craft? Why should the saw of Nūh ibn Lamak³ cut down
every tree?

The parrot of my life at the remembrance of thee has re-
mained safe from the snare of grief,⁴ just as in the ocean
of Jupiter the Fish is safe from the net⁵.

Like an Ethiopian and a Greek, the day has taken away from
thy threshold a gold embroidered mantle, the night has
despoiled thee of a dress distinguished by a plumed⁶
cap.

One draught of thy kindness is equal to the display of several
rows (of cups).

A morsel of thy favour is for the accountants⁶ several laks.

As long as thou drawest him as by the end of the cord, no
one turns away his face from the door. It were better that
the neck of the heaven should be in the noose of the Milky-
way.

Thy wrath drives out the pride of tyrants⁷ from their heads,
by means of the point of the sting of a mosquito⁸ not by
the advanced guard of an army.

¹ MS (A) reads دهش but this is an error.

² نوح بن لامك. The text and both MSS read نوح بن ملك. See Genesis
i. 28-30 Noah the son of Lamech; also Gen. vi. 14

³ زدم غم MSS. (A) and (B). The text reads wrongly غم غم

⁴ When Jupiter enters the constellation of Pisces he is in the ascendant.

⁵ MS. (A) كل كل [MS. (B) كل كل Text كل كل]

كل كل = کلاه پروانه kulah-i-paridāi. (Burhān-i-Qatī').

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) اجل جریده.

⁷ MS. (A) جبابرة [MS. (B) جبابرة Text جبابرة]

⁸ MS (A) پشه

In the *Nāsikh-i-tawārīkh* of Lisānu-l-Mulk we find the following account
of this incident:—

"The cause of the death of Nimrod was this, that after despairing of his
ability to burn Abraham, in consequence of his protection by the Almighty,
the idea of entering into conflict with the Most High entered his head, and

If the drops of the bounty of thy nearness distil upon the palate of my heart say to the clouds of supplication "Do not rain" and say to the tear of hope "Do not fall."

I am fulfilled with thy bounty like a pearl in the cloudy weather.¹

Not like the wine flask which comes forth from the assembly after yielding the benefit of its fulness.²

I have attained the dignity of eloquence from thy consent.

By thy help it is that this joyful sound³ has been placed in my hand by destiny.

How long shall I utter cries of grief round the carpets of Emperors, because at thy door there is a sustenance-gaining world free from vexation.⁴

Wine which gives you a headache is better cast on the ground.

A carpet if it be of silk⁵ is more fit to be burnt than thorns.

He ordered Abraham to be brought before him; then turning towards him he said, Oh Abraham, bid your God to come with his army, and array himself against me in battle so that the one who conquers may have the upper hand. Tomorrow, that is Wednesday, we will arrange the battle field before this city, and test man with man.

Then having reviewed his army he came out from the city with a countless array, and drew up in line on the battle field.

The prophet Abraham came out alone and unaccompanied, in face of that vast host, and stood there. Suddenly, by the command of the Almighty, the face of heaven became darkened by a cloud of mosquitos, which are the most contemptible of all creatures, and they at once began to sting the army of Nimrūd, and put them to flight, and most of those worthless ones died. Nimrūd, on seeing this, in fear and shame turned his back upon the whirlpool of death, and fled into his fort. Suddenly a single mosquito entering after him stung his hip, and reached his brain. For forty years the mosquito fed upon his brain, after which Nimrūd died in object misery."

A: the mosquito is known to be the intermediary host of certain parasites and may be the means of conveying infective disease, there may be a substratum of truth in this fable.

¹ در قشایان MS. (A). The text reads wrongly در قشایان

² That is to say my fulness is one which is permanent, like that of the pearl which remains hidden in the shell, not transitory like that of the wine flask which lends to emptiness.

³ هُمَزْ humaz literally means the sound of clapping the hands from joy.

⁴ MS. (A) کلک کلک

⁵ By the laws of Islām, cloth made entirely of silk is not permissible for use either as clothing at times of prayer, or as a prayer carpet. Cloth woven of silk and cotton mixed is permissible and is called رَشْمِ مِخْتَلَطْ.

Oh Lord, with that rose of benevolence from the exhalations of whose excellence the olfactory sense of the angels is refreshed while the musk of Chîn remains dry as a husk,

Let me refresh the olfactories of my soul every moment, until I am on the brink of the grave; that my dust may be like a rose garden far removed from the pricking of thistles.

The possession of sincerity, and true equity, the root of modesty, and the secret¹ of truth, the house of religion is founded on all of these both by bond and deed.

On the heaven of his prophecy, for the travellers along the high road of the sacred law, each of these four pillars² is a sign of the injunction Go on thy way and be pure.³

May every breath of my life be praise and glory, until the breath of the morning, that each breath may then be a worthy present for the soul.

Think that the pupils of my two eyes are four in affection, (i.e., four Khalifs).

Otherwise thou wilt fail to gain Paradise, and art ready for the door of hell.

What good will apostasy do you when 'Alî is independent of you? How can gold shew its perfect purity if the touchstone does not shew the shine of it?

What blame is it to the body of the lute if during the tune⁴ either its silken string breaks, or its bridge slips down.

Go, and open the letter of the Prophet in all sincerity, that it may efface from your mind the suspicion as regards "Faddak."⁵

¹ MSS. (A) (B) شیرحق.

The term رافضی *rāfizi* is applied by Sūnnī Muslims to any of the Shī'ah sects. See Hughes. *Dict. of Islam Art.* Rāfizi.

² The four khalifs.

³ *Hadis.* مثل اصحابي كالنجوم بايهم اعدديتم اعدديتم. My companions are like the stars, whichever of them you follow you will be led by it.

⁴ بنفاد ذر MS. (A)

⁵ *Faddak* was an estate near Medina which Muḥammad left to his daughter, Fātima.

After the prophet's death Abu Bakr took it and Fātima demanded it of

And he who like the ill-omened owl¹ boasts of being a *Khārījī*² him, he replied: "Thy father said that we who are prophets do not leave hereditary legacies, all that I leave is for Moslems.

نحن مفاشر الأنبياء لا نورث ما تركنا ما صدقة

The *Shī'ahs* say that Abu Bakr seized Faddak by force. The poet denies this assertion in the above verse.

¹ يوم شوم. The ill-omen attending the owl is common to all countries, probably from the habit it has of frequenting ruined buildings. The Arabic proverb indicates the estimation in which the owl was held.

لو كان في البومة خير ما تركها الصياد

Si in ulula bonum fuisset, eam venator non reliquisset. Freytag Meid, Prov. II. p. 572.

The story told by Mas'ūdī about Bahrām points in the same direction. See Ibn Khaldūn (de Slane). Prolegomenes, I. 107.

In the *Harat-ul-Hairūn* there is a story told of Al Mā'mūn who in the course of his peregrinations one day saw a young man writing something on the wall with a piece of charcoal. He ordered his servants to see what the man was writing and it was as follows:

يا قصر قد جمع فيك الشوم واللوم متي يعيش في اركانك البوم
يوم يعيش فيك البوم من فرحي اكون اول من نعيك مرغوم

Oh palace ill-luck and curse are assembled in thee;

When will the owl make her nest in thy pillars?

Happy the day when the owl builds her nest in thee!

I shall be the first to announce thy downfall.

He explained this before Al Mā'mūn by saying that he was in great distress and hoped to benefit by the ruin of the palace.

² The name *Khārījī* was given to any one who denied any one of the true Imams (see Cureton's *Shahrastānī Milāl wa Aḥkāl*, page 85.)

See the article *Khawārij* in Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*.

The *Khārījī* heresy was that any man of no matter what nation or tribe may be appointed *Khalīfah* provided that he was a good man and was elected by the whole body of Moslems.

See for a fuller account of this sect. Sale's *Qur'ān*. Preliminary Discourse, p. 123 (Ed. of 1857) (Badger, *Imāms and Seifyids of Omān*, Appendix, pp. 374, and seq.) (Osborn, *Islām under the Arabs*, p. 116). The last mentioned gives a full account of the origin of this heretical sect when 'Alī and Mū'āwīa met at Siffin from which the following is an extract "The valour of 'Alī was brilliantly seconded by that of his favourite lieutenant Malik al-Ashtar, the Marshal Ney of the Arabian Army. A tremendous charge by Malik at last forced a wing of the Syrian troops to give ground. Gradually the whole line was forced back, the retreat became a rout."

However at this critical moment Amron ibn al-'As knowing the fanatical character of 'Alī's troops, ordered a number of Syrian soldiers to advance

compared to the confidant of the cave¹ is like the night-flying bat² in comparison with the standard of the day (the Sun). Put aside your desire of rebellion, say not a word save in respect, how can a dog contend with a tawny lion³?

What power have you to decide between the companions of the Prophet, you who from foolishness like a blind man, seek the softness of ermine from the stoat.⁴

It were better that the skirt of the time was freed by skilful manngement, from the impurity of those abomination working sects before that this sound reaches their ears. What brought you into hell?⁵

Oh Lord! although for a long time my heart has been afflicted by the darlings of Chigil, and held fast by the rosy cheeks of Yamak⁶

towards their line bearing copies of the Qur'ān fixed to the heads of their lances. "Let the blood of the Faithful cease to flow" they cried "let the Book of God decide between us"

'Alī's soldiers thereupon turned upon him headed by certain men whom Aḥ-Shahrastānī names, and insisted upon 'Alī recalling Malik Al-Ash'ar from fighting against the Moslems "or" said they "we will assuredly deal with you as we dealt with 'Usayn" and insisted upon the matter in dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwīa being settled by arbitration.

¹ Abū Bakr — The sole companion of Muhammad when he fled from Mecca to Medinah, cf. Qur'ān ix. 40

لَا تَنْصُرُوهُ فَقَدْ نَصَرَهُ اللَّهُ إِذْ أَخْرَجَهُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا ثَانِيَ الْآيَاتِ

Unless ye help him, and God did help him when these who disbelieved drove him forth the second of two, when they twain were in the cave (of Jabal Sa'ir)

² شب پریک HSS. (A) and (B) have شب پریک which seems to have no meaning

³ Kizil Arslan is the Turkish for "red lion" He was son of Ildighiz the first of the Atābaks of Arar baijān whose dynasty commenced in 555. H. and ended in 622. H. Muhammad the older son of Ildighiz succeeded his father and was in turn succeeded by Kizil Arslan who was assassinated in 587. H. (D'Herbelot) (Beale).

⁴ فَنَک. fanak. The animal commonly known by the name دال دال wensel or stoat.

⁵ Qur'ān lxxiv. 43, فِي جَنَّاتٍ يَتَسَاءَلُونَ مِنَ الْمُجْرِمِينَ مَا سَلَكَكُمْ فِي سَقَرٍ

In gardens shall they ask each other about the sinners — what drove ye into hell-fire?

⁶ Chigil. The Burhān-i-Qāṭi' says. A city in Turkestan where inhabitants are exceedingly beautiful and are unequalled in archery.

Yet in the beginning of the *nān* and *dāl* of my age (54) 103.

after the year Ā and nān and hā (655 H.),¹ thanks be to God that the bird of my ambition has burst the bonds of this net and gone free.

I have washed my hands of the one, and have freed my feet from the other, springing out of both snares like the clay pellets from a pea-shooter.²

At thy footstool henceforth my constant cry is "I repent,"
my supplication is to thee, my secret thoughts and open
dealings are with thee.

Thou shewest me mercy at that time when by the intoxication of the wineskin of death both my chin and jaws are cold and shrunken :

When my breath is bound upon the balista of my body like

Yāqūt says: A city lying beyond the river Sīhūn in Terkestan near Turrūt. Thence sprang Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Yahyā ibn Yūnas Alḡilī the Khaṣṣ of Samarqand in the days of Qadar Khān he died in Sna'būn 416 H.

* Tauek Name of a city and country celebrated for the beauty of its people. Bq Han 1 Q 44.

Yaght der "hot relation thin

1 The above charts that 'Amid Lūniakī was born in the year 601 H. The mode of reckoning is that always adopted. There does not appear to be any intended double entendre here, though the word *ai* which stands for 54 means good guide etc., no meaning can be attached to the *ai* which stands for 045. See page 90 note 1

* Liā, ts'af, is a long tube for throwing clay balls through by the force of the breath of Liā. Steingard's Diet

It is also called Ugby Fish.

of English pen gon, traced by Short (Etym Dict) to the base Pu express-
tive of the act of Llor ing. Skr bhakk

پھونکا *puff* *barden to blow out—to puff*

چراغی را که خون سرخروز

هریکس پټ کډن پيشه شيسوز

A lamp which God has lighted

He who attempts to blow it out burns his beard

It may be added in the text after the word وَلَا يَسْتَكْبِرُ MS. (A). This appears to mean that when he is at the point of death he finds mercy. The intoxication is the unconsciousness resulting from approaching death, and the retraction of the q'um and lower jaw in the death struggle is believed to be the effect of the rafikin.

a missile, then the stone of the balista of death strikes my
body breaking it as though it were an earthen jar.²
Grant me a place at the banquet of thy pardoning mercy,
At that time when the Angel of Death says to me "Take
and eat,"³
Shewing his helplessness Amid thy slave offers these verses,
in praise of thy excellence to the best of his power.
Accept these few brief words from this vile ear,⁴
For this mangy ear is a partner of your journey.
Thy praise is written on my heart, afterwards comes the praise
of the Prophet. May every word besides these be erased
from my heart.

AN EULOGISTIC QASIDA.

Oh thou upon whose jasmine-like face are the countless talls
of the violet-hued locks.
By whose ruby lips the brilliant pearls are imprisoned.
Thy locks are an armourer who every moment brings forth
Fragrant chains to fetter thy lily-like face.
10. Thy lily face is better confined by the links of thy spikenard-
hued locks.
Bid the morning breeze as it breathes not to remove the
chains (of thy hair) from thy rosy (cheeks).
Thy mouth is like a delicate bud which bursts into smiles;
Loosen the folds of that bud even if with the point of a
thorn.
Thy rose-petalled cheeks are adorned by the bonds of thy
dark and fragrant locks.

¹ This appears to be the author's meaning. The convulsive breathing is compared to the jerking action of the balista,

² If we read كرك for كرك the meaning will be "strikes it with the elephant goad." There is some uncertainty about the meaning of the word كرك. One meaning is according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi* "an earthenware vessel which is used for holding dates."

³ قَتَقْ كَرْك should be the reading. MS. (A) MS. (B) read كَرْك كَرْك.

قَتَقْ (qutug) is a Turkish word signifying any thing eaten as a relish.
كَرْك (qazal) is the Persian equivalent of قَتَقْ. (qutug).

⁴ This translation is admittedly inelegant, but it is inevitable.

Save on thy rose who has ever seen so becoming a bond?

Perchance thou didst say, thy face is like the rose and tulip to look upon, the fragrant down on thy cheek is like the edging of a bed of tulips.

Thy cheek was not fit for this, why does it bear its chain, like me who bear my chain in the time of the reign of this monarch.

The world conquering king Naṣīru-l-Haqq (ally of the truth), he who places upon the hands and feet of meanness a thousand fetters by his generosity.

Wālā Muḥammad Balban, who entangles rebels in the time of war, in the noose of his wrath.¹

Oh king of the age, by whose auspicious fortune the treasurer of Fate has undone the fastenings of the shell of the mine of prosperity.

Beneath the saddle of the confusion of thy enemy on the day of fighting, each girth of thy saddle becomes sixty-four² thongs to bind him.

He is like the opium, provoking quarrels and suspicion,

If his opium remains enclosed within the poppy head.³

111.

When the aromatic odour of thy good qualities removed the bond from the wrinkled mouth of the musk bag of Tātār, ambergris gained a fresh odour⁴ from its fragrant breeze, and the rose bud too was loosed from its prison by the newly arrived spring.

¹ These couplets are transposed in MS. (A) as given above.

² شصت و چار بند I do not understand this, nor can I get any adequate explanation of it.

³ MS. (A) انیونش گر بناند. The *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* sums up the properties of opium thus قلیلہ ینفع و کثیر یقتل *qaliluhu yunfa'u wa 'kathirun yaqtulu*.

In small doses it is beneficial acting as a narcotic, in large doses it kills.

No mention is made of its quarrel-provoking properties, and from the second half of the couplet it would seem as though the quarrels are provoked by its cultivation rather than by the drug.

⁴ نسیم نسیم MS. (A). The text reads نسیم نسیم.

The heaven every moment casts the fetter of intoxication on those who are drunk with the cup of thy favour, by the obstruction of their brain.¹

Thy kingdom is a rivulet flowing from the spring of satisfied desire; safety, enjoyment and pleasure are the banks of this stream.

In such a way open the road of equity for the ends of victory, That by thy justice no fetters may exist in the world save the locks of lovers' hair.

You see one who has assisted injustice in his soul in whose path

Destiny places countless² obstacles.

Like Nanshirwān when thou knockest at the door of justice. Thou keepest not the chains firmly fastened on bad and good.

In thy reign, it behoves that no one in his lifetime should see any fetter, save on the foot of the cypress and the finger-bearing leaf of the Chinār.³

The knot of the dragon's tail and the dragon's head⁴ is a fetter on the sky, come and relieve the distressed heaven from its bondage.

That the sun and moon may become relieved of the affliction

¹ Both MSS. (A and B) have *شورگه ایکنه*. I am not satisfied with this rendering but can suggest no better.

² *بیشمار بند*. MS. (A) reads *سه هزار بند*.

³ *Platanus orientalis*. The oriental plane has a broad palmate leaf. It is the Sycamore of the ancients according to Balfour.

⁴ *عقد و ذنب* *met caput et cauda* (راس و ذنب) pro quo etiam dicunt *عقد تین* (dual), qui est term, techn; astron: Bh. "Caput et cauda draconis i. e., nodus ascendens et descendens." Vüller sub voce *عقد*. The *Istilahat ul-Funūn*, says that the 'Uqdatu-r-Rā's is also called 'Uqdatu-sh-Shimāliya and the 'Uqdatu-z-Zanab is called 'Uqdatu-l-Junūbiya, and the two together are called *Jawazah* *جو زح*. These terms are fully explained in the Article

النجم p. 510. Vol. I. See also Lane s. v. *تین* where the terms are explained as being the ascending and descending nodes of the planet.

of eclipse¹ in the knot of the dragon's tail,² like me who am in the bond of distress.

Thou hast ordered that the learned should be imprisoned,

Beware that thou layest no bond upon the learned.

Woe is me! Honour them rather out of policy, and on the newly wedded bride of eulogy bind the princely pearl taken from the casket of my heart. 112.

Has ever any monarch placed a bond on literary men out of love of empire and usurpation?

I, at all events, am a talking parrot, not a hunting falcon, the hawk's jesses are not rightly placed on the legs of parrots.

Why do you imprison me, as from my secret heart there is an evident fastening (of grief) fixed upon the door of my heart's fortress.

Loose my bonds, and by way of conquering the fortress, fix

¹ As regards the word *كسوف* *kusūf* it is generally held that this word is more specially applicable to an eclipse of the sun while *خسوف* *khusūf* is applied to denote an eclipse of the moon. The *Qhiyāsu-l-Lughāt* applies it to either while the *Kashshāf* *Iṭlāḥāt-i-Funūn* lays down that *كسوف* should be used to denote a total eclipse, and *خسوف* a partial eclipse; *كسوف* moreover indicating only a change of colour, while *خسوف* denotes a total loss of colour. Lane however says they both mean the same, or that "in the common conventional language *الكسوف* is the partial loss of the light of the sun and *الخسوف* is the total loss of the light thereof," and it is said in a tradition,

ان الشمس والقمر لا يموتان لموت احد او لحياته

As *ك* is a much earlier letter than *خ* it is probable that originally at all events *كسوف* stood for an eclipse either of the sun or moon, the meaning being subsequently modified for convenience.

² Compare the Hindū mythological monster Rāhu.

The name Rāhu by which the ascending node is designated is properly mythological and belongs to the monster in the heavens which, by the ancient Hindūs, as by more than one other people, was believed to occasion the eclipses of the sun and moon by attempting to devour them. Burgess, *Sūrya Siddhānta*, p. 60.

Mythologically Rāhu is a Dātya who is supposed to seize the sun and moon and swallow them thus obscuring their rays and causing eclipses. Rāhu and Ketu are in astronomy the ascending and descending nodes. Rāhu is the cause of eclipses and is used to designate the eclipse itself (Nelson *Dict of Hindu Mythology*, p. 252.)

the bond of thy heart upon the mercy of the threshold of the Creator.

My heart was wounded by the tyranny and oppression of the heaven, now the chain wounds my leg as well as my heart. No one has seen half a dāng weight of gold in my possession, And, even if he has, I would not willingly undergo imprisonment for the sake of it.¹

Gold has no value in my sight, how can I pledge it like a usurer so as to get twelve for every ten.

I have eloquence like pure gold, another man has gold itself, Open your hand in bounty to me, and keep him imprisoned. Do not keep me so long in suspense waiting for my release, My imprisonment has turned my blood to water in this weary waiting.

At least kill this hapless innocent with the sword of thy wrath,

But do not imprison me, for imprisonment kills me² with its perpetual agony.

My name has become famous for eloquence from east to west, Is it fitting to put fetters on the feet of such a famous poet? Wisdom said to me long ago by way of advice,

Chain thyself at the threshold of the victorious king.

I was indulging in these hopes, when the king himself shewed kindness and imprisoned this miserable one as though he were a murderer.

You may be quite sure that imprisonment is not required in that place in which the seal of the treasury was opened by his generosity.

First thou didst fasten, then thou didst loosen,³ Oh! noble bounty! I carry the fetters from thy door into the presence of the Almighty as a memorial.

It was the sword of royalty [which loosened them] by the

¹ MS (A)

در بند من نه دیده کسی نیم دایم ز
ور دید بهران نکسم اختیار بند

In MS. (B), the first line is like the text, the second like MS. (A)

² MS. (A) می کشیدم

³ MS (A) باز کشاده

mercy of the Most Bountiful; had that not been so the imprisonment would have utterly ruined me.

Since¹ you 'Amīd girt the loins of loyalty in the service of the throne, therefore by his care the days of your imprisonment were brought to a happy termination.

As long as the young and sprightly maidens to the distraction of their lovers, have purposely bound their cheeks with the chain of youthful bloom.

So long may the door of good fortune be closed in every direction to your enemies,

And by the sword may the bars of both fortresses be opened.

Qaṣīda.

My eye is the boundless ocean, the thought of my heart is a bark,

In sorrow my bark sets forth on the floods as they flow from my eyes.

Night and day I float in the flood of tears, how can my bark 114
live in the midst of the raging billows of blood?

How can I expect to win my desire from the vile world?

How can I launch my bark on the surface of a gutter?

Although my bark in this ocean, now sails on and now lies at rest, sailing with the seven sails,² and resting on the four anchors.³

1 MS. (A) *هو*

The text as it stands must be translated, If thou hadst girt would have been brought &c.

It is evident from this Qaṣīda that 'Amīd Lomakī was imprisoned, but I can find no reference to it in the account of him given in the *Majma'u-l-Fawa'id*.

² The seven sails here appear to mean the seven members of the body, known as the *ḥaṣṭ andām* (1) the head, (2) the chest, (3) the back, (5) and (6) the two hands, (7) the feet or (1) the brain, (2) the heart, (3) the liver, (4) the spleen, (5) lungs, (6) gall bladder, (7) stomach.

This name was also given to a vein by section of which it was supposed that blood was withdrawn from the seven members first mentioned.

³ The four anchors are the four "humours," according to the old humoral pathology. *ad-dam*. The blood. *al-balgham*. The phlegm.

as-safra'. The bile. *as-sauda'*. The black bile.

The four anchors may however be taken to be the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water.

Of what use to me are those sails and those anchors,
If my bark is suddenly overwhelmed by the billows of
death?

In this age I sought fidelity from the tyrannical,
Who has ever seen a boat on the Jihūn in the month of
Mehrgān?

In front of the claws of this crab² and the revolution of the
nine heavens, loosen³ thy four anchors and then launch
thy bark.

The sea-monster of avarice of my soul turns back, otherwise⁴
one might drag the boat to the shore by some contrivance.
With the exception of the philosophers how can anyone

1. "In former times (says Albirūnī) this day (Mihrajān) used to coincide with the beginning of winter" at which time the Jihūn would be frozen and unfit for navigation owing to the intense cold. Yāqūt states that in the winter the Jihūn freezes so hard that the ice is five spans (about 40 inches) thick, that the people dig wells through the ice with pick-axes to get water, and that caravans and carts cross the ice, which becomes like a high road covered with dust. This continues two months. Concerning the word Mihrgān, the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi* says, "Mihrgān is the seventh month of the Shamsī year, which corresponds with the position of the sun in Libra, which is the beginning of autumn. The feast of Mihrgān is the next greatest feast among the Persians to that of Nāuroz, and, like this latter feast, is divided into two, *Mihrgān-i-Khass* and *Mihrgān-i-ʿamma*; the feast of Mihrgān lasts for six days beginning from the sixteenth of the month. It is said that God Almighty laid out the world on the 21st and endowed bodies with souls on that day. They say also that Farīdūn ascended the throne on that day. The meaning of Mihrgān is the binding of affection (میسبت پیوستن) and it was so called because for the above reasons the people were treated kindly by their rulers on that day.

Others again say that there was a king of the Persians named Mihr who was a great tyrant and was consigned to hell in the middle of this month, so that they called it Mihrgān in the meaning of death of a tyrannical king. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi*).

According to others Mihr is the name of the sun, who is said to have for the first time appeared to the world on this day. This is indicated by the custom of the Kīsrās of crowning themselves on this day with a crown on which was worked an image of the sun and of the wheel on which he rotates.—(Albirūnī).

See also Albirūnī (*Chron. of Ancient Nations*), p. 208 and seq.

2 At the commencement of spring when the Sun enters Cancer; i.e., March 21st.

3 بکشا و.

4 MSS. (A) and (B) have وینه.

guide the ship out of the whirlpool of this world to its final
haven of refuge.¹

Do not set thy heart upon the ebony²-like world, because a
ship built of ebony is overwhelmed in the sea of this
worthless world.

Do not seek for safety when loaded with boastfulness
For an overloaded ship is speedily wrecked.

Seek security from sorrow at that time when you have been
wise enough to make, as I have, a ship from the planks of
the praise of thy lord.

The centre of kingship of land and sea Tājir-l-Haqq, who 115.
made a ship of safety for traversing the ocean (Qulzum)
of sorrow.

Sinjar³ who is like the sky in dignity, in fear of whom
sedition navigated its ship in the direction of the crossing
of the ocean of Qairawān.⁴

سوري حاصل عقلي.

¹ He compares the world to ebony because of its blackness indicating
misfortune. Ebony *أبنوس* is said in the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi* to be "a black
wood which when placed upon the fire emits a pleasant smell like the *زباد*
(*zād*) or aloe, when rubbed down with water and used as a collyrium it
relieves night blindness, given internally it dispels calculus of the bladder."

The *Bahra-l-Jurrah* says that ebony "is a black wood which sinks when
thrown into water," hence the poet assumes a ship built of ebony would sink.

² Abul Hārith Sinjar Ibn Malikshah ibn Alp Arslān was Sultan of Khurāsān,
Ghazna and Mavarān-n-Nahr. He was the sixth of the Seljūq Sultāns,

He was excessively liberal, and was supposed to be wealthier than any of
the Persian kings. He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Ghuzz tribe
in 548 A. H. (1153 A. D.) but eventually escaped and was at the time of his
death in 555 A. H. on the point of recovering his throne. He was born
according to Ibn Khalliqān in A. H. 479, in the environs of Sinjar whence he
received his name. One authority places his death in the year 552. He died
at Merv. See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane) I. 600.

³ See also D'Herbelot art Sangiār. Vol. III, p. 202, et seqq.

⁴ Qairawān, Long. 10° E. Lat. 36 N. is situated in the North of Africa, in
the province of Tanis. It is the ancient Cyrene, the modern Kairwān. At
the commencement of the Muslim occupation it was the capital of
Africa. See Abul Feda (Renaud) II. i 198. The ocean of Qairawān is the
Mediterranean.

In Abul Feda's (Annales), we find that Qairawān was founded in the year 60
H. (665-666 A. D.) and was completed five years later.

From the breeze of his smile in the ocean, the ship produces
from every dry stick the branch of saffron.¹

When his auspicious prow turns towards the ocean the ship
looks like a pearl emerging from the sea.

The heaven offers itself as his ladder when, arriving near the
shore, the ship stands in need of a ladder.

At that time when his ship floats over the crimson tide of the
blood of his brave enemies,

If we look, it appears as though his ship crosses over the dry
(sparkling) water of the points of daggers and spears.

Thy enemy saw his life like a snare (from which he must
escape) and the ship of his desire shattered to pieces by
thy bond-loosening arrow.²

By the good fortune of thy arrival the ship sails along on
its breast, on the tops of the waves to the very highest
heavens³

Thy dagger lays open the breast of thy envious enemies just
as, by means of its keel, the ship opens the lips of the
waves and the mouth of the ocean,

At that time when, in pursuit of the punishment of thine
enemies, the morning breezes hasten their march and thy
ship goes with slackened rein.

From this lake Khushî demanded a ship (ode),

Saying such and such a ship is fit for this wide ocean,

I obediently set it sailing over the face of that ocean,

Although that ship was not fitted for such a sea.

When the sea of my mind burst into waves in thy praise, I
made the word کشتی (Lishti) the *ra-lif* by way of trial.

If the ship had not been like a fish, tongueless in its essence

It would not have addressed me except as "Ocean of benevo-
lence and mine of eloquence"

Among the profoundly learned is there anyone better than

¹ See page 41, note 2.

² MS. (A).

ز تیر بند شگافش حیات را دشمن
چو دام دید همه رخنه ابرمان کشتن

MS. (B) has the same with the exception of رخن for رخنه in line 2

³ MS. (A) and MS. (B) both have wrong readings of these lines.

Amid who has launched his ship from the Nile of excellence
into this Clysma¹ of eloquence.

Always, as long as in the shape of the crescent moon, with
each new month, the ship appears on the bosom of the
ocean of the sky,

May thy boat of wine, bright as the sun, and liquid as fire,
float upon the water of delight for ever and ever.

QASĪDA.

Happy art thou! at the sight of whose maddening glances
the stag is intoxicated.

The snood of whose musk-fragrant ringlets puts the stag to
shame.

The eye of the narcissus is embarrassed by thy glances.

The stag is harassed by envy of those muskladen locks.

Though the stag roamed round the garden a hundred times

he saw no bed of violets to equal the bloom on thy cheeks.

What magical power is there in that eye which, with one
glance,² captivates hearts from within and hunts the stag 117
from without.

From envy of the musk-coloured spot³ which stands like a
drop of dew upon thy rose-like cheek, the stag without
respite nurses a lacerated heart in his breast.

¹ The **بَرْقَانِم** *Nahr-i-Qulzum*. Clysma. The Gulf of Herōopolis, or
Western Gulf of the Red Sea, through which the Israelites passed on dry
land. It is the modern Gulf of Suez, and it is probable that Suez occupies
the site of the ancient town of Clysma. Epiphanius mentions *τὸ ἄσπορον*
τὸ καλὸν as one of the three ports of the Red Sea, the others
being Elath and Berenice.

There was in ancient times a fork or arm of the sea of which the "Bitter
Lakes" are remains. The canal of Trajan beginning at Babylon entered the
Red Sea at Clysmon.

² MS. (A) (B) **بَرْقَانِم**.

³ C/ **بَا حَيَاتِي حِينَ بَرُضِي وَ مَمَاتِي حِينَ يَسْتَبِي**
أَهْ مِنْ وَرْدٍ عَلَى خَدَيْكَ بِالْمِسْكِ مَسْتَبِي
بَيْنَ أَجْفَانِكَ سُلْطَانِ عَلَى مُدْقَسِي مَسْلَبِي

Thou my life art when thou smilest

But my death when thou art angered.

Ah! thy cheek like summer roses

With the grains of musk be sprinkled!

Needs must that with those two love fascinated eyes,
The stag should endeavour to protect himself from the snares
of thy locks.

When the story of thy fragrant tresses reached him,
The stag curtailed his narration of the bag of musk.
The stag suffered from the effects of the intoxication of thine
eyes,

And he got rid of his headache by drinking of the cup of the
assembly of the world-subdner.

The auspicious lion, protector of the crown of true religion,
Sinjar,

In whose estimation the fierce lion of the sky is but a stag.

The stag thought right to carry a fragrant ball of camphor¹
taken from the dust of his threshold, to Khitā as a memorial.

Perhaps it was from the dust of his dignity which became² the
ornament of the sun, that the stag obtained superiority
over the wild beasts by reason of his musk-bag.

Happy art thou star-arrowed one, whom the demon-hearted
fear and shun as³ the stag avoids the lion.

An enemy who falls into thy clutches does not escape;

Who has ever known the stag to escape from the claws of the
lion?

At that time the stag prided himself upon being fleetier than
thy charger, now in sooth the stag is ashamed of his slow-
footedness.

At the time of attack, how can the stag in spite of all his
efforts, reach the dust which is thrown up by thy char-
ger's hoofs?

Think it not strange if from the abundance of his bounty, the
lynx goes slowly on foot, and the stag swiftly like a horse
man.

'Twixt thine eyelids reigns a Sultān,

Helpless, lo! I bow before him.

This comparison of the mole on a cheek to grains of musk is one of the
commonest similes among Persian poets.

¹ The sun is called شعله کافور *shamāma-i-kāfur*.

² MS. (A).

³ MS. A.

Compared with the fragrance of thy goodness how can the stag boast¹ of the dried blood of his navel in Tātār.

By the aid of thy words which are like an antidote, I have no fear, even though the stag shall become like to one that feeds on snakes.²

His food is the snake, but afterwards like the elk, besides the antidote, the stag offers in every direction the bag of musk. In the land in which thou art, by reason of thy great justice the lynx sits sorrowful, and the stag stands to comfort him. The day that thou pursuest him he shews only his right shoulder when the stag rushes from the right to the left of thy army.

In reliance upon thee if a stag were to cherish a young lion in its bosom it would be no wonder

What power have two hundred enemies against thy prowess?

What does the hunting leopard think of a head of a thousand stags?

Thy enemy will be able to engage in conflict with thee.

At that time when the stag's horns are capable of fighting the lion.

1 MS. (A) *دیر جی*.

² The elk is said to feed on snakes and the water which collects at the corners of the eye (inner canthus) is reputed an antidote for all poisons. (*Burhān-i-Qiṣṣ*).

The following is abridged from the *Ḥaṣṭa-l-Haiwān*. "The stag is fond of snakes which it eats wherever it can find them, commencing from the tail of the snake. Sometimes the stag gets bitten by the snake in which case its tears flow down, and fill two hollows beneath its eyes large enough to contain the finger, here they congeal and become solid like wax. This wax is used as an antidote against the poison of snakes and scorpions, and when given by the mouth is useful as a remedy for other poisons. The stag also eats crabs, and hunts for fish by walking along the margin of the lake or river, when the fish come out of curiosity to see it, this fact is made use of by fishermen who are wont to dress in the skin of the stag.

The horns of the stag, which are shed yearly, are of great service to mankind, more especially as a remedy for impotence, and to facilitate parturition. If a portion is burned and administered mixed with honey it acts as a vermifuge, and when used as a dentifrice removes discoloration of the teeth. Used for fumigation it drives away reptiles and other venomous animals. If a portion is hung round the neck, the wearer will not sleep so long as it remains there. A draught of the stag's blood dissolves stones in the bladder."

In the meadow of thy favour the stag has never seen his quarters and sides as thin as his legs.

Conqueror of the world, I have bound "The stag"¹ with thirty-three couplets in thy praise by way of experiment as though it were a camel.

It is fitting that the word "musk deer" should be repeated as *radif* a hundred times since thou hast sent me in thy kindness a stag twice.

Formerly the stag thought of nothing but the musk-bag, now he makes the glory of thy praise his constant occupation.

Amid has opened the musk-bag of wisdom in singing thy praises, like the musk-bag upon which the stag prides itself.²

Always, as long as men search for musk on the surface of the ground, and no musk deer lays aside its power of producing musk,

May the perfection of thy justice reach such a height that the stag may extract musk from the hunting leopard.

Mayest thou roam at large and enjoy thyself in the meadow of fortune, just as the stag roams over the meadows in spring time.

Fasting has made his form which was like the Nārwan³ slender as a reed, and has made his face which was red as the Arghawān⁴ pale like the saffron.

1 The word *shāh* stag, occurs in every couplet of this *qaṣīda*.

2 *mishk* is said to be the congealed blood of the navel of the stag of *Khutā*. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi* and *Makḥzanu-l-Adwiyā*). The latter work says "It is very difficult to procure genuine musk, it is only brought as a great rarity as a present to kings and great rulers mixed with saffron and a little camphor as a remedy for headache; and is used alone or with other drugs such as the testicles of the beaver (Castoreum) as a stimulant snuff in paralysis and other cold diseases of the brain, for which it is also used by incision. Smelling it removes the evil effects of poisons, especially of *bish* (aconite) and *qurānu-s-sumbul* (?). It is also very useful as a collyrium in many diseases of the eye.

It is a cardiac tonic removing palpitation, and faintness, relieves dysentery and globulent distension. A suppository of musk assists parturition."

See also Ibn Balfār (Sonthheimer) Vol. II. pp. 513 et seqq. for a full account of the statements of various authors regarding musk.

3 *Nārwan* is described in the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi* as a very graceful tree with abundance of leaves; called also *Gulnar*.

4 *Arghawān* according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi* is a tree with

How can it be saffron for it has not made me smile.¹

Fasting has made my cheek yellow like the Zarīr² through weeping, and my tears red as the Arghawān.

How can it be a tulip, for fasting makes his cheek like the 120.

Khīrī.³

How can it be a cypress, when fasting makes it weak and tremulous?⁴

brilliant red flowers, a drink made of which removes the effects of intoxication. The wood is burned and used as a pencil for the eyebrows which it causes to grow and become black. Ibn-Baiṭār (Sonthheimer) says, (Vol. I. p. 26).

"The tree is very abundant in Ispahān and bears brilliantly red flowers which are edible, having a sweet taste which is communicated to wine. The wood is soft and when burnt yields a black ash which is used as a cosmetic. The decoction of the root bark when drunk is a certain emetic." Sonthheimer does not give the botanical name. See note 4 page 109.

¹ See p. 41, n. 2.

زریر Zarīr. The *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*⁵ says this is "a herb with which they dye clothes, it is called also asparag (اصبرگ) According to some however it is the leaf of Zard choba (turmeric) some other authors say it is a flower. It is also the name given to the bile, and also to jaundice. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi*)

In Vullers we find اسرگ (*Asparag*) herba flava tingendo inserviens, alias زور (Zarīr) or زورس (wars).

According to Ibn Baiṭār, (Sonthheimer) زورس wars is *Memecylon tinctorium*—N. O. Melastomaceae, regarding which Drury in his *Useful plants of India*, page 291, says, "The leaves are used in dyeing affording a delicate yellow lake....they are also good for dyeing clothes red...by itself it gives an evanescent yellow."

خبري A flower of which there are many varieties

خبري خطائي *Khīrī-i-Khāṭī* — is dark purple

خبري ميردوني *Khīrī-i-Mirdīnī* — is violet. It is also called حفت رنگ Haft rang.

خبري صحرائي *Khīrī-i-Sahra'ī* — is red and white; called also خبري خراساني *Khīrī-i-Khāṣānī*.

خبري شیرازی *Khīrī-i-Shīrāzī* — is yellow; called also گل همیشه بهار *Gul-e-hamīshah bahār* and in Arabic عصفير 'Aṣfir (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi*).

See also Vullers.

According to Ibn Baiṭār (Sonthheimer) this plant is the wall-flower Cheiran.

thus Cheirī. N. O. Cruciferae.

* MSS. A and B have ثوان. The text reads ثوان which is a better

His form stately as the Nārwan is bowed like the reed,
Has any one ever seen fasting proceed from the Nārwan and
cypress of the garden ?

Till his face, which was like a full-blown rose, drew back again
into the bud there was no certainty that the rose and the
garden had commenced their fast.

Till his full moon once more became a crescent moon ¹ who had
clearly seen fasting overtaking the sun and moon of the
heavens.

The shaft of grief is broken in my heart, for his stature has
been brought by fasting from the straight form of an arrow
to the shape of a bent bow.

It is two days since I have seen jar upon jar of sugar ² in
that very moment when fasting set its seal upon his lips.

I am in astonishment at her sugar-distilling lip which is like
the pistachio, for there is sugar in the jar on each side and
fasting in the middle.

Because of her love her mouth is less than an atom, nay
even less than the minutest atom, can any one imagine that
a minute particle such as this can endure fasting.

Look ! how marvellous it is with what skill she imprisons
fasting between those particles of ruby which scatter
sweetness.

With a glance she drinks my heart's blood because she
thinks that by taking a draught of blood she will openly
break her fast.

This heart of mine is faint with longing for her lips.

In this desire that I may break my fast with the seeds of the
pomegranate. ³

¹ The text has هلاک MSS. A. B. have هلال which is right.

² Nizāmī Ganjāmī says.

تنگ شکر tangshakar, means the lip of a mistress, and also a sugar jar
of special form having a very narrow mouth.

تنگ شکر ز تنگی شکرش

تنگ دل ترز حلقه کمرش

The heart of the jar of sugar from the tightness of her bonied lips, is
more tightly bound than is the cincture of her waist.

³ Cf. Nizāmī (Sikandarnāma).

Happy she has hung the amulet on her silvery mouse-like neck, so that wisdom like a fasting cat has been compelled to remain fasting.¹

My tongue has become dry like that of one fasting in advising her.

For thy form is like a fresh blown rose, fasting is the autumn wind (which withers it).

Although thou openest thy lips like a bud which had been closed by fasting, just as I broke my fast at the table of the praise of my Lord ;

The ocean of benevolence, champion of the truth, round the table of whose bounty men and genii broke their fast ;

Mahammed whose vanguard is like destiny, the joints of whose spear broke their fast with the blood of the enemies (trickling down) from the point.

He, whose right hand is like that of Isfandiyār, has also, from the liberality of his hand, caused the age² to break its fast on this side of the seven stages.

Before the generosity of his heart, the ocean and the mine, have, in their utter poverty, considered fasting to be their bounden duty.

Hail O King ! in whose just reign the wolf, as though it were a shepherd, has kept its fast to secure the safety of the flock.

Thou art like the two first fingers,³ a close companion of the heavens, just as fasting goes hand-in-hand with prayer.

Thy existence is the twin brother of kingdom, just as fasting is the twin brother of *Zakāt*, *Hajj* and *Umrah*.⁴

لب از ناردانه دلاویزتر

زبان از طبرزد شکر ریزتر

A lip more alluring than the seed of the pomegranate

A tongue far sweeter than the whitest sugar.

A favourite simile with Persian poets.

¹ These couplets occur in this order in MSS. A and B.

² MS. (A) reads *کشاده دهر* which is the reading adopted here.

³ *و وسطی سبابه* The forefinger and middle finger which are most commonly

used together to oppose the thumb.

⁴ *زکوة* Zakāt or almsgiving is one of the five foundations of practical

religion, Qur'ān ii 77. *وَقُولُوا لِلنَّاسِ حُسْنًا وَاَقْبُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَآتُوا الزَّكَاةَ*.

⁵ "And speak to men kindly, and be steadfast in prayer and give alms"

The proportion to be given varies with the different kinds of property.

The breeze of thy good qualities like the fragrance of the perfume of the breath of the faster,¹ has carried fasting as a special offering to the garden of Paradise.

Thou hast cast out the custom of tyranny from the kingdoms under thy sway, inasmuch as thou hast relieved waste countries of taxes, and excused the feeble from fasting.

The spirit of man is often broken by the vicissitudes of the heavens² just as his bodily fast is broken by bread.

In this time no one, from the time of Jamshid till now, remembers fasting at the table of such a host as thou art.

At the smell of the table of thy bounty the guest has considered it incumbent upon him, whether in the feast or in the fray, to fast from food of all kinds.

The bird of thy arrow has broken its fast, like the gnat of Nimrud on the brain of thy enemy in the cup of the skull (the cup of vapours).

For the maintenance of thy kingdom, young and old have fasted, both the old and the new creation.

The revolution of this six-storied world is full of the mention of thy glory, just as fasting fills the seven members of the body in this darkness.

Hajj. The Pilgrimage to Mecca which is incumbent upon all Muslims who have the necessary means

Umrah The lesser pilgrimage, which may be performed at any time except during the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of Zül Hijjah See Hughes (*Dict. of Islām*)

تست نسيم خلق تو چون طيب مشكبي خليف 1 (MSS. A and B read چون طشت مشكبي خليف).

خليف *khilāf* is defined as the smell of the breath of one who fasts.

A Hadīṣ says

خليف و فم الصائم اطيب عند الله من الطيب.

The breath of one fasting is sweeter in the sight of God than sweet smelling savour.

See also Lane. *Art.* خلف. It became altered (for the worse).

The Qāmūs, says

و خلف فم الصائم خلوفاً و خلوة تغيرت و البحة

² Both MSS. (A) and (B) agree with the text. I take the word *abāhāt* to be a plural formed by Badāoni on the analogy of *ummahāt* and to stand for the *نه آياي علوه* *nuk abā-i-ʿalawā* the nine heavens

On this earth, the worlds children (have fasted) with such endurance that the spiritual beings will never be able to break the fast.

I stood before thee with my loins girt in honest service, as though fasting, because fasting is not one of my objects, neither openly nor in secret.¹

My manliness actuated by ambition bowed the knee to me² 123.
and said,

Imagine that both your pen and your finger tips are fasting.

The claims of thy generosity caused me to break my fast³ and consume my time, had it not been for that I would have speedily imposed a fast upon my words.

Had not the praise of thee been the sustenance of my powers of speech how could the point of my tongue have broken its fast by breaking into poetry?

Like the parrot, my first morning food⁴ is the sugar of gratitude to thee, not like the *humā* do I break my fast upon bones.

Who is able to break his fast in this way at the time of bringing in the "*radīf*" better than 'Amīd, with the draught of trial.

He has broken his fast with a feather from the wing of the bird of praise, because at this time fasting is the best nest for the bird of praise.

MS. (A) reads *زبان نه پیدا و نه نهان روزه* MS. (B) reads *زبان نه پیدا و نه نهان روزه* the reading in the text is

زمانه برنی و پیدا و نی نهان روزه

All of these readings appear to be corrupt and the following reading seems reasonable, and has been adopted in the translation.

زمانه نه پیدا و نی نهان روزه

* The text reads *شماربرد* but MSS. (A) and (B) read *نماز برد* MS. (A)

* "The following is the routine of a fast day. About half an hour after midnight, the gon sounds its warning to faithful men that it is time to prepare for the *Sahar* (صبح) or morning meal." (Burton's Mecca I. p. 110 note) see also Lane's *Modern Egyptians* for the observances of the month of Ramazān.

Always, as long as fasting brings us its reward from the bounty and mercy of God, a hidden treasure worth a hundred princely treasures,
Mayest thou be famed¹ for generosity and kindness in this world, for fasting points the way to the highest heaven.

ANOTHER QAṢĪDA.

I, who have made my dwelling in a corner like the 'Simurgh'²
I have made my nest beyond the axis of earthly sphere.
Why do I bear the shame of every bird in this ill-omened land?³

4. I have gone like the 'Anqā'⁴ and have made my resting place in the mountains.

1 MS. (A) reads *نشارك* instead of *فعلك* as in the Text.

2 The bird of the mountain of Alburz which nourished Zāl when he was abandoned there by order of his father Sām, and taught him the language of the country. On restoring Zāl to his father she gave him a feather from her wing and said "Whenever thou art involved in any difficulty or danger put this feather on the fire and I will instantly appear to thee to ensure thy safety" See *Shah Nāma* (Atkinson) p. 75 *Shāhnāma*, Turner Macan, Ed. I. pp. 97 *et seqq.*

3 There is a play on the word *يوم* here which cannot be preserved.

4 Another name for the Simurgh, and a synonym for anything rare and unattainable. (See *Barhan i-Qāṭi* under the name *عنقاى مغرب*)

There is a long account of the 'Anqā in the *Hayāt-i-Hayāt* where it says on the authority of Qazwīnī that the Anqā is the largest of all birds which can seize an elephant as easily as a kite snatches up a rat. It once lived among men, but caused them so much annoyance that by the prayers of a holy prophet it was banished to an uninhabited island in mid ocean beyond the Equator, full of enormous animals. When the 'Anqā flies there is a sound like thunder and floods. It lives 2000 years, and pairs at the age of 500. It is said that the claws are made into large drinking cups. A description of the mode of capturing the 'Anqā is also given but is too long to quote.

Among the proverbs of the Arabs one is *حلفت يوم عنقا مغرب* which is said of any one of whose reformation there is no hope. "May the Anqā fly away with him."

They also say *الجبود والغول والعنقا ثلاثة اسماء اشياء لم توجد ولم تكن*
Liberality, the Ghūl, and the Anqā are three names of things unattainable and non-existent.

To dream of the 'Anqā is also said to ensure marrying a beautiful woman, or if already married, to ensure having a brave son.

Until the bird of my ambition swoops down upon the harvest of the lower world, I have made the harvest field, of the sky full of grain-like stars.

Why does the moon display the halo-harvest when it does not shew a single grain to any one, whereas I with one single grain of manliness have bound many a sheaf.

By the light of the knowledge of God, I have made the newly wedded virgin bride of reality to shine in the chamber of wisdom with the brilliancy of the day.

The course of the heavenly bodies in the columns of the almanac of the Creation, I have proved one by one by comparison with the astronomical tables¹ of intellect.

In the bridle of four rings, that is the trappings of the four elements, great is the training which I have given the unruly steed of my passions.

I have made the parrot of my soul, whose cage is the form of this uncouth body which is like a midden, every moment to rival the nightingale of the verdant² garden.

The parrot has left for the garden, the kite of lust which is following it circling round and round my nature I have detained within the midden of the body.

In many an art for which³ the scientists had no taste

I have made as great progress, hundred fold as they are, as a man who follows but one art.

My intellect has served to light the lamp of the treasure of science, I have made my skill the oil which supplies the light to the wick.

The jewel of the secret of reality has been acquired in such a (perfect) way that I have made my mind the storehouse of the treasury of secret knowledge. 125

Once by way of vaunting in the rose-garden of desire,

¹ The text (and also MS. B) has an absurd reading *بر درج* the real reading is *نزد زنج* as is seen in MS. (A).

² *گلشن* MS. (A) There is a verbal antithesis between *گلشن* (gulshan) garden and *گلشن* gulkhan dust heap in the Persian which I have attempted to imitate by the words garden and midden.

³ MS. (A) *گران* The text and MS. (B) read *گران*.

⁴ MS. (A) and (B) both read *در مغیلتش* The text thus *درفتیش*.

I displayed the brilliancy of my skill particoloured like the peacock.

The falcon of the Divine indignation smote me with its talons from its hiding-place, so that I took refuge in a corner like the pigeon.

They would have shewn me the way (and have bidden me walk) in this solitary windowless tower

Had not my ambition carried me far beyond the seven windows (of the sky)

A tower, narrow, ay! at that time even narrower than my heart, (so narrow that) you would say I am a cord and have given myself a place in the eye of a needle.

It is the constellation of the Archer, and I am like the Sun, and have by my cold sighs changed the bright spring of the world into the bitter cold of winter.¹

This was not all; the good tidings of my bad fortune brought to me the blacksmith, to whom I said—Strike off my head in return for the blood which is upon my head.

The splendour and comfort of the golden-throned sun is my desert,

Whereas I am resting upon a (hard) iron (prison) seat.

The seven-headed dragon (*The Sky*) hides its head (in astonishment) to see that I have brought this two-headed serpent (*night and day*) under my skirt.

They determine for me an imprisonment like that of Bizhan in the well of tyranny. I have not seen Manizha² nor have I committed the crime of Bizhan.

¹ The Sun enters the constellation of Sagittarius in the commencement of the winter.

² The daughter of Afrāsiyāb. When Bizhan undertook to clear the country of Armān of its plague of wild hogs, after fulfilling his task he was led by the machinations of his companion Gīrgān, who was jealous of him, to intrude upon the retirement of Manizha, the beautiful daughter of Afrāsiyāb, and press his suit, which he did with such success that after some time their amour was discovered and Gersiwāz was sent by Afrāsiyāb to put Bizhan to death: by the intercession of Pīrān the punishment was averted, but Bizhan was imprisoned in a deep pit. At first Manizha was condemned to undergo the same punishment but her doom was changed and she was allowed to dwell near the pit, all the people being forbidden by proclamation to supply her with food. Eventually, by the help of Rastam, Bizhan was freed and he and Manizha went to Irān together. (See Atkinson's *Shāh Nāmah*, pp 300 and seqq). See also page 116 note 5.

Patience has the strength of Rastum,¹ as one may say,
I have entrusted the strength necessary for my release to the
arm of Rastum-like patience.

All of my companions are free to follow their occupations
while I am fast in prison,

God forbid I should be the only one of all mankind to have
committed this fault. 126

The times are out of joint, if not how can the following of
the Ishrāqī philosophy² which I followed so excellently
have thrown me into misfortune?

The shaft of the tyrannical heavens passed through and
through from the back, although I had armed my breast
with the cuirass of patience

My body longs for food in the captivity of sorrow, and I have
prepared for its support my blood as its drink, and my heart
as its meat

Once I was like the tulip in complaining, but then afterwards
I made myself like the lily ten-tongued (but silent)³

Like the violet I have let my head fall forward (in sorrow)
from dearth of benefactors, and though like the lily I have
ten tongues I am become dumb in thy praise.

I am suffering the punishment of my words, because in my

¹ Rastum extricated Bīzhan from the pit by drawing him up with his
kamand or lasso.

اشراقية. The Illuminati. A sect of Philosophers, of whom Plato was
one, who, instead of following the precepts of any revealed law, looked to their
own proper inspiration and mental illumination, which they held to be the
result of spiritual meditation. Hājī Khalīfah, III. p. 87, writes as follows:
"Philosophia illuminationis (Hekmet el-ishrāc) sive Neo-Platonica inter veteres
disciplinas philosophicas eundem locum tenet quem Theosophia inter doctrinas
Islam; simili modo, quo philosophia physica et theologica inter illas disciplinas
locum tenet quem theologia dogmatico-scholastica inter has.

In the حاجي ملا هادي سبزواري by شرح منظومه we find: Philosophers
are of four kinds,—those who arrive at wisdom simply by meditation, those
who arrive at it simply by purification of the mind by seclusion and retire-
ment, those who arrive at it by combining these two. These last are called
the Ishrāqī sect.

See Hājī Khalīfah هيكمة علم See also de Biene, Proleg. Ibn Khāl: III. 167.

² The MS. (A) has خيشتمن را ده زبان The text follows MS. (B).

See note 1 page 101.

lying flattery I have made every beggar a king, and have made the (worthless) Lādan¹ into frankincense.

At one time I have proclaimed Suhā² superior in brilliancy to the moon,

At another I have scorned the river as being inferior to the drippings of a sieve.³

I have made friends with Avarice, like 'Amīd from the lust for blood, and for that reason I have made contentment my enemy.

I have subjected my spirit, which is like a high mettled horse, to the burthen of labour, because of the tyranny and meanness of the heavens, see now what a jade he has become.

I have made barren my truth-adorning heart and my jewel-producing nature, without the help of Qitrān,⁴ not now only but long ago.

¹ لادن Ladan. The resinous balsamic juice of *Cistus creticus* and other species; according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* it is called also عنبر عسلی Honey-ambergris and is used in medicine. It is the juice of a plant growing in sandy soil, of which goats are very fond, and their hair becomes covered with the exudation, the best is collected from their beards; *si femina quædam, cui in utero fœtus mortuus sit, vaginam suam vapore ladani vaporaverit, fœtus ille mortuus illico excidit.* See also Ibn Baiṭār (Sonthheimer) I. p. 409.

It is the מִרְרָה of Genesis xxxvii 25 and xlili. 11, where it is translated in our version myrrh. The Greeks called it στάκκη. The true myrrh (Ar. ممر murru) is different.

The اشهب Ashhab is the white ambergris which was accounted the best.

² A small obscure star in the Lesser Bear.

³ MSS. (A) and (B) have فیض عزیزان but فریزان is a better reading.

⁴ Qitrān, the exudation from species of mountain pines, black in colour, used according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* (and *Qāmūs*) for inunction of camels affected with mange. It is, according to these, the exudation of the tree called عرعر 'ar'ar, (Juniper) the properties of which are thus enumerated in the *Mākhzanu-l-Adwiya*: Deobstruent, diuretic, emmenagogue, relieves cough and chest pains, and pain in the spleen; 'relieves flatulence, hæmorrhoids, flatulent colic or uterine pains. Sitting over a hot infusion of it causes uterine spasm, while a poultice of it is antiandorific. I can find no mention in either of these books of its use as an abortifacient. It is perhaps *Juniperus Sabina* (Savino) which is powerfully emebolic. According to Ibn Baiṭār (Sonth.) II. p. 94, it is *Pinus cedrus*, but this appears to be incorrect. See also II. p. 189, عرعر 'Ar'ar.

The word سترون is derived in *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* from استرون and ون i.e. mule-like, because mules have no offspring.

This one poem¹ of mine is worth a whole *Dīrān* and a hundred caskets of jewels, nay more, every verse of it have I made better than particoloured hair.¹

Imprisonment has brought me to lamentation, and from the delicacy of my speech you see the joy which I have given in the very midst of my lamentation.

Oh Lord, give me my sustenance from the date-tree of thy favour, I have made the bird of my heart to sing the praises of thy Unity.

Present me with the robe of honour of thy protection, for thy court is my original refuge, so I have fled to my refuge.

Keep far from the darkness of infidelity,² hypocrisy, hatred and enmity, that heart which I have embellished with the light of sincerity to Thee.

Keep thou the Sun of Divine knowledge shining within my heart, for I have made my heart the mine of the jewels of true belief.

SULTĀN GHUVĀSU-D-DĪN BALBĀN-I-KHURD

Who had the title of Ulugh Khān, by the consent of the Maliks and Amirs adorned the throne by his accession in the Qasr-i-Safed

¹ شعر The word شعر here has its double meaning. Saifi in his prosody says, "A bait (poem) is called bait for the reason that *bait* means a house and they compare the bait of poetry (شعر) with the bait of hair (شعر) and he quotes the verses by Abū-l-Alā Ma'rri

الحسن يظهر في البيتين رونق بيت من الشعر وبيت من الشعر

The brilliancy of beauty is shewn forth in two tents

The tent of poetry (sha'r) and the tent of hair (shi'r)

² شرك Shirk. "Idolatry: paganism: polytheism." Ascribing plurality to the Deity. Associating anything with God

The Wahhābī writers define Shirk as of four kinds:

شرك العلم	Shirku-l-'ilm.	Ascribing knowledge to others than God.
شرك التصرف	Shirku-t-ta'arruf.	Ascribing power to others than God
شرك العبادة	Shirku-l-'ibādah.	Offering worship to created things.
شرك العادة	Shirku-l-'ādah.	The performance of ceremonies which imply reliance on others than God.

Hughes. *Dictionary of Islām*, p. 579, Art. Shirk. 9: v.

See also Qur'ān. xxxv. 38 and xlv. and 3, and various other places.

(the White Palace) in the year 664 H.¹ He was one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, each one of whom had attained to the dignity of Amīr. Inasmuch as the reins of government had been in his hands even in the days when he was merely Ulugh Khān, the affairs of the State very quickly came into his grasp. He would not allow people of low origin to have the slightest authority. It is said that a man named Fakhr, who had for years served as chief of the Bāzār, had recourse to one of the Sultān's more intimate attendants, and offered a very large sum² on the condition that if the Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban would speak with him once only, he would give him all this money and valuable property.³ When this request was represented to the Sultān he would not entertain it, and said 'to converse with people of low and mean extraction will lower my prestige.' He was altogether opposed to oppression, and, in the early days of his reign, punished certain of his Amīrs on account of some tyranny which they had practised upon their subjects, and having handed over one or two of them⁴ he permitted the complainants to exact retaliation, and after that these Amīrs had paid the blood money, for shame they could never come out of their houses as long as they lived, and at last they left the world.

Verse.

Reputation arises from equity and justice;

Oppression and kingship are as the candle and the wind.

And all his praiseworthy qualities may be estimated from this, that he used never to omit the ceremony of purification, and on going into an assembly where one was preaching he used to

¹ Of the six years which intervened between the events recorded as having occurred in 658 H. and the accession of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban there is no known historical record. The *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhi* of Zīāu-d-Dīn Barani only begins from Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban.

² MS. (A) has the word مال between تقبیل and بیل.

³ MS. (A) reads نقد و جاس گرانمند.

⁴ یکدوی وابسته. According to *Firishta* one of these was Haldār Khān the Amīr of Oadh, who had killed a man in the fury of intoxication. Balban after enquiry had the Amīr publicly flogged, and delivered him to the widow as a slave. He bought his release with a sum of 20,000 silver tankahs but never left his house afterwards and died from shame. (See also Elliott, III. 101.)

display emotion, and weep much, while as regards his treatment of sedition and revolt he used to shew himself a merciless repressor.

He laid claim to the glory of an Emperor, because of this
That he adorned the world with wisdom and equity,
In days of retirement he would wear a blanket;
And he strove in prayer and supplication
His eyes fixed upon the ground, his heart boiling like a
cauldron;

A heart eloquent of speech, but a silent tongue;
Till his heart perceived with the eye of secret knowledge
All that was visible of these intricate matters.

In this same year of his reign Tātār Khān the son of Arsalān Khān sent from Lakhnautī sixty-three elephants as a present; and in this year the Sultān proceeding to Patālī¹ and Kanpila, built the forts of Patālī, Kanpila, Bhojpūr, and certain 129 other forts, and with five thousand cavalry crossed the Ganges on the pretext of making preparation for an expedition to the Jūd hills. In two days after leaving Dehli he arrived in the midst of the territory of Kāithar² and put to death every male, even those of eight years of age, and bound the women, and inflicted such chastisement that up till the reign of Jalālu-d-Din the territory of Badāon and Amroha remained safe from the ravages of the Kāitharis,³ and he threw open all the roads of Bihār and Jaunpūr, and all the roads of the Eastern part of India which were closed, and made over the territory of Mīwāt, which lies in the Doāb, to strong handed governors, with orders to put to death the rebels, which they did, imprisoning some. Then he made an attack in the direction of the country at the foot of the Sintūr

¹ MS. (A) پتالی Patālī. The printed text has بيتالی Betālī.

Patālī. In Aliganj tahsil, 22 miles north of Etah, a ruined fort still exists (Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*)

Kanpila. In Farakhabad district, celebrated in Mahābhārata—(*Imp. Gaz.*)

Bhojpūr. The residence of the Ujjainīah Rajahs, west of Arrah and north of Sasseram, a pargana in the Sirkār Rohtās Bihār.

² So also *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī*. Firishta reads کتیر Katoher. MS. (A) reads کانہر Kānthar. The district of Rohilkhand is meant.

³ Who Firishta says were notorious robbers and brigands.

hills,¹ and built a fort on those boundaries, and having called it *Hiṣār-i-Nau* (New Castle) proceeded to the Jūd hills, and brought an army² towards Lāhor, and rebuilt the castle of Lāhor which had been laid waste by the Mughūls in the reign of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh. Here he became ill, and the news of his illness³ reached the confines of Lakhnauti, and Tughral, Nāib of Amīn Khān, who had been appointed to succeed Sher Khān in that district, laid the foundation of rebellion, and fought with his master Amīn Khān and came off victorious, and having imprisoned him gathered round himself the paraphernalia of royalty, and gave himself the title of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, and completely defeated some imperial troops which had been sent to oppose him. Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn brought up an army against Tughral but he went towards Jājnagar and Tārkiḷa (Nārkiḷa)⁴ and Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Beg Birlās⁵ was ordered to pursue him, the Rāi of Sunārgām named Dhanūj⁶ offering his services to the Sultān engaged to bring Tughral, and Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn proceeding by forced marches found Tughral, who had fled into a jungle,⁷ walking about off his guard, and having put him to death sent his head to the court. The Sultān conferred that kingdom with a canopy and baton of office on his younger son Bughrā Khān, Governor of Sāmāna, who eventually received the

¹ MS. (A) reads *کوهایه سنپوز* *Kohpaya-i-Sandās*. This seems to be a copyist's error, but I cannot suggest the true reading. The Kumāon hills must be meant.

² *حصار نو نام نهاد* MS. (A).

³ Neither Firishṭa nor Ziān-d-Dīn Barnī mention this.

⁴ MS. (A) reads *نارکیله* and *در بجزیره سرو نشته*

⁵ MS. (A) *ملک اختیار الدین تنگرس را* Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Tangras. *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi* calls him Malik Bārbak Bektars Sultānī. See Elliott, III. 117, note.

⁶ Called Danūj Rāi in *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*. See Elliott, III. 113, note.

"The Jājnagar here mentioned was evidently east of the Brahmaputra and corresponds to Tippera. The Sunārgām, presently mentioned as on the road to Jājnagar, is described by Rennell as being once a large city and now a village on a branch of the Brahmaputra 13 miles S. E. of Dacca."

It is marked in Rennell's Map given in Vol. III. of Tieffenthaler "Sonner-gong." See Map N. 6. See J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 82.

⁷ The printed text and MS. (A) both have *که در جنگلی گریخته می گشت*. The above appears to be the meaning.

title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, and then left for the capital. Since, after the death of Sher Khān (who was uncle's son to the Sultān and one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, and Governor of Lāhor and Dībālpur, and had read the *Khutbah* in Ghaznī in the name of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, the Mughūls during his governorship not daring to invade Hindustān) the road of communication had become opened¹ to the Mughūls, accordingly Sultān Balban, to remedy this, despatched his elder son Sultān Muḥammad, who is known as the *Khān-i-Shahīd*, and *Qān-i-Mulk*, (having first conferred upon him a canopy and baton of office, and the signs and insignia of royalty, and having made him his heir-apparent, and giving over Sind with its dependencies to his care) with full equipment towards Multān, and the country right up to Tattha and the seacoast was in his possession. Amīr Khusrū and Amīr Hasan of Dehli remained in his service for five years in Multān, and were enrolled among his intimate companions. On two occasions he sent large sums of gold from Multān to Shirāz and begged that Shaikh Sa'dī,² *may God have mercy on him*, would come to live with him. The Shaikh did not come, excusing himself on the score of old age, but commended Mīr Khusrū to the care of the Sultān, writing in excessively laudatory terms concerning him, and sent a collection of autograph poems. Sultān Muḥammad used to visit Multān every year to see Sultān Balban, and used to return distinguished with robes of honour and all

¹ The Calcutta text exactly reverses the meaning by reading *وإنشده* *وإنشده* Thus losing all the sense of the passage. Cf. MSS. (A) (B).

MSS. (A) has, correctly, *وإنشده*

² Shaikh Sharfu-d-Dīn Muṣliḥ, ibn 'Abdu-llah as-Sa'dī. He was a native of Shirāz where his family for generations had been famed for eminence in learning. He is said to have lived to a great age, accounts differing between 102 and 112 years (Beale says 120). He spent 30 years in acquiring sciences, 30 years in travelling (he made the Hajj fourteen times) and 30 years in solitude: He died in the year 691 H. (1291 A.D.) He was the contemporary of many great men, among them Amīr Khusrū of Dehli who entertained him. His Kalliyāt are of world wide reputation. The *Majma'ul Fuṣṣṣā* (I. 274) from which the above is taken does not give the date of Sa'dī's birth, and gives the date of his death as 791 H. which is wrong. According to the account given by Beale Sa'dī was born "about the year 571 A.H." The above account would however place his birth in either 589 A.H. or 579 A.H. Of his works the Gulistān and Būstān are the best known.

For a full account of Sa'dī see the preface to Platt's *Gulistān*. See also *Itashkade*, p. 284.

possible rewards and distinctions, and on the last occasion on which they were able to meet, the Sultān instructed him in private with excellent counsels and pleasing discourses, which are mentioned in the books of the Histories of Dehli, and having granted him permission to depart sent him to Multān; and in the same year Itimar¹ the Mughūl with thirty thousand horsemen having crossed the Rāvi by the ford of Lāhor caused great commotion in those districts, and the Governor of Lāhor sent a petition to Khān-i-Shahīd² telling him of what had occurred. He while in his assembly read 30,000 as 3,000 and, marching with a large force, by rapid and continuous marches arrived at the boundaries of Bāgh-i-Sabz,³ on the banks of the Lāhor river where he engaged the infidels and attained the dignity of martyrdom. This event took place in Zū-Hijjah of the year 683 H,⁴ and Mīr Hasan⁵ of Dehli composed a prose lament, and sent it to Dehli. It is copied here in its very words.

The Lament of Mīr Hasan.

It is an old story that the tyrannous sphere, though it may for a time knit the knot of complaisance, and make a covenant of mutual sincerity, turns from its promise, and that discordant time, although it professes to show acquiescence, and makes specious promises of fidelity, fails to perform them.

The wanton-eyed heaven, the pupil of whose manliness is sullied by the defect of the mote of meanness, at first, like a drunken man, gives some bounty in a case where there has been no favour received to demand it, but in the end, like the children, takes the

¹ *Itimar*. Both in the printed text and in MS. (A) Zīān-d-Dīn Barnī calls him Samar. Firishṭa calls him Tīmūr Khān.

² Called *Khān-i-Shahīd* or the "Martyr Prince" because he fell in battle opposing "the accursed Samar, the bravest dog of all the dogs of Changīz Khān" (Elliott, III. 122)

³ MS. (A) باغ سبز MS. (B) باغ سر the text reads باغ سریر Bagh-i-Sarīr with a footnote variant Bagh-i-Sard.

⁴ Zīān-d-Dīn Barnī says 684 H.

⁵ Zīān-d-Dīn Barnī attributes this lament to Amīr Khusrū. (Elliott III. 122). Firishṭa also states that Amīr Khusrū escaped when the Prince was killed, and wrote a lament. It seems probable therefore that the lament should be attributed to Mīr Khusrū. The *Hasan* which occurs in Text and both MSS. (A) (B) may have had its origin in a copyist's error.

gift back again without any treacherous conduct having been committed. The habits and customs of the oppressive times are cast in the same mould, whether by experience or by hearsay, we see or hear that whomsoever it perceives coming to perfection like the moon, it desires to darken the face of his fulness with the blot of defect, and whomsoever it finds rising like a cloud him it strives to tear to pieces, and to scatter his substance to the extreme boundaries of the horizon. As in this orchard of amazement and garden of regrets, no rose blooms without a thorn so no heart escapes the thorn of sorrow. Alas! for the newly sprang verdure which has become yellow, withered in the bloom of its beauty by the autumn of calamity. Alas! for the many fresh-springing trees which have been laid low in the dust of the ground by the fierce blast of Death.

Consider the winds of Autumn, how chill they are and cold,
The cowardly blows they have dealt alike at the young and old.

One of the examples of this allegory is the death of the late Emperor Qān-i-Mulk Ghāzī,¹ may God make manifest his demonstrations and weigh down the scale with his excellencies, on Friday the last day of the month of Zā-l-Hijab in the year 683 A.H., when the moon, like kindness in the heart of infidels, could nowhere be seen the Sun with the company of the army of Islām came forth to smite with the sword, and the great Prince who was the Sun of the heaven of the kingdom, with the light of holy war shining on his noble brow, and the unchangeable determination of "jihād" firmly planted in his illustrious mind, placed his auspicious foot in the stirrup. By night they submitted to his judgment which solved all difficulties, that Itimar with the whole of his army had advanced into the plain at a distance of three farsangs. When morning broke, he commenced to march intending to leave that place, and at a distance of one farsang coming face to face with those accursed ones,² elected to draw up their forces in a place on the outskirts

¹ Qān-i-Mulk Ghāzī. The eldest son of Ghiyāṣ-d-Dīn Balban who was Khān of Multān. See page 187 note.

² آن ساله عن را MS. (A).

3. of Bāgh-i-Sarīr¹ on the banks of the river of Lāhor. Accordingly he very strongly fortified a large village which was close to the river, and made such dispositions that when the infidels came against it, both rivers² should be in the rear of his army, so that neither could any man of his own army turn in flight nor could any injury be inflicted upon his army by that troublesome horde³ and in very truth that choice of position was the acme of caution and the very height of skill in that world-conquering Khān, but since when Fate is adverse the thread of all plans becomes tangled, and the orderly row of enterprises becomes disordered,

He who falls in with evil fortune by the way,
His affairs fall out just as his enemies desire.
His Fortune like a mad man loses the right way,
His senses, like the nightblind, fall into the well.

By chance that day the Moon and the Sun, which may be compared to kings, were suspended in the sign of the Fish,⁴ and Mars, whose blood-red aspect is entirely due to the blood of the princes of the people, had drawn out from the quiver of that sign the arrow of disappointment and the dart of disobedience against that Orion⁵ (white) girdled Khān, who was like Leo coming forth from a watery sign; the house of fear and calamity and the proofs of sedition and signs of harm thus became evidently

¹ باغ سریر MS. (A) باغ تیز Probably the باغ سبز before mentioned.

² The Rāvi and Satlaj. This battle was fought close to Multān, and is described by Firishta, who states that after having routed the Mughūl army, the Prince and some of his retainers were resting by the bank of the river when they were attacked by one of the Mughūl chiefs who was lying in ambush with 2,000 men, and the Prince was killed with many of his followers; the army which had taken the alarm returning just in time to see him die.

³ 1 road سخا ذیل شاقه MS. (A)

⁴ MS (A) reads در نشانه ماهی

جاء القضا ضاق القضا Lit. When Fate comes, the plain becomes narrow.

Other proverbs of this kind are the following.—

إذا نزل القضا بطل الحذر When Fate comes, caution is useless.

إذا نزل القضا عمى البصر When Fate comes the eye is blind

⁵ The three stars in Orion's belt س. c Lane s. 1. الجوزاء

manifest, while the hint and indication of the proverb "*In face of Fate wide becomes strait*" became written on the consecutive pages (of his history). In short, at midday just as the courier of the heaven reached the country of noon, and the day of that world-conquering Emperor was approaching its decline, suddenly a band made its appearance from the direction of those infidels. The Khān-i-Ghāzī at that same moment mounted his horse and issued an order in obedience to which all the cavalry and the body servants and retinue and retainers, in accordance with the mandate 'Kill the infidels all of them',¹ drew up in a line a hundred times stronger than the rampart of Sikandar.² After ordering the right wing and dressing the left wing, he himself of noble qualities, stood in the centre like the moon and the host of the stars, ready for the jihād, while the Tātār infidels, *let confusion and dismay come upon them*, crossed the river of Lāhor, and confronted the ranks of the Muslims. Thereupon these wild-loving desert-born savages, placing the feathers of the owl³ upon their illomened heads, while the Ghāzīs of Islām, kings of Turkestan and Khilj and notables of Hindustān, and all the soldiery made the battlefield a place of prayer—as the Holy Apostle, may the blessings and peace of God be upon him, declared that the holy war was closely allied to prayer, saying *We return from the lesser holy war to the greater holy war*,⁴ reciting the takbīr⁵

¹ See. Qur'ān IX. 5.

فَاَقْتُلُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ حَيْثُ وَجَدْتُمُوهُمْ

² The thick wall said to have been built by Alexander the great to restrain the wild natives of Northern Asia: commonly known as the wall of Gog and Magog. See D'Herbelot Vol. I. p. 640, II. p. 282. Ibn Khaldoun, Proleg. : I. 162.

³ The owl called by the Arabs غراب الليل is a bird of ill omen and is held to be unclean, Muslims being forbidden to eat its flesh (Hāyāt-u-l-Hāiwānāt).

Hence the proverb كَوَانَ فِي الْبُومَةِ خَيْرٌ مَا تَرَكَهَا لِصَيَادٍ

Had there been any good in the owl the hunter would not have passed it by. See also page 157, note 1. See also J. A. S. B. 1877, p. 81.

⁴ According to Sūfī writers there are two Jihāds. Al-Jihād-u-l-Akbar or "the greater warfare" which is against one's own lusts: and Al-Jihād-u-l-Asghar or "the lesser warfare" against infidels (See Hughes. Dict. of Islām art. Jihād.)

⁵ Crying Allāhu Akbar الله أكبر God is Almighty. See Mishkāt-u-l-Masāhib X, ii. 1.

raised their hands in prayer, and in the first attack they put to the sword a considerable number of able-bodied men of the Mughul cavalry, and the lances of the Maliks of the Court so wounded the limbs of their enemies that above each of them the blood spurted up like a spear, while sixty selected Turks interweaving their arrows like closely-woven cloth, made it appear as though the web (of existence) of the Tātārs was being torn to shreds.

In the beginning of the fray the arrow of the king leapt forth
The Tātārs were all laid low.

As often as the great Lord, lion-hearted, wielding the sword,
with a blade as bright as his own faith, sallied forth to
attack from the midst of the ranks.

You would say that the sword was trembling in that battlefield
at the excellencies of the monarch, and becoming in its entirety
a tongue was saying to him, Up and make an end of these accursed ones, and entrust their discomfiture to thy servants, but do thou thyself refrain from personal action, for the sword is double faced, and the scimitar of Fate pitiless in its wounding—no one can tell what may happen to any one of us from the decree of the All powerful. I close my eyes against the fatal eye.¹

Go not, that I may bind thy dust upon mine eyes.

Act not, for I greatly fear the evil eye.

The heaven has never seen such a brilliant countenance,
I am as rue upon that fire to guard that eye.²

As long as he strenuously performed the duties of fighting and warfare, each of the weapons as it were entered into colloquy with him—the spear was saying, Oh King! refrain your hand from me

¹ There is a sequence of plays upon words in the original which cannot possibly be preserved in a translation. *تیر* *tīr* is a kind of cambric or lawn. It also has the usual meaning of "arrow."

² *عين الكمال* *ʿayn al-kamal* An eye supposed to have the power of killing with one glance. The Arabs say *فما الله عنك عين الكمال* *fa mā allah ʿanaka ʿayn al-kamal* May God blind the fateful eye to thee.

³ *سپند* *spēnd* According to *Burhān-i-Qāfī*, a seed which is burned to avert the consequences of being "overlooked" by the evil eye. See Vuller's *Lexicon*

For an interesting account of charms against the evil eye see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.

this day, for the tongue of my point by reason of constant fighting and slaying is blunted, and I have no power left of opposing the enemy with thrusts, I fear lest I should leap up and should commit some untoward act. The arrow too was saying,

Thou, the knot of whose bowstring opens the knot of the Jauzhar, do not advance to meet this danger.¹

I myself in rushing forth to destruction cast dust upon my head, lest the close-eyed beauty of the heaven,² who sits on the fifth roof near the door of the eighth mansion,³ sitting in ambush, out of temerity and spite, should discharge against you the shaft of error from the bow of fraud and malice; the lasso was saying, to-day the thread of planning should not be let go from the hand of deliberation, for I am contorted with anxiety at this precipitate conflict and ill-considered battle; wait a while! for Islām and the Muslims are like the tent ropes connected with the tent of your favours. Oh God! in dealing with this people, do not so long delay putting the halter round their necks.

I have willingly put my neck in the noose for thy sake
Thou art my lassoer, who takest me with the noose of thy
locks.

In short, the mighty king, the defender of the faith, the uprooter of infidelity, from mid-day till eventide attacked that impious crowd with the whole main body of his army, cheerfully and willingly, while the shouts of the victors in the fight, and the clamour of those eager for the fray⁴ deafened the ears of the world and of the sky,⁵ and tongues of fire which leapt from the heads of

¹ MS. (A) has *فد* as has the text. MS. B *فند* Neither is intelligible.

Possibly we should read *مفسدة* *mafsada*. Jauzhar the head and tail of Draco, see *Burhān-i-Qāṭi* also *‘Āin-i-Akbārī*, II. (J.) p. 9, also *Kashshaf*, I. 202.

² *مبادا ترک تنگ چشم فلک* MS. (A).

³ I read *نزد در خانه هشتم* MSS. (A) and (B) have *نزد در خانه* which makes no sense unless we supply a word such as *روانیده* for which there is no function. The text reads *ویر* but it seems to me *نزد* is more likely to be right. It might easily have become *نرا* by copyist's error.

⁴ MS (A) *و غوغای طالبان و غا و غلبان طالبان غرا*. This is a better reading than the text.

⁵ MSS (A) and (B) read *اسماع سما* for *صماخ سما* in the text.

the sun of the life of that king whose sun was setting sank into the west of extinction, and the heaven, after the habit of mourners, dyed its raiment blue, while falling tears began to course down both its cheeks. Saturn, by way of fulfilling the requirements of fidelity and the demands of mourning, turned its robe to black and bewailed the people of Hindūstān because of his death. Jupiter, in pity for that dust besoiled body and blood-stained mantle rent his garments and cast his turban in the dust.

And Mars, may the hand of his power be tightly closed as the eye of the beauties, and the face of his sustenance be dark as the locks of Ethiopians, sore wounded by compassion for that calamity, with a rankling thorn¹ which brought forth his heart's blood, was trembling like the Fish² before the Sun, and like the Ram³ in the hands of the slaughterer, while the Sun, for shame that it had not striven to avert this calamity and prevent this disaster, came not forth, but sank below the earth, and Venus when she saw what violence the heavenly bodies were undergoing at the hands of Time, played her tambour more vehemently,⁴ changed 137 the tune of the drum, and commenced music in a fresh measure, and because of the death of that slave-cherishing king, others in place of uttering musical strains began to weep, and Mercury⁵ who in forage and conquests in accord with the scribe, used to write many records of victory, in that tyranny⁶ was blackening his face with the contents of his inkhorn, and was clothing himself in a garment of paper made of the sheets of his own records, while the new moon in the shape of a crescent on the horizon, with bowed stature, in that day of judgment which had visited the earth, was striking its head on the wall and performing all the customary mourning duties.

1 خار عقرب *Khār-i-ʿAqrab* The thorn of Scorpio. Mars is called خار عقرب.

2 حوت *Hūt*. The sign Pisces.

3 حمل *Ḥamal*. The sign Aries.

4 يزيد في حديثه on the analogy of يزيد في حديثه said of a liar.

The طنبور *tanbūr* is a kind of mandolin with chords of brass wire played with a plectrum. The word was originally دنب برة from its being likened to the tail of a lamb. (Lane).

5 Mercury is called دبیر فلک *Dabīr-i-Falak*. The scribe of the sky.

6 نظم *nazm* MS. (A) MS. (B). The textual reading نظم must be wrong.

Thou placest thy cheek in the dust, alas, I wish not this
for thee

Moon of my days, I do not wish thee to pass beneath the
Earth.

If thou goest out to the chase (i.e. diest) thy dust is my life:
My life! is the solitude of thy dust pleasing to thee? I do
not wish it for thee.

May God, be He exalted and blessed, raise the purified and
sanctified soul of that warrior prince to lofty heights and high
dignities, and give him, from time to time, cups full of the bril-
liancy of his beauty and glory, and make all the kindness, and
clemency, and affection, and care which he evinced towards this
broken down worthless one, a means of increasing the dignity and
wiping out the faults of that prince. Amen, Oh Lord of the worlds!

And Mir Khusrū¹ also on that day fell a prisoner into the
hands of Lahori, a servant of the Mughūl, and had to carry a
nosebag and horsecloth upon his head. He recounts this circum-
stance in these words—

I who never even placed a rose upon my head,
He placed a load on my head and said "It is a rose."²

And he composed in poetry and sent to Dehli two elegies written
in *tarkīb-band*³ which are found in the anthology known as

میر خسرو For an account of Mir Khusrū see index reference.

The poet, relates some of his experiences as a captive—"At the time
that this learner of evil, the author, was a captive in the hands of the
Mughūls—may such days never return!—travelling in a sandy desert, where
the heat made my head boil like a cauldron, I and the man who was with
me on horseback arrived thirsty at a stream by the roadside. Although
the naphtha of my life was heated I would not inflame it with oil by
drinking a draught of water. Both my guard and his horse drank their
fill and expired immediately." Elliott, III, Appendix, p. 645.

¹ جل means both horsecloth and also rose. There is a difference in the read-
ings MS. (A) reads, توبره بر سر نهاد و گفتا جل MS. (B) is like the text.

² ترکیب بند. In this class of composition a certain number of verses
having the same metre and rhyme are followed by a couplet in the same
metre but having a different rhyme—then the original rhyme is reverted to
for a certain number of verses, and is again followed by a fresh couplet
having the same metre, but a rhyme differing from both the original rhyme
and that of the first interpolated couplet—and so on. In *Tarjūband* as

*Ghurratu-l-Kamāl.*¹ For a space of a month more or less, folk used to sing those *tarkīb-bands* and used to chant them as threnodies over their dead from house to house.

The following is one of them :—

Is this the Resurrection day or is it a calamity from heaven 13
which has come to light ?

Is this a disaster or has the day of Judgment appeared
upon the earth ?

That breach which has appeared this year in Hindustān
has given entrance to the flood of sedition below the
foundation of the world.

The assembly of his friends has been scattered like the
petals of the rose before the wind.

Autumn the leaf scatterer has, one would say, appeared in
the garden,²

Every eyelash, in the absence of friends, has become a
spear-point to the eye, and each point of the spear has
brought blood spouting forth to a spear's length

The heart writhes in agony since Time has broken the thread
of companionship ;

When the string is broken, the pearls are scattered far and
wide.

Such a flood of tears has been shed by the people on all
sides that five fresh rivers have appeared around Multān.³

I wished to bring my heart's fire upon the tongue in the
form of words,

When lo ! a hundred tongues of fire appeared within my
month.

has been stated elsewhere, the plan is similar to the above, but the interpolated couplet is always the same. This interpolation occurs not more than seven times both in *Tarkīb-band* and in *Tarjī-band*.

¹ *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl*. The longest of the four *Dīwāns* of Amīr Khuzrū. It contains poems written from the 34th to the 42nd year of his life ; for an account of this and the other " *Dīwāns* " see Elliott, III. Appendix. See also *Hājī Khalīfah*, IV 311.

² MS. (A) reads گلستان for بوستان.

³ MS. (A) agrees with the text. MS. (B) has a worthless reading

ہیچ دیگر اندر عورتان آمد بدد

I dug deep in my breast, empty of all desire, and tears burst forth from both my eyes; when the earth is hollowed out then springs of water make their appearance.

Weeping has taken the bloom off my cheek, and disgraced me, because by reason of it, the skin has left my cheek and the bones have come in sight.

The planets are all conjoined in my eyes¹ perchance it portends a storm, since in a watery constellation a conjunction of planets is seen.

I only wish for that same collection (of friends) and how can this be!

19. It is essentially impossible—how can this *Banātu-n-Na'sh* become the Pleiades² (How can mourning become joy).

With what omen³ did the king lead his army from Maltān and draw the infidel-slaying sword in order to slay the infidels.

¹ The text has *در چشم* we should read *در چشمم* as in MS. (A).

The astrologers state that when a conjunction of all the planets shall take place in one of the watery constellations (Scorpio, Pisces, Aquarius) a deluge like that which destroyed the world in the time of Noah will occur again.

² This couplet differing as it does in rhyme, but being in the same metre is characteristic of *ترکیب بند* *tarḡīb band*, see p. 196, note 8.

بنات النعش *Banātu-u-na'sh*, this name "The daughters of the bier" is given by the Arabs to the constellation *Ursa Major*. See Lane, s. v. *نعش* -

The origin of the name "The daughters of the bier" is said by Sedillot in his Notes to the *Prolegomenes des Tables Astronomiques d'Oloug Beg*, to be that "the Arab Christians called the "Chariot" or the four stars composing the body of the Great Bear *نعش لعازر* *Ferctrum Lazari*, and the three stars (the handle of the plough) of the tail *Maria, Martha ac ancilla*." The Persians have a superstition that if two people are together and one of them points out this constellation to the other, one of the two will die within the year.

The allusion to the Pleiades is explained by the following verses of Ibnū-l-Amīd (see de Slane, *Ibn Khall.*: III. 263).

"I have seized on one of the opportunities which life offers to form with my companions a part of the band of the Pleiades, and, if you do not aid us to maintain our rank in that choir by sending us some wine, we shall be sad like the daughters of the hearse."

The Pleiades is considered a fortunate asterism (cf.) Job xxxviii. 18, "The sweet influences of Pleiades."

³ MSS. (A) and (B) read *تاجه طالع*.

When they brought him tidings of the enemy, with that strength which he possessed, ruthlessly he displayed his wrath and unfurled his standards.

That army which was then present sought for no second army,

For this reason that Rustam must not be indebted to an armed host,¹

One assault took him from Multan to Lāhor, saying

In my reign can any one rebel against me?

Am I not such a lion, that my sword which is like fire and water

Has by its slaying turned every year of theirs to dust and ashes?

Such torrents of blood often have I set flowing over the earth,

That the vulture flies² over the surface of blood like a duck over the water.

In this year to such an extent do I stain the earth with their blood,

That the evening twilight reddens with the reflection of the earth.

He was bent upon this enterprise and did not know that the Destiny of heaven had drawn the line of fate across the writing of the page of intention.

His eyes were smitten by the stars; if I have the power I must heat a needle, and like a shooting star thrust it into the eye of the seven planets.

The first day of the month became Muharram³ for him, 146
not for him only but for all people.

¹ These verses are transposed in the text. MS. (A) and MS. (B) give this der.

² MSS. (A) and (B) read بر سر خون پر کشید.

³ MS. (A) reads غرة مع شد محرم.

The Martyr Prince was killed on the last day of Zūl Hijjah the morrow of which was the sacred month of Muharram.

The 'Ashūrā (the tenth) is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muharram. We read in the *Hikāyat* (VII.) Ibn Abbās said "I did not see his highness intend the fast of any day which he considered more noble than the 'Ashūrā and the fast of Ramaṣān." Again "the fast of

Since at the end of Zūl Hijjah he drove his dagger into the neck of his enemies.

That the day of 'Āshūrā might arrive he entered the ranks of holy war like Husain; the dust of his steed served as ocollyrium for the eye of the brilliant moon.

What an hour was that when the infidel reached the van of the army!

One upon another his squadrons passed over the river and came upon them unawares.¹

Thou didst see the king's steed,² casting the cloud of dust to the sky.

The wind-footed courier charging the infidels worthless as dust.

He raised a turmoil among the stars by the shouts of his army.

He produced an earthquake in the world by the rushing of his cavalry,

From the roll of the drums, the neighing of the horses, and the shouts of their riders, he caused a quaking of the plain and desert and mountain.

His horses were reeking (with sweat), with shoes as hot as fire, so that the hoofs of each fiery-shod steed struck sparks.³

What awe was there! at one time drawing up for battle,
What terror was there! at another time raising the battle cries.⁴

From the flash of the sword in his hand he scattered heat and oppressiveness around him.

the day 'Āshūrā I am hopeful will cover the faults of the coming year." (Matthews, Vol. I. p. 402).

"It is the only day of Muharram, observed by the Sunni Muslims, being the day on which, it is said, God created Adam and Eve, heaven and hell, the tablet of decrees, the pen, life and death." (Hughes, Dict. of Islam).

¹ MS. (A) reads جوق حرق آب را بگذشت و ناله در رسید and آن چه ساعت.

² MS. (A) reads جنگ instead of خنگ as in the text.

³ MSS. (A) (B.) read روز سم هو آتشین نعلی.

⁴ MS. (A) آن چه هیبت بود گاهی کارزار آرمیدن
و آن چه دهشت بود گاهی تیر و دار بگنجتن

MS. (B) reads the same as (A) repeating هیبت in the second line.

While the very thought of his spear pricked the heart like
so many thorns.

The brave-hearted were attacking, bent on consuming their
enemies,

The faint-hearted were plotting intent upon flight.

[While, the king the cherisher of brave men, in that
field of battle,

Was doing deeds of bravery and urging on the warriors].

Striking manfully blow after blow upon the ribs of the
unmanly cowards,

And sending forth flames of fire from his well tempered
sword.

Raising aloft like Jamshīd, the standard, to restrain the
demons,

Urging on his steed, like the sun, to capture kingdoms.

Bringing the sky into supplication from that affliction.

Making the sun perform the *Tayammum*² with that dust.

[At that time when there was a distinction between brave
and coward,

Many a one there was whose lips were dry and his cheeks
pale].³

¹ These lines are omitted in the text but are in both MSS.

گاه شاه مورد پرور اندران میدان کار
کار مردان کردن و مردان کار انگیزتن

² *tayammum*. This word signifies "Intention" and is restricted to the *Huḍūd* or ablutional ceremony performed with sand instead of water, which is permissible under certain circumstances, as for instance when water cannot be procured without incurring undue risk or labour. Qur'ān V. 9. "If...ye cannot find water then take fine surface sand and wipe your faces, and your hands therewith." This like so many of Muhammad's injunctions was excellent as a sanitary measure.

³ The text and MS. (B) are both wrong here, repeating the preceding band as though this poem were a *tarjīband*. The following is the correct reading as given in MS. (A)

اندران وقتی که فرق از مرد تا نامرد بود
ای بساکس را که لبها خشک و روها زرد بود

Consequently in the translation I have omitted the incorrectly repeated lines, and have given these in their place.

The day was cast into darkness when they hurled¹ one upon the other,

The sun became pale when dagger was interweaved with dagger.

The day was nearing its decline, seeing that the swords² were weaving a sky of rust over the sun of the army.

The rows of swords in both ranks resembled (the teeth of) a comb,

The combatants are entangled one with the other like hair with hair.³

The Earth looked like a sheet of water when cuirass was knit with cuirass, the plain resembled a rose garden when shield was woven with shield.

The heaven flies away as though flying from an arrow, The arrows flying above their heads are thick as the feathers of a wing.

When half the force of the infidels had their heads swept off by the sword

Those infidel heads⁴ which were matted together like the locks of black hair.

Ruby-red drops of blood sprang like tears⁵ from the sword So that the gold-woven standards were besprinkled with the jewels.

Each single head was cleft in twain when the swords blows met.

¹ MS. (B) reads **تافتند** which is the best reading.

² This is the reading of MS. (A) **از زنگار تیغ** MS. (B) follows the text but with no intelligible meaning The reading of MS (A) is not quite satisfactory and it seems possible that we should read **از جنگار تیغ**. i.e. The warriors' swords.

³ MS. (A) has the following —

شاه را مانند آن صفهای تیغ از سردوسو

MS. (B) has **شانه را مانند** while the text has this as an alternative reading for **شانه را زانست**.

MS. (B) is the reading adopted for this line, reading however **تافتند** (text) and MS. (A) for **تافتند** MS. (B) in the second line.

⁴ MS. (A) **کافران هر دوسو**.

⁵ Insert **از** before **تیغ** MS. (A)

The cloven heads became as one again when head was thrust against head.

The slain were lying on all sides of that verdant plain¹

Like the figures which they weave on the green brocade.

Long had they been striving even from morning till evening, face to face, and hair to hair, and hand to hand.²

The king³ wished to spread the carpet of victory but to what avail

Since the heavens had woven that carpet in another pattern.

⁴[His auspicious sword did not cease from contest for one moment.

From the declining day till night in that day of declining fortune].

Oh Lord! was that blood which flowed over the face of the plain 143.

Or was it a river urging its waves toward the lips of the thirsty.

Just as water drops to the earth when you sift it⁵ in a sieve

So the blood dript from the limbs of the weary warriors.

The mortally wounded lay in the death-agony writhing on the ground, while from his throat blood burst in billows, spouting in the air.

The arrows drove the bodies over the sea of blood like boats,

Plying their oars madly and urging their course onwards.⁶

¹ MS. (A) reads کشتگان افتاده در اطراف آن صحرائی سبز which is the reading adopted.

² MS. (A) reads. رو بروی و مو بروی و بسو بسو بر یافتند

MS. (B) رو برو و مو بسو و بسو بر یافتند

³ MS. (B) reads incorrectly خواست شد

⁴ The text and MS. (B) are again wrong here giving in this place the couplet beginning اندران میدان, see page 106 note 3, instead of the lines which should follow

یک زمان شمشیر اقبالش نیاسود بر قتال

از زوال روز تاشیب اندران روز زوال

⁵ MS. (A) بیزي

⁶ These lines follow here in MS. (A) in the text they are five couplets later.

The river bore those (the infidel enemies) to hell and the
stream bore these (the Muslims) to Paradise, although
the blood of infidel and Muslim was flowing side by side.
The chargers were plunging and the heads of the riders
falling.

The feet of the horses speeding and the heads of the riders
bowling along

Every spurt of blood which spurted from the body struck
by an arrow

Leapt without restraint like a man who leaps to avoid an
arrow.¹

The arrow of every man who from stoutness of heart had
an arm nerved for the fight, fitted accurately to the bow
flew straight to the heart of the enemy's army.

And he who from faint-heartedness has lost command of
his arms and legs, was running now to the water and
now to the plain.

The king, the commander of the army, was urging on the
charger of his fortune, and it galloped with him in draw-
ing up his line, and planning the scheme of action.

The heavens turned Victory backwards seizing it by the
hair,

Although Victory was speeding towards us having left the
accursed (infidels).

² [The infidels were expecting the coming of night, to take
to flight,

Suddenly the scale of the balance turned against us].

What a night was that! when the sun had fallen from the
sky!

And demons were hurling fire upon the earth, and the stars
had fallen.

When nothing of day remained for that sun of fortune.³

¹ These lines follow here in MS (A) which reads *چون کسی گز تیر بسجهد*.
² It is so again the text and MS (B) are wrong. Here should follow as in
MS. (A).

کافر اندر انتظار شب که تا بیرون شود
تا گیاه میدان مارا پله دگر گون شود

³ These are omitted in MS. (B). MS. (A.) reads *آفتاب بخت را*
This and the following are transposed in the text.

Some little daylight remained when the sun (of royalty) fell.

Although Husain of the famous Kerbelā¹ was in straits for want of water.

He was the Muḥammad whose end came upon him in the water.²

The heart of mankind became (full of holes like) a fishing net because, from the craft of the demon the royal signet which was on the hand of Solomon fell into the water.³

The infidels were wallowing in blood as the donkey wallows in the gutter, the believers lay in the mud like jewels in the mire.

One army was passing through the water of the flood of disaster,

The other parched with thirst had fallen in with a mirage.

Each one of them was put down on the tablet of the earth for this reason that their affairs had fallen into the account of the day of reckoning.

¹ A city in Irāq 50 miles south west of Bagdad and six miles west of the Euphrates Husain was slain there A.H. 61 in conflict with Yazīd ibn Mu'āwīa on the 10th of Muḥarram; the name of the place where Husain was cut off from the Euphrates was called Kerbelā. See Hughes Dict. of Islam art. Husain.

² MS. (A) reads *که در آنش به آب افتاده بود* but the text is the correct reading.

It refers to the circumstances already related under which the *Khān-i-Shahīd*, the Martyr prince met his death. Firishṭa relates that having defeated the enemy the "generals of Hindustān discarded all caution and pursued the fugitives while the Muḥammad, the Martyr *Khān*, who had not performed the mid-day prayer, went hastily with 500 of his army to the margin of a large tank which then was near, alighted and engaged in prayer when his party were suddenly attacked by one of the Mughūl Generals with 2,000 men who were in ambush" (*Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, I. 143. Bombay Edition.) The Prince after a gallant fight was killed by an arrow and most of his men killed. It was here Amīr *Khusrū* was taken prisoner but escaped.

³ The following is greatly abridged from the *Qissat-i-Andīyā*.

Solomon's famous signet ring in which lay the secret of all his power was stolen from him by the jinn *Astarijī* who while Solomon was bathing, persecuted him and demanded the ring from his wife (*Yarūnah*) to whom he had entrusted it. Obtaining it from her he sat on the throne and reled the kingdom, Solomon having been cast out as an imposter. Solomon entered the service of some fishermen who used to give him two fish daily as his

The skull caps which were lying in the fresh crimson blood looked like cocoanuts engraved and ornamented with vermillion.¹

The wounds of the heart were weeping tears of blood in bidding farewell to the soul, and the bodies were lying desolate owing to separation from life.

Alas! many were the living who were lying among the dead overcome with terror, their bodies blood-stained and their eyes sunk in (feigned) sleep.

Look at the deeds of this crafty old wolf (the sky) for lions were as though bound in chains and elephants in fetters at the hands of (infidel) dogs.

[This was not a battle, I verily saw that that was the day of resurrection. If these are the tokens of the resurrection, then I have seen it].²

Look at the revolution of the heaven, for it brought about such a change, that it made the centre of Islām to go round and round (in perplexity) like the compasses.³

wages, one of which he ate but sold the other to feed the poor. In the meantime Āṣaf recognized that it was not Solomon who was ruling, and brought 40 holy men (**وَالْحَب**) before the throne each bearing an open copy of the Taurāt (Book of the Law) which they read aloud; Āṣerjī the demon was not able to bear this, rushed up to the roof of the palace, cast the ring into the water and fled. Solomon happened to be fishing that day but being tired fell asleep on the bank of the river, a large snake came out of the water and taking the green bough of a tree in its mouth was fanning Solomon as he slept, when the fisherman's daughter passed by; she ran off to her father and begged him to marry her to Solomon. Eventually this was settled (though Solomon protested his inability to provide a dowry) and Solomon married the girl. The fish which had swallowed the ring fell into their net on the following day and was given to Solomon with two other fish, Solomon took them and sold two of them and gave the other to the fisherman's daughter to fry. She struck a knife into it and the ring fell out, the whole house becoming illuminated, she screamed and fainted, Solomon seized the ring and put it on, thus recovering his lost kingdom.

¹ MS. (A) reads **گشتگان را سر**. The text and MS. (B) read **کاسهای سر** which seems preferable.

² The text and MS. (B) are again wrong: the proper lines here are
نی فرغ بود آن قیامت را معین دیده ام
گر قیامت را نشان اینست پس من دیده ام

³ MS. (A) reads (variant adopted) **دایرات آسمان بن** MS. (B) is the same as the text except that it reads **پرگار** in both lines.

Has one ever seen an atom carry off the water of the sun's spring?

Has one ever seen a stone, which has rivalled the princely pearl?

When the king entered the cave of the protection of God, that man is a dog who did not wake the sleepers of the cave¹ with his lamentations.

That he entered the secret cave (of death) when fleeing from his enemies, is no disgrace.

The elect of God (Muhammad) fled towards the cave to avoid the attack of his enemies.²

And if a spark reached him from the arrow of his enemies this too is right³ for the wrath of Nimrod at last committed Abraham to the fire.⁴

And if he went to the holy place (Paradise) do not be vexed and count it as a shame to him⁵ for 'Iḡā through the spite of the Nazarenes devoted his life on the cross.

And if the (infidel) dogs were crafty as foxes to him, say this, that it is of a piece with the dog-like behaviour which was shewn to ('Alī) the Haidār-i-Karrār (lion of repeated attacks).⁶

And if the demons caused him to drown, then say this that it is like when a demon drowned Rustum in the ocean.⁷

Every year he used to devote his life and energy to fighting the Mughūla,

At last he yielded up his precious life in this endeavour.

¹ *Qasṣa*, *Sūratu-l-Kahf*, XVIII. The seven sleepers of Ephesus. MS. (A) reads *سکنت آن آدمی گوند*. MS. (B) which the text follows reads *شکنت*; and the text reads *گوند* for *گوند*.

² MSS. (A) and (B) read *از رزم خصمان*.

³ The text and MS. (B) are hopelessly wrong here: the correct reading MS. (A) is *از تیر خصمان هم رواست*.

⁴ Qur'an, xxi. 52-55.

Said they: Burn him and help your gods if ye are going to do so.

We said: Oh fire! be thou cool and a safety for Abraham.

⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) read *از تنگ خان دل بد ممکن*. The reading in the text *تنگ* is inadmissible.

⁶ Abdur-Rahmān ibn Muljīm slew 'Alī with a sword while engaged in prayer on the 19th Ramaḡān 35 A.H. in the Mosque of Kāfa.

⁷ See *Shah-Nama* (Turner Macan), Vol. II, p. 748, l. 8.

This is one of the tricks of fate which at one time sheds blood and at another gives life; ¹ we are powerless, it is useless to strive against the all-powerful tyrant (fate).

The mighty lion when stung by the ant roars aloud in agony.

The infuriated elephant when pricked by a thorn shrieks from pain.

[It was on Friday, the last day of Zūl Hījjah that this battle took place

At the end of eighty-three and the beginning of eighty-four].²

The sun and moon wept over the face of that one of suspicious features,

Day and night wept over the youth of that short-lived one. Like his orders, tears from the eyes, flowed from east to west

Behold the obedience of the servants³ who wept without any master.

In his reign birds and fishes were so happy

That the fishes wept in the water and the birds in the air.

The heavens with its thousand eyes wept over the people of the earth like vernal showers upon the grass.⁴

The dew which falls every morning from heaven and waters the earth, consider that as the tears of the stars who are weeping in the highest heavens.

The people of Multān, men and women, weeping and tearing their hair, in every street, face to face and every where.

No one could sleep at night for the noise of the wailing, and the beating of the drums, for in every house the mourners were weeping bitterly.

¹ MS. (A) و گه جان دهد

² MS. (A) has the following lines in place of those in the text

چند بود و سلج ذی الحجّه که رفت آن کارزار

آخر مشداده و سه آغاز مشداده و چهار

1st Muharram (684 A.E.)

³ MS. (A) بندۀ فرمان بن

⁴ This couplet is omitted from MS. (B).

They were preparing to perform the *wasū* in the water of
their eyes,

Hoping for pardon for that they wept at the time of prayer.

Their tongues were blistered like the feet of prisoners,

So sorely did they weep for the captives of calamity.

Their eyes poured forth blood upon the earth like the
throat of the slain,

So bitterly did each one weep for his own dead.¹

And if by chance a captive returned from that bond of
calamity,

Every one seeing his face wept honest tears of sorrow.

[So great was the weeping that the waves of the tears
were greater than those of the Jihūn.

This was my own condition, the state of the others how can
I describe !]²

Shall I wring my hands, or shall I with my own teeth
make my arm livid,

Or shall I wear clothes of a darker blue than this blue 148
heaven ?³

Every man of reputation, tattoos his arm with the needle,
But when I make my arm blue with my teeth, the name of
the king leaps forth on my arm.

Alas ! that he by the tyranny of the blue sky, is sleeping
beneath the earth, while * because of his sleeping there
the whole horizon has become blue (dark).

There was both the blackness of the Hindū and the white-
ness of the Turk, whereas now both Turk and Hindū are
wearing blue (as mourning)

* [It was as though the people were tearing the heavens
and dividing them among themselves,

This is the order of the couplets in MS. (A).

MS. (A) گریه چندان شد که موج دیده از جگرش گذشت
حال من این بود حال دیگران تا چون گذشت

* Blue was the customary mourning colour in Persia.

* MS. (A) وز

* This couplet is not in the text nor in MS. (B) MS. (A) reads

آسمان را گریا بدرید و قسمت کرد خلق
بسکه اطراف زمین از جامه شد هر سو کبود

To such an extent was the earth in all directions blue with mourning garments.]

Now it has become customary to wear blue—so that henceforth it behoves the weavers of white cloth to dye their thread blue in the shuttle.¹

In every street² of Cairo a river blue like the Nile was flowing; to such an extent were blue garments being washed in tears on all sides.

The dyers of blue cloth were as happy as if there was a bridal in their houses, because so many brides had their garments dyed blue in mourning for their husbands.³

The lovely ones who were smiting their foreheads and shedding tears of blood had their cheeks below their eyes red (with blood) while above their eye-brows it was blue.

The beauties have no need of blue (patches) and redness (rouge) after this,

For the cheeks are torn till they are red (with blood) and the face is smitten till it is blue (with bruises).

In such quantities do they tear their hair from their delicate brows, one and all

That the root of every hair becomes blue from such rough treatment.

[How long shall I tear out the hair of my head in this lamentation and mourning!

Nay I will pluck this body of mine like a hair from the head of my life].⁴

Alas! that my heart has suddenly turned to blood on account of (the loss of) my friends.

The order of the following couplets differs from that of the text as will be seen.

1 MS. (A) reads *یا گو* for *ها گو* the latter is the correct reading.

2 MS (A) *بهر کوی*.

3 MS. (A) *پیرهنهای مرومان*

4 MS. A. *موی سر تا چند از این غم زار و گویان بر گنم* Not in the text.

Alas! for that assembly who were a constant fresh joy to their friends.

The eyes became flooded with water and blood on account of their friends, so long as I saw my friends in the midst of blood and water.

Such priceless blood of my friends has the earth swallowed That it is my right to demand from the Earth the blood money for my friends.

If it were possible for those who sleep in the dust to arise, I would devote the remainder of my life to secure the existence of my friends.

It were a pity that the eye should have its pupil always with it, and yet that its friends should be out of sight.¹

How can one bear to look at others instead of one's friends,

My friends are gone! How can I embrace a stranger!

How can I clothe any other person in the mantle of any friends!

I will place their dust in my eyes (as a collyrium). How can it be right that the dust of my friends' feet should be so little valued.²

In desire for my friends, even though they sever my head (from my body),

Still the desire for my friends will never be severed from my ³ head.

Oh my King! whenever thou biddest me I will tear my garment of life to the very edge in mourning for my friends.

My life has been torn to shreds in a hundred places through grief, how can it be right that I should tear a shred into shreds for the sake of my friends.⁴ 150.

My friends have gone of whom are you talking,

Once for all bring your speech to an ending and breathe a prayer for my friends.

¹ MS. (A) حیف باشد مرد من در چشم و یار از چشم دور

² MS. (A) The order in the text differs.

³ MS. (A) در برای دوستانم گر صور بیرون کنند

⁴ I follow the text here. MS. (A) reads.

[Always remember the departed, especially at the time of prayer,

Because nothing shows you the way to mercy save the guidance of prayer].¹

O Lord may the illumination of the sun of mercy light upon their souls,²

May their souls shine like the sun from the bounty of the light.

In the day of battle the Great Khān was their leader,

May the same Khān be also their leader to the Garden of Paradise.

If an angel flies thither in desire for him it becomes a fly,³

May the wings of the peacock of Paradise drive away the flies from them.

The bounty of mercy is the water of life in the gloom of the grave,⁴

Oh Lord, in the darkness of the tomb may they have the water of life.

[When the faces become black from the sun of resurrection

May the wings of the angels cast protecting shade over their heads].⁵

When they give⁶ into their hands the record of their deeds taken from the book of punishment,

May the record bear as its heading the words "A book for the right hand."⁷

These lines are not in the text nor in MS. (B).

یاد می کن خفتگان را خامه در حال دعا
کت بر رحمت را نفیساید مگس دال دعا

دعا Dāl-i-du'ā Dāl signifies the letter with which the word du begins, while Dāl also means "that which shows the way."

² یارب از MS. (A).

³ در هوایش گر ملک پرورد گردد مگس MS. (A)

⁴ در ظلمات گور MS. (A).

⁵ This couplet is omitted from the text.

چون ز خورشید قیامت رویها گردد میانه
بر سر از پر صلا نیک سایه گردان باد ششان

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) بر کف دهند

⁷ See Qur'ān lxxxiv. 7, 8, 9 "and as for him who is given his book in his

May the drops of blood which were shed from their throats
Become the most costly rubies of their crown of pardon.
For the thirsty ones¹ whose souls departed for lack of
water,

May the cloud of mercy rain continuously upon their heads.
For the captives² who were long subjected to hardships,
Oh Lord! may the hope of speedy release make their way
light for them.

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May the affliction which they suffered in imprisonment, be
to those who have escaped from prison (by death) the
cause of their eternal salvation,

And those who have survived and have returned from
that calamity,

May they experience the mercy of the Author of good,³ and
may the favour of the Sultān be theirs.

Since Muḥammad has departed may the event be happy for
the king. May his son Kaiqubād be most fortunate and
his son Kaikhusrū be blessed.

And the opening [of another threnody]⁴ is as follows:

My heart sit silent in sorrow for no trace of joy remains,
Grief, do thou take away the world, for no joy is left
therain.

In the following ode too he refers to the same disastrous
occurrence:

Behold this calamity⁵ which has be fallen this year on the
frontier of Multan,
The right wing of the believers has been defeated⁶ by the
infidel ranks.

right hand, he shall be reckoned with by an easy reckoning; and he shall go
back to his family joyfully."

¹ MS. (A) تشنگان را که جانهایشان بپای آب گزشت I follow the text here.

² This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads کشتگان MS. (B) تشنگان

³ Vullars. یزدان.

⁴ These words are not in either MS.

⁵ MS. (A) reads زمین بالا نگر اعمال. This is the preferable reading.

⁶ MS. (A) شکست.

How can I explain that day of resurrection, from the agony of which the Angel of Death would have craved respite.

How can I describe the way in which the Ghāzīs, attacked the front of the Khaibarīs, like the Lion of repeated attacks.

But what help has anyone against the decree of fate which was ordained by and issued from the Almighty.

What was the condition of the battle field? it was one load of dead bodies,

So much blood was spilled and the load was lying upon it.¹

The blood of martyrs, poured out like a libation, was mingled with the earth,

The necks of prisoners bound together with ropes in rows, like rose chains,

The heads strangled in the tight noose of the saddle-cords,²

The necks caught in the coils of the head-ropes.

Although my head escaped that game of strangulation,

Still my neck did not escape that noose of torture.

I was taken captive, and for fear lest they should shed my blood

My blood dried up, not a single drop remained in my weak and emaciated body.

I was poured out like water running without beginning and without end, and like bubbles thousands of blisters appeared on my feet from much travelling.

The skin was separated from my feet by the blisters,

Like to the seams of a slipper burst open.

My heart, because of affliction, was as hard as the hilt of a sword

¹ MS. (A) reads زمین رزم که شد باز گشته بود همه

MS. (B) زمین رزم که شد باز گشت بود همه

The real reading seems to be زمین رزم چه شد باز گشته بود همه

² دوال بازی. See Richardson s. v. دوال پای.

"From weakness my body was become wood like the handle
of a club.¹

Not a breath remained in my wind-pipe by reason of thirst,
My belly was like a drum from the duration of my hunger.²
My body was stripped naked like a tree in autumn,
And like a rose torn into a thousand shreds by the thorns.
For sorrow the pupil of my eyes poured forth drops
Like the (scattered pearls) of a necklace broken from the
neck of a bride.

A *Qurūna*³ driving me on in front followed along the way 158.

seated on a horse, like a leopard on a hill range
Footor ab isto ore teterrimus axillæ odori similis,
*Capilli oris ejus pubi similes usque ad mentum delapsi.*⁴
If I lagged behind a step or two through fatigue
He would draw at one time his falchion⁵ at another his
javelin.⁶

I kept heaving deep sighs and saying to myself
Alas! I shall never be able to escape from this calamity!
A thousand thanks to God Almighty who liberated me
With my heart free from arrow wounds and my body
unhurt by the sword.

When he desired to make my body a brick for the grave,
Water and clay built up for me anew my palace of years.
But what good to me was my escape from that rope
If snapped like the bond between the *Muhājir* and *Anṣār*?

چاقمار *Chuqmār*. Pavet-de-Courtyllo in his *Turkī dictionary* gives this
word as چوقمار *Chūqmār*, with the meanings *massue*, *gourdin*.

² These lines are as follows in MS. (A).

دمی نمائند بنایم ز بودن تشنه
دفی شد تشکم من زماندن نامار

³ I cannot find this word, possibly it is connected with the Turkī قورچی *qūrchī*, an armed soldier.

⁴ See Elliot and Dowson, III. 528.

⁵ طوغان *ṭughān* there is a Turkī word *طوغان* *ṭughān* which means
a falcon, and another توغانک *ṭughānāk* oiseau semblable à l'épervier (P.
de C.). Hence the above translation by the word *falchion*.

⁶ تجمار *tajmār* a dart having no point (Richardson).

⁷ The *Anṣār* or 'helpers of the prophet' were those tribes of El Medīnah

All those lives were poured out in the dust like roses
 By the fierce blast of misfortune, this is Autumn not Spring.
 The world full of roses and the assembly emptied of those
 who can smell their perfume,
 How should not my heart turn to blood like the rose bud
 at this treatment!!

Not one of my friends of last year remains to me this year,
 It is evident that "this year" also will become "last year."
 Do thou also like me, oh cloud of the newly born spring
 Now wash thy hands of water, and rain teardrops of blood.
 Give me a cup, that from the depths of my regret
 I may empty it of wine, and fill it with bitter tears.
 Now that the date is 684 (H.)

To me in my three and thirtieth year comes the good
 tidings of the thirty-fourth.

Not thirty-four because if my years should be thirty
 thousand, when one comes to the account of Annihilation
 neither thirty counts for aught nor a thousand.

I am not a poet, even though I were a magician, still then
 I shall become dust

I am not a *Khusrū*, even were I a *Kaikhusrū*, still at that
 time my kingdom would be but the grave.

And in the preface to the *Ghurraṭu-l-Kamāl* he writes some
 epitomised poems relating to this circumstance; the gist of
 the matter is that they brought Tughral to nothing, and the
 prince who used to pray with lamentation and tears at the foot-
 stool of the best of all helpers saying *Make me of thy mercy*
a victorious Emperor rose to such power in the districts of
 Lakhnantī and Chatar La'l that his head which touched the
 stars, reached to the starless expanse of the highest heaven, and

who, while in other respects rivals, united so far as to espouse the cause of
 Moḥammad.

The *Muhājirīn* were the refugees from Mecca, and to avoid jealousy and
 strife between them and the *Anṣār*, each of the *Anṣār* was made to swear an
 oath of brotherhood with one of the *Muhājirīn*. This bond was however
 broken shortly after the battle of Badr See Muir's *Life of Mahomed*, Vol. III.
 p. 26, also Palmer's translation of the *Qur'ān*, p. xxxiv. and Hughes *Dict.*
of Islām s. v. *Anṣār*.

¹ These lines follow here in MS. (A).

Malik Shamsu-d-Din Dabir, and Qāzī Agir desired to retain me by seizing my garments,¹ but the separation from my friends seized me by the collar. I was obliged like Joseph to leave that prison pit and turn my steps to² the metropolis, and under the shadow of the standard of the Shadow of God I remained in the city. In those very same months, the Khān-i-Buzurg Qāshū Malik arrived from the conquest of Damrela,³ and a rumour came to us that my words had reached him,⁴ so that he made enquiries regarding the ripe fruit of my words; unripe fruit as it really was I laid it before him, and it was honoured with acceptance in his private hall of audience, and I was distinguished by a robe of honour and rewards, and I girded my loins in his service and wore the cap of companionship, and I gave for five years more to the Panjāb and Multān water from the sea of my comfortable circumstances, till suddenly, by the potent order of the wise ruler, the star of my glory came into opposition with the inauspicious Mars;⁵ 15 the time of its decline had arrived when the unlucky cavalcade of those born under the influence of Mars came in sight, and at evening time, the bright sun⁶ sank by the revolution of the heaven, a world of brave men struck by arrows had fallen, and the plain of the earth was full of broken cups, and Death itself was saying at that time "Where shall I place my cup and where shall I take my pitcher." The sky fed upon dust and the sun swallowed a bowl of blood.

How can we describe that day of resurrection,
When even the Angel of Death sought protection from
the fray.

In that forge of calamity the rope of the infidels seized me also by the throat, but inasmuch as God Most High had lengthened the

¹ بلایا ستادم دامن گیرى بکنند. MSS. (A) and (B).

² مصر و مملک. See Huzaddasi. DeGoeje's Glossary, p. 207.

³ دمریله. MS. (A).

⁴ بار رسید. MS. (A).

⁵ مریخ و زحل. Mars and Saturn are considered stars of ill omen, and are called in Arabic نجاسات *najāsāt*. The two misfortunes. (See Ibn Khaldūn Prolog. ii. 218).

⁶ MS. (A) reads اقبال مشرق. MS. (B) اقبال مشرق. So also footnote variant to the text. The former is the reading adopted.

rope of my life, I obtained release, and by the high road I made for the abode of favours, and attained to the sight of the dome of Islām¹ and at the feet of my mother became (as it were) an inhabitant of Paradise, while as for herself, as soon as her eyes fell upon me the fountain of her milk flowed from tenderness towards me.

Paradise always lies beneath the feet of a mother,
See two streams of milk flow therefrom, the sign of
Paradise.²

And I spent some time pleasantly and quietly in seeing my beloved mother and other dear ones in the fort of Mūminpur, otherwise called Patīālī³ on the banks of the river Ganges."

In short, when the news of this heart-rending disaster reached the ears of the Sultān, having observed the duties of mourning for some days, a great affliction fell upon him, so much so that he could never again gird his loins, but he used to occupy himself in all matters, and sent a despatch addressed to Bughrā Khān who had acquired the title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn,⁴ to Lakhnautī saying. Since so great a calamity has fallen upon your brother I desire that you should take his place as you are well able to do, that in looking in your face I may be able to forget the numerous

¹ The reading here is very uncertain, the text reads, *وَأَنْ شَاهِرًا بِالْأَزْدِ* which has no evident meaning: MS. (B) reads *وَأَزْ شَاهِرًا بِدَارِ الْأَزْدِ*. The word *شَاهِرًا* here is clearly wrong. MS. (A) reads *وَأَزْ شَاهِرًا بِدَارِ الْأَزْدِ* and this is the variant I adopt although the phrase *دار الأزد* house of benefits is not a very usual one. Still, I have thought it better to take this as the true reading than to suggest other hypothetical readings.

² This refers to the two springs of Paradise mentioned in the Qur'ān, iv.

(Sūratu-r-Rahmān) *وَمِنْ دُونِهِمَا جَنَّتَانِ فِيهِمَا مَعِينٌ نَضًا خَتَانِ*

And besides these are gardens twain In each two gushing springs
The proverb runs *بهشت در پای مادران* See Roebuck O. P. 484.

³ Patīālī "Ancient town in Aliganj taluk Etah District, N.-W. Provinces situated on the old high bank of the Ganges 22 mile north-east of Etah town." Imp. Gaz xi. 90 *Tierffenthaler* I. 198, places it at a distance of about 75 miles from Dillī and about 20 from Farrukhābād.

⁴ See page 186

sorrows which I suffer on his account. Nāṣiru-d-Dīn who¹ had acquired permanent and independent control over that district (of Lakhnauti) put off for some time coming to Dihli, and even after coming to Dihli at the earnest solicitation of his father was not able to remain there, "the elephant bethought him of Hindustān"² so that forgetting the demands of filial, paternal, and brotherly affection he became so restless from staying in that place that one day without his father's permission³ together with certain of his kinsfolk he went forth on pretence of hunting, and marching by rapid stages reached Lakhnauti and busied himself with his own affairs.

VERSE.

Why should I not betake myself to my own country ?

Why should I not be the dust of the sole of the foot of my friend ?

I cannot endure the sorrow of exile and absence from home,
I will go to my own country, and be my own monarch.

Accordingly Sultān Balban, who was very depressed and dejected at this occurrence, so that day by day his weakness gathered strength, as he lay on his bed of sickness, being moreover past eighty years of age, conferred upon the eldest son of the Martyred Khān who was called Kaikhusrū, the title of Khusrū Khān, and gave the affairs of Empire into his hands. Multān too was entrusted to him, and he made him the heir-apparent, and made a will to the effect that Kaiqubād the son of Bughrā Khān should be sent to his father in Lakhnauti. After he had relieved his mind of anxiety as to the succession of Kaikhusrū, and the other testamentary dispositions of the government having occupied him three days, he removed the baggage of existence from this world to

¹ MSS (A) and (B) نصیر الدین را کہ. The text and both MSS. call him Nāṣiru-d-Dīn.

² His thoughts turned homewards. Another proverb of this kind is *دوق چمن ز خاطر بلبل نایرون*, *duq-i-chaman z khāṭir-i-bulbul namirawaa*, i.e., the desire of the garden never leaves the heart of the nightingale.

³ MSS. (A) and (B). بی رخصت پدر. The reading in the text *برخصت پدر* is at variance both with the sense, and also with the statement of other historians. Barṇī says "He wanted to go to Lakhnauti so he found a pretext for doing so and set off thither without leave from his father (E. D. III. 124).

the next. This event took place in the year 686 H.¹ He had reigned twenty-two years and some months.

Oh my heart! the world is no place of permanence and stay,
Keep thy hand from the world—for it has no stability.

SULTĀN MU'IZZU-D-DIN KAIQUBĀD BIN SULTĀN NĀSIRU-D-DIN BIN
SULTĀN GHĪYĀSU-D-DIN BALBAN.

In the sixteenth year of his age, in succession to his grandfather, by the intervention of Malik Kachhan, who was called Itimar, and other Amirs who were disaffected to the Martyred Khān, succeeded to the throne of Empire.² Then having bestowed Multān upon Khusrū Khān with his family and dependents, they sent him off there under some pretext and exiled his adherents, and when the Empire became established he appointed all the officers of the state to their old posts in the kingdom, and Malik Nizāmu-d-Din³ was appointed *Dādbeg*⁴ and they gave Khwāja Khaṭīru-d-Din the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Shāhik Amīr Hājib that of Wazīr Khān, and Malik Qiyāmu-l-Mulk obtained the post of *Wakildar*: and after six months he left Dihlī and founded the palace of Kīlūgharī, which is now a ruin, near the ford of Khwāja Khizr on the banks of the river Jumna; there he held public audiences, and by craft getting hold of the Mughals who had newly become Moslems, put the majority of them to death, and banished a certain number of them. The chief author and cause of this action was Malik Nizāmu-d-Din 'Alāqa the Wazīr (this Nizāmu-d-Din 'Alāqa is the same in whose honour Muḥammad 'Aufī composed the books *Jāmi'u-l-Hikāyāt* and

¹ 1287 A. D.

² Zīnu-d-Din Barnī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi* gives a slightly different account of the means by which Kaiqubād attained the succession. He states that shortly before his death Balban summoned to his presence Malik-i-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī, Khwāja Husain Baṣrī the Wazīr and some others and charged them to set Kaikhusrū son of the Martyr prince upon the throne. After his death, however, the Kotwāl and his people who for some private reason (*از جهتی که آن بکشف احوال وورات دارد*) had been unfriendly to the Martyr prince, were apprehensive of danger if Kaikhusrū succeeded, so they sent him to Multān and placed the son of Bughrā Khān, Kaiqubād on the throne with the title of Mu'izzu-d-Din (Elliott III. 124).

³ Nephew of Malik-i-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī.

⁴ Chief Justice.

Tazkiratu-sh-Shu'arā); and to Malik Chhajū (who eventually became grantee of Karra¹ and Mauikpūr, and whom Mir Khusrū eulogises in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain* in these words,²

Khān of Karra Chhajū, conqueror of countries

Who hast encircled thy feet with anklets³ formed from the lips of Khāns)

was given Sāmān, his daughter was united in marriage to Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād. At the end of the month of Zūl Hījāh in the abovementioned year, news arrived that the Tatār infidels whose leader was Itimar had attacked Lahore and the frontier of Multān. The Sultān appointed Shāhik Bārbak with thirty thousand cavalry and giving him the title of Khān-i-Jahān despatched him to oppose them. He pursued the Tatārs as far as the foot of the Jūd hills, and put the greater number of them to the sword, or made them prisoners, and having repulsed them he came to the Court.

Inasmuch as Sultān Kaiqubād, during the lifetime of Sultān Balban, had not attained the desires of his heart, and learned instructors had been placed in charge of him, at this time when he attained to the Empire finding himself completely unfettered he occupied himself with the full fruition of lustful delights, while the majority of the people took advantage of the luxuriousness of his reign to spend their days in wantonness and license. The ministrants of debauchery, jesters, singers and jugglers were admitted to close intimacy in his Court, in marked contrast to his grandfather's reign, and learning, and piety, and integrity were nothing valued; and Malik Nizāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqā seeing that the

¹ Not كَرَّا as in the text, but, كَرَّا MSS. (A) and (B) also Barnī. See note 3. Malik Chhajū was brother's son to Balban.

² MSS. (A) and (B) تعریف کرے و گفتا. See Hāji Khalfa IV. 510, 9399, for *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*.

³ In the original there is a play on the word كَرَّا Karra which cannot be reproduced in English. The lines are as follows: MSS. (A) and (B).

خان کرے چہ چہوی کشور کشای کز لب خاتان کرے بستنی بای

See *Am-i-Akbari* II. 167, note 2, where Karra is said (as by Ibn Batūta) to have been the place of meeting of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn and Naṣīru-d-Dīn. See also *Karra Imp. Gaz. of India*, Vol. VIII. but Karra is on the Ganges, and lies far away from the line Lakhnauti—Dihli, but so also does the river Sarjā.

Sultān was immersed in luxury and enjoyment, and utterly careless of his kingdom's affairs, stretched forth the hand of oppression and went to unwarranted lengths. The vain desire of sovereignty came into his heart, so that he set about devising the downfall of the family of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn. In the first instance having instigated Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn to murder Kai Khusrū the son of Sultān Muhammad the Martyr, he summoned him from Multān, and in the town of Rohtak raised him to the dignity of martyrdom and sent him to join his father.

In the same way he accused Khwāja-i-Jahān of an imaginary crime and had him publicly paraded on an ass through the city, he also imprisoned the Amīr and Maliks of the house of Balban who were related to the Mughals who had recently become Moslems, and deported them to distant fortresses, and destroyed the glory of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn.

Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, when the tidings of his son's ruinous condition reached him in Lakhnautī, wrote a letter full of hints couched in the language of enigma and innuendo to Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn warning him of the sinister intentions of Nizāmu-l-Mulk. Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn out of the hot-headedness of youth, did not act on his father's advice, and after much correspondence it was decided that Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn should leave Lakhnautī, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn should start from Dīhli and that they should visit each other in Oudh.

From what Mīr Khusrū may the mercy of God be upon him, says in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*,¹ and also from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*² we learn that Bughrā Khān, on his accession to the throne of Bengāl with the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, was coming with a large gathering to attack Dīhli, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn also having collected his forces from the neighbouring districts advanced against him in the direction of Oudh; and since the river Sarū³ lay between them the son alighted on this side and the father on

Qirānu-s-Sa'dain. The conjunction of the two auspicious planets. Jupiter and Venus, see H. K. 9309, also E. and D. III. 524.

² *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, the author of this work is Yāhyā bin Ahmad bin 'Abdullah Sirhindī (Elliott, IV. 6).

³ The principal streams (of Oudh) are the Sarū (Sarjū) the Ghaghar (Gogra) the Sai, and the Godī (Gumti). In the first mentioned divers aquatic animals and forms of strange appearance show themselves. (*Īn-i-Ilbārī*, Vol. II. 171).

the other side, and neither was able to cross the river. The Amīrs and Maliks of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn's party, intervened with advice to come to peaceful terms, and Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn with a party of special retainers crossed the river, as it had been agreed that the son should sit upon the throne, and the father, standing below the throne, should pay the customary dues of reverence and respect to him. Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn from excess of desire forgot that compact, and on the instant his eyes fell upon the splendid presence of his father he came down from his throne and running barefooted, was about to fall at his feet. The father however would not permit this, whereupon each embraced the other and for a long time they wept bitterly, and in spite of all the father's attempts to take his stand at the foot of the throne, the son forcibly took him by the hand, and led him to the throne and seated him upon it. Then he also took his seat, and after a long time the Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn returned to his own camp, and sent as presents to his son a large number of famous elephants and very many extremely valuable presents and curiosities, and priceless treasures from the country of Lakhnauti. The son also sent to his father an equal number of Persian horses, and other kinds of valuable articles and cloth goods, and rare and unique presents such that the accountant of imagination is unable to estimate their number and value; and all sorts of delight and pleasure burst upon the Amīrs of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn and Nāṣiru-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, and upon high and low of the armies, and the Maliks of both parties exchanged visits: Mīr Khusrū relates in detail this meeting¹ in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*, and in another place he writes in a *qaṣīda* :

Hail ! to the happy kingdom when two kings are as one.

Hail ! to the happy era when two troths are as one.

Ain-e-Akbari II. 305 gives an account of the meeting of father and son. For the river Sarjū, see Tieff. I. 250, 259, 260, 291, also plate XIX. facing page 292, in which the confluence of the Sarjū and Ghāgra is shown as it was in 1768.

The *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain* fixes the meeting between father and son as having taken place at Ajūdhyā on the banks of the Ghāgra.

¹ Ibn Batūta gives a somewhat more fanciful description of this meeting of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Paris Edn. 1855, Vol. III. p 177, see also Elliott III. p 596.

Behold ¹ the son is a monarch, the father a Sultān,
 Behold the glorious kingdom now that two kings are as one.
 'Tis for the sake of kingship and world enslaving power,
 That for the world, two world-protecting kings become
 as one.

One is the Nāṣir of the age, the king Mahmūd Sultān,
 Whose edict in the four parts of the world is still as one.
 The other is Mu'izzu-d-Dīn the world's king Kaiqubād,
 In whose grasp Irān and Turān are welded into one.

And this is his also—

11.

Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dunyā waḍ Dīn Kaiqubād Shāh
 Hast thou ever seen one who is the light of the eyes of four
 kings

On the last day ¹ when Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn came to bid farewell in the presence of Malīk Nizāmu-l-Mulk and Qiwāmu-l-Mulk, who were both of them counsellors and closely bound up with the Government, he gave Mu'izzu-d-Dīn many good pieces of useful advice on all subjects, with exhortation, and examples and instances, and first of all warned him against excess in wine and venery, then spoke of his carelessness with regard to state matters, and rebuked him severely for killing his brother Kai Khusrū and the other noted Āmīrs and Malīks of the adherents of Ghīyāsu-d-Dīn, then he exhorted him to be continually given to prayer and to perform the fast of Ramazān, and to keep all the principal tenets of the Musulmān religion, and taught him certain fixed rules and essential regulations of sovereignty. At the time of taking his departure he whispered in a low tone telling him to get rid of Nizāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa as soon as possible, "for" said he "if he gets a chance at you it is small chance you will get" this much he said, and they bid one another farewell with great emotion, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn for a few days remembered his father's injunctions, and gave up his vicious pleasures, but when he had travelled a few stages the merry courtesans and all kinds of enticing musicians and enchanting jugglers, subverters of piety, skilled and clever, crowded round him on all sides, and enticed his feet from the firm path of fortitude and self-

restraint, by all sorts of gallantries and coquetries, and sense-ravishing gestures and allurements.

The bitter parting advice of his father did not find place in his heart.

For this reason that his heart was inclined to sweets of pleasure.

And the elephant saw Hindustān¹ in its dreams and he broke through his forced repentance, which was as slimy as the web of a spider, at the first provocation, and used to say, "Which advice?² and what counsel?"

I will not give up the delights of to-day for tomorrow
Let tomorrow bring what it may, say to it "Bring it."

In opposition to this view is the following,

It befits not a king to be drunken with wine

Nor become entangled in lust and desire;

The king should be always the guardian of his people,

It is a sin that a guardian should be drunken.

When the shepherd becomes full of new wine,

The flock sleeps in the belly of the wolf.

Heavy cups of wine used he to drink from the hands of the ght-living cup bearers, and used to snatch a portion from his short ephemeral existence, and in this state malicious time used to foretell this calamity,³

Oh thou whose reign is the reign of faithless friends

From thy love springs hate, from thy honour disgrace,

Thou art as full of turmoil, but as empty, as the drum;

Lasting for one night like the candle, and for one day like the rose.

In this licentious mode of life he made his way to Dihli where he arrived in the year 689 H. (1290 A.D.). There certain of his stable Amirs became suspicious of his intentions, and withdrew

¹ See note 2, page 219.

² The text has *کدام* misprint for *کدام*.

³ The text reads *کدام* but MS. (A) reads preferably *کدام*.

to the skirts of the mountains Shei Khān¹ who was one of their number repented and returned, and was thrown into a prison which he only left to go to the prison house of the grave, the others were punished. They bestowed upon Fīroz Khān ibn Yaghrash the Khilji, who eventually obtained the title of Sultān Jalāl-d-Dīn, the title of Shāyista Khān,² and entrusted the district of Baran³ to his control; accordingly he formed a plot by which he got Malik Himār Kachhan, who had treacherously attempted to slay him, into his power, and took vengeance on him for the deed which he had failed to accomplish. Then was seen the truth of the proverb "He who digged a pit for his brother is fallen into it himself."

Thou hast digged a pit in the way⁴ that thou mayest overthrow others.

Dost thou not fear lest one day thou should'st find thyself in the midst of it?

This was the plan which Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn carried into effect. He was very anxious to act upon the advice of his father and remove Nizāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa, so he in the first instance appointed him to Maltān, but Nizāmu-l-Mulk saw through this device, and kept making excuses for delaying his departure, whereupon certain of the king's retainers at a hint from him, poisoned Nizāmu-l-Mulk's cup, and despatched him to the land of non-existence. It so happened that this occurrence became a cause of injury to the State. At this same time the Sultān was attacked by paralysis⁵ from his excesses in wine and venery, in addition to which other deadly ill and chronic diseases obtained the mastery over his body, and his constitution not being able to stand against them, his powers succumbed. The greater number of the Amirs and Maliks who were well disposed to him raised his son

¹ MS. (A) reads ارسر خان Arser Khān.

² MS. (A) شایستی خان.

³ MS. (A) اقطاع برن.

⁴ MS (A) تو چاهي كندك در دل

⁵ القوة Laqwa Facial paralysis. The disease is thus described in the بحر الجواهر Bahru-l-jawāhir "a disease in which one half of the face is drawn to one side so that the breath and the spittle come from one side, the lips cannot be properly approximated and one of the eyes cannot be closed."

Kai Kāūs who was an infant¹ of tender years to the throne with the title of Shamsu-d-Din.

In the year 688 H. (1289 A.D.) they made terms with Shāyista Khān who had distanced all his rivals.² Accordingly he ordered all his kinsmen and retainers whom he had summoned from Baran,³ and had stationed fully armed and equipped in readiness on the other side of the river, to cross the river Jumna and prepare to contest the day with their enemies. Certain of the Amirs of the party of Ghiyāsu-d-Din and Mu'izzu-d-Din came out to oppose him with elephants and a large gathering, and having placed a royal umbrella over the head of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din, who was reduced to a shadow by weakness and emaciation, displayed him from afar off from the summit of the palace of Kilūghsri where he was but barely visible, and made obeisance to him.⁴ In the meantime Malik Ohajū, brother's son to Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Din, who had acquired the title of Kishli Khān cried out "I wish to place Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Din upon a boat and take him to his father at Lakhnauti and remain myself in the service of Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Kai Kāūs"—In spite of this the people of Dihli, from the highest to the lowest, came to the assistance of Shamsu-d-Din, and having assembled in front of the Badāon gate stood up⁵ to oppose Shāyista Khān in battle, and since the sons of Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Din Kotwāl had been taken prisoners in the fight with Shāyista Khān, and Malik Himār Surkha, who had plotted with the servants of Ghiyāsu-d-Din to kill Shāyista Khān and carry off Sultān Shamsu-d-Din (Kai Kāūs),⁶ had fallen by the hand of Ikhliyār-d-Din son of Shāyista Khān; accordingly Maliku-l-Umarā (Fakhru-d-Din) opposed the people and prevented their assembling as they desired, till at last the adherents of Shāyista Khān removed Sultān Shamsu-d-Din Kai Kāūs from the throne by force and carried him off to Babāpur,⁷ where Shāyista

¹ MS. (A) omits the word طال.

² The reading of the text is here adopted. MS. (A) reads مردی مانند بره.

³ MS. (A) omits the words (بود و) after طایفه.

⁴ حرکت المذبحی. I can see no other meaning for these words.

⁵ MS. (A) reads استادند.

⁶ MS. (A) omits the word کیگار.

⁷ MS. (A) reads بهارپور. Barni says Baharpur (E. and O. III. 134).

Khān was; they then ordered¹ a man whose father had been put to death by Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn to go to the palace of Kilūgherī, which he did, and finding the Sultān at his last gasp, he kicked him several times on the head, and then threw him into the river Jumna, and the Empire passed from the dynasty of Ghor, and kingship from the family of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn. This occurrence took place in the middle² of the month of Muharram in the year 689 H. (1209 A.D.).³ The duration of the sovereignty of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn was three years and some months.

This is the changeableness of the ancient heaven,
At one time it is like a bow at another like an arrow;
At one time it feeds you with kindness at another poisons
you with enmity,
This is an example of the custom of the revolving heaven.

We learn from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*⁴ that Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, after the capture of the Shāhzāda, was seized while sitting in darbar during that revolt of the populace, and was bound, and died in captivity of hunger and thirst: in the course of his sufferings he wrote this quatrain,

The horse of my excellence has been left far behind on the plain.

The hand of my generosity has fallen between the hammer and the anvil.

My eye which used to see the gold of the mine and the invisible jewel

To-day alas! is blinded for lack of bread.

And when the tumult between Itimar Surkhā and the people of Dihli subsided, and Shāyista Khān had gained his heart's desire and seated the prince upon the throne, and had set the affairs of the kingdom going again, on the second day after this Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn bade farewell to this transitory⁵ unstable

¹ MS. (A) فرمودند.

² MS. (A) در اواسط.

³ Firishta says 687 H. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* says 19th Muharram 689 H.

⁴ The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* gives the date of the death of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn as the 19th Muharram A. H. 689.

⁵ MS. (A) omits فانی.

world, and realised that all that wanton enjoyment had been but a dream and a phantasy.

Quatrain.

If with your love you have lived in peace your whole life long,

Should you taste all the sweets the world can give your whole life long.

Still at the end comes Death to meet you, and then you find 'Tis but a dream you have vainly dreamed your whole life long.

SULTÂN SHAMSU-D-DIN KAI KÂGS.

The son of Mu'izzu-d-Din Kaiqubâd nominally ascended the throne in Bahâpûr in the year already mentioned, by the co-operation of Shāyista Khān and Malik Chhajū; and the uncle of Shāyista Khān, named Malik Husain, who had kept quiet at Kilūghari during the disturbances, for the safe custody of Sultân Mu'izzu-d-Din, had established great confidence. Shāyista Khān made Malik Chhajū Kishli Khān undertake the duties of Regent, and handing over the young prince to his charge, made a request on his own behalf for the districts of Tiberhinda, Debālpur, and Multān, and asked permission to depart thither; Malik yielding up the Regency and Vazirship to Shāyista Khān² asked for the district of Karra for himself. Shāyista Khān immediately acceded to his request, and conferred on him a robe of honour, and some days later allowed him to proceed to Karra, and Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhr-u-d-Din Kotwāl having congratulated Shāyista Khān on his accession to such high office and great prosperity was instrumental in obtaining permission for Malik Chhajū to leave.

Shāyista Khān used to bring the prince into the durbar hall and used himself to give audience and to regulate the important affairs of state. After a month or two, he brought Sultân Shamsu-d-Din on horseback to the palace of Kilūghari, and imprisoned him, and giving him as his fellows the inhabitants of the prison-house of the grave, sent him to the secret abode of destruction.

MS. (A) reads *والتسلط*

MS. (A) reads *بجوار*

The duration of the kingdom of Shamsu-d-Dīn Kāi Kāūs was three months and a few days.¹

The wine of the sky is not unmixed with the brine of sorrow,

The world's one employment is jugglery—naught else.

SULTĀN JALĀLU-D-DĪN IBN YAGHURASH KHILJĪ

Whose name was Malik Fīroz and his title Shāyista Khān, came to the throne in the year 689 H. as has already been said, with the consent and assistance of Malik Chhajū Kishli Khān; and inasmuch he had previously been regent and governor of the kingdom² the affairs (of state) all devolved upon him.

It must not be forgotten that although Shihābu-d-Dīn Hakīm Kirmānī Jannpūrī,³ the author of the history called Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhī, deduces the pedigree of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn and Sultān Mahmūd Mālwi from the stock of Qālīj Khān, son-in-law of Changiz Khān, there is a long story connected with this. This at least is clear that this ancestry has no real authority, any one of sound judgment will be able to detect the falsity of his claim to this descent; and as a matter of fact there is no connection whatever between Qālīj and Khiljī, in spite of the fact that Qālīj has too rough a sound for the Turki tongue, and if it had any equivalent (of sufficient softness) it would be Qalj⁴ with the meaning

¹ Neither Barnī nor Firishta reckon Kāikāūs (or Kāimūrs) as having had an independent reign, and inasmuch as he was only an infant of some three years of age, it seems more rational to allude to him merely as the puppet that he really was. The only object in raising him to the throne was an attempt to save the kingdom from passing into the hands of the Khiljis. Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, who had been appointed Vizir when Nizāmu-l-Mulk had been poisoned, was ready to seize upon the throne. The fief of Baran had been conferred upon him with the title of Shāyista Khān, subsequently he was made 'Ariz-i-Mamālik. The plots he contrived to get rid of Kāiqubād have been detailed above.

² MS. (A) omits the word (ملکی).

³ See the Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhī.

⁴ The editor of the text states in a footnote that this is a mere verbal quibble of no importance, because قالج qalj and قالی qālī are the same, the ntij in قالی being in place of the fathah which follows the ق in قالج in accordance with the customary mode of writing Turki, further he states that among modern Persians ق is frequently used for ق.

of a sword and in some histories it is said that Khali is the name of one of the sons of Yāfiṣ, (Japhet) the son of Nūḥ (Noah) *on whom be peace* and that the Khiljīs descend from him. God knows the truth of this. To make a long story short, Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn divided the greater portion of the valuable appointments between his sons and brothers, and bestowed the following titles—upon his eldest son the title of Khān Khānān, upon his second son that of Arkali Khān, and on his youngest son that of Qadr Khān, while he gave to his uncle Malik Ḥusain the title of Tāj-i-Mulk. In this same way he bestowed various titles upon others, and allotted them estates, and having built a new town, and a new garden on the banks of the Jamna opposite to the Mu'izzī palace he called it a citadel, "The Rocky Citadel"; when it was completed it was called "Shahr-i-nau" (New-town)¹ and in Sha'hān, of the second year after his accession, Malik Chhajū Kishli Khān went to Karra, and became openly rebellious. The Amirs of the party of Ghīyāṣ-d-Dīn who held estates in that district joined with him, came to Budāon and crossed the Ganges by the ford of Bijlāns with the intention of attacking Dihli, waiting for the arrival of Malik Chhajū who was to come by way of Karra,² (and)³ Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn left Khān Khānān in Dihli and marched against them. Dividing his forces into two army corps he himself went by way of Kol, and reached Budāon,⁴ sending Arkali Khān towards Amroha to oppose Malik Chhajū. Arkali Khān fought the enemy valiantly in many engagements during several days on the banks of the Rahab. In the meantime the people of Bairām Dev the Raja of Kola, which was also called Koela, gave information to Malik Chhajū that Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn was in pursuit of him, and having frightened him exceedingly, urged him to take to flight. He was in such dread of the Sultān, that he did not know his head from his heels, and in the dead of night he made his escape, but eventually fell into the hands of the Kuwārs.⁵ Arkali Khān crossed the Rahab,⁶ despatched Bairām

¹ MS. (A) شهر نو موسوم گردید.

² MS. (A) reads گراز را کوه برآید. The reading in the text is adopted.

³ MS. (A) inserts و here.

⁴ MS. (A) reads از راه کول و بدآون رسید. The text is preferable.

⁵ The text gives an alternative reading قورانیان.

⁶ MS. (A) عبور کرده.

Dev to hell, and pursued Malik Chhajū, and took him prisoner together with some of the other Amīrs of the Ghīyāsi faction. Then he went in the direction of Bahārī and Kasam Kūr, which is the same as Shamsābād,¹ and when they took Malik Chhajū and the other captive Balbanī Amīrs in fetters and chains² into the presence of the Sultān, he called to mind their old ties of relationship, and loosed them from their bonds, sent them to the baths, clothed them in rich garments of honour, and made them partake of his own table, sending Malik Chhajū with the greatest marks of respect to Multān.

Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn who was the brother's son and son-in-law of the Sultān,³ and had been appointed to the district of Karra, and Ilmās Beg, the brother of 'Alāu-d-Dīn who subsequently became Ulugh Khān⁴ was appointed to the post of Akhor Beg. In the meanwhile, the summons which is distasteful to all reached Khān-i-Khānān. The Sultān was greatly distressed at his loss. Mir Khusrū wrote the following dirge in memory of him:—

What day is this that I see not the sun shining,
If night has come why do I not see the brilliant moon.
Since two days my sun has remained behind the clouds,
So that in my eyes I see nothing but clouds and rain.
In Hindustān an evident danger has appeared,
On every face I see thousands of wrinkles but I do not see
the Khāqān.⁵

The stone of the royal signet is hidden as a stone in the mine.

My heart has turned to blood like the ruby for that I see him not.

¹ MS. (A) omits باشد.

² MS. (A) بدیند و فل.

³ MS. (A) has ملک علی الدین را which is a mistake: and omits the after the word دلاور inserting it after the word بود.

⁴ MS. (A) which reads بعد ازان الغنیان گشت.

⁵ There are plays on the words خطا meaning a fault, and the kingdom of Khatā or Cathay, and چین meaning a wrinkle and the kingdom of Chīn or China. The title خاقان Khāqān is the title of the Emperors of Cathay. For the meaning of Khāqān, see *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī*, (Roes and Elias), page 30, note 1.

Lo there is the King, seated on his throne, with his courtiers
standing round him on all sides,

All are there, but still I do not see Khān-i-Khānān.

When I saw fortune blinded, I asked him, Dost thou wish
for sight?

He replied, What could I do with sight, since I cannot see
Mahmūd Sultān!

And in the year following, Arkali Khān came from Multān to
Dihlī, and the Sultan leaving him in Dihlī proceeded to Mandāwar,
and after his arrival at that stage, having received with anxiety
tidings of the revolt of certain of the Ghīyāsī Amīrs, he made
over the district of Budāon to Malik Maghlatī,¹ sent him off at
once and appointed Malik Muḥarak to Tiberhūdah, then after
reducing the fortress of Mandāwar proceeded by an uninterrupted 170.
series of marches to Dihlī; and in those days a certain Saiyyid
ascetic and recluse, holding close communion with God,² relying
upon Him, bountiful,³ adorned with so many excellencies and
perfections, Sidi Maulā ⁴ by name first came from 'Ajam (Persia)
to Ajūdhan in the service of the pillar of the Saints the master
Shāikh Faiz. Ganj-i-Shakkar, *may God sanctify his resting place*,
and sought permission to proceed to the eastern parts of Hin-
dustān. They said to him "Beware of crowds of men, and abstain
from intercourse with kings." When he reached Dihlī, Khān-i-
Khānān, the eldest son of the Sultan, displayed the greatest desire
to become his disciple.⁵ In the same way the greater number of
the deposed Maliks and Amīrs of the Balban party ⁶ used daily
both morning and evening to sit at the table of that darvesh, who
would not accept anything from any one. People used to credit
him with alchemistic powers, and used to come in such crowds that
a thousand *mans* of fine flour and five hundred *mans* of freshly
skinned meat, and three hundred *mans* of sugar used to be the daily

1 MS. (A) ملک مغلاتی

2 MS. (A) صاحب تقربی

3 MS. (A) یاذلی

4 See Beale's Dictionary, page 210

5 MS. (A) ارادہ اعظمی

6 MS. (A) omus &c

expenditure of the Shaiḡh which he expended in alms; the aforesaid Sidi although he engaged always in vigils¹ and the prayers of the five stated times, was, however, never present at the public prayer on Fridays, nor was he bound by the conditions of public² worship in accordance with established custom, and Qāzī Jalālu-d-Dīn Kāshānī (and)³ Qāzī Urdū and men of note, and trusted chiefs, and all both great and small, used continually to worship at his monastery.

When this news reached the Sultān, the story goes that one night he went in disguise to his monastery, and saw for himself that he expended even more than was reported. Accordingly the next day he held a grand durbār and ordered Sidi Maulā with the Qāzī and the other Amīrs who were his disciples, to be brought before him with ignominious treatment of all kinds, bound in fetters and chains. He enquired into the state of the case, and asked each one whether the Sidi laid claim to kingly power. The aforesaid Sidi denied it, and fortified his denial with an oath, but to no purpose. At that time Qāzī Jalālu-d-Dīn lay under the Sultān's displeasure, he also denied the allegation. The Sultān deposed him, and nominated him as Qāzī of Budāon. In order to verify the claims to Saiyyidship, and to test the miraculous powers of the Sidi, he had a huge fire like that prepared by Nimrūd (for Abraham) lighted, and wished to have Sidi Maulā thrown into that temple of fire. The Ulama of the time, in consideration of the irreligious nature of that order, issued a mandamus which they communicated to the Sultān saying, "The essential nature of fire is to consume things, and no one can issue forth from it in safety unhurt." The Sultān accordingly desisted and gave up that ordeal, but he punished the larger number of those Maliks in that same assembly, and some he expatriated; and inasmuch as the answers of Sidi Maulā⁴ were all in accordance with reason, and no fault could be found with him either on the score of religious law or logic, the Sultān was reduced to extremity, and suddenly turning to Abū Bakr Tūsi Haidarī who was the chief of the sect of Qalandars, and utterly unscrupulous, he

¹ MS. (A) سجده.

² MS. (A) adds نذر.

³ MS. (A) omits و.

⁴ MS (A) omits the words و سید.

said "Why do not you dardeshes avenge me of this tyrant," thereupon a Qalandar leapt up from their midst, and struck the unfortunate Sidi several blows with a razor and wounded him, then they shaved off the holy man's whiskers¹ with a knife even to the chin, and stabbed him in the side² with sackmakers' needles, and then, by command of Arkali Khān, the second son of the Sultān, an elephant driver drove a rogue elephant over the head of the poor oppressed Sidi, and martyred him with countless tortures may God be gracious to him. They say that this same Sidi, for a whole month before this occurrence used to sing these verses at all times, smiling the while he sang:

In the kitchen of love, they slay naught but the good;
The weak natured, and evil disposed they kill not.
If thou art a sincere lover, flee not from slaughter,
He whom they slay not is no better than a corpse.

And just at this time, on the very day of his murder, a whirlwind black with dust arose, and the world was darkened; there was a scarcity of rain in that year, and such a famine occurred that the Hindūs, from excess of hunger and want, went in bands and joining their hands throw themselves into the river Jumna, and became the portion of the alligator of extinction. Many Muslims also, burning in the flames of hunger, were drowned in the ocean of non-existence, while the rest of the world took these signs and events as proofs of the verity of Sidi and as evidence of his sincerity. Although no inferences can be drawn from facts of this kind, since they may finally prove to be only coincidences, still I myself have seen with my own eyes examples of such incidents, as shall be related in their proper places if God so will it. 17

God has never cursed any nation
Until the heart of a holy man has been grieved.

The remainder of the accused, at the intercession of Arkali Khān, were delivered from the danger which threatened their lives, and from the punishment intended by the Sultān; and in this same year the Sultān for the second time marched against

مساجن مبارک MS. (A).

بر پہلوی MS. (A).

Rantsanbhor, and destroyed the country round it, and overthrew the idols and idol temples, but returned without attempting to reduce the fort. Aikali Khān went to Multān without his permission, at which the Sultān was very vexed.

In the year 691 H. the Mughuls under Chingiz Khān came up against Hindustān with a very large army, and fought a very severe battle with the Sultān's victorious forces in the neighbourhood of Sanām. When the Mughuls became aware of the size of the army of Hindustān they began to make overtures for peace. The Sultān thereupon summoned their leader, who was very closely related to Halākū Khān, and also his son, who called the Sultān his father. They accordingly had an interview and exchanged gifts and presents and each returned to his own country and Alghū¹ the grandson of Chingiz Khān, embraced Islām, and several thousand Mughuls besides followed his example and having learnt to repeat the sacred and blessed formula, elected to remain in the service of the Sultān. Alghū was selected for the honour of becoming son-in-law to the Sultān. The Mughuls took up their abode in Ghiyāspūr in which is now the sacred tomb of the Prince of Holy men Nizāmud Dīn Auliya² may God sanctify his resting place. It is commonly known as Mughulpūr and those Mughuls were called the "new Muslims."

At the close of this same year the Sultān having gone up against the fort of Maudāwar ravaged and pillaged the country round it and then returned. 'Alāud-Dīn the Governor of Kaira, obtained permission in that year to proceed to Bhilsa³ and attacked that country⁴ and brought much booty thence to present to the Sultān, and the idol which was the object of worship of the Hindūs, he caused to be cast down in front of the gate of Badāon to be trampled upon by the people.⁵ These services of 'Alāud-Dīn being highly approved,⁶ the jagir of Qudh also was added to his other estates; and since 'Alāud-Dīn was very angry and incensed

¹ See *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Elias and Ross) p. 34.

² Nizāmud-Dīn Auliya. See Beal's O. B. D., p. 211, also *Ain-i-Akbari* (J) III. 365.

³ MS. (A) reads بھلسہ Bhilsa. The text has بھیک which is meaningless.

⁴ MS. (A) آن ولایات را.

⁵ MS. (A) omits معبود after معبود and has خلایق for خلایق.

⁶ MS. (A) افتادہ for افتادہ.

against the Sultan's consort, who was his mother-in-law, and against the daughter of the Sultan, because she always made a practice of speaking ill of him to her father, he was anxious, on any pretext whatever, to leave the Sultan's dominions and go to a distance, and find some place of refuge for himself; accordingly he provided himself with new servants, and making all preparations as to personal clothing and furniture, he asked the Sultan¹ to bestow upon him the district of Chanderi, and leaving Dihli came to Karra, and from there under the pretence of attacking Chanderi, he went by way of Illichpur, and made for the frontiers of the country of Deogir; leaving Malik 'Alau-l-Mulk who was one of his friends, as his deputy in Karra, and having instructed him to temporise with the Sultan, went off somewhere unknown to anyone, and when no news could be obtained of Malik 'Alau-d-Din's whereabouts for a considerable time, the Sultan was exceedingly sorry.² Suddenly news arrived that 'Alau-d-Din having gone up against the rebel Deo Gir, had conquered the whole of his country as far as the confines of the country of the Deccan, and had taken as spoil much treasure, and elephants and property, several thousands of horses, together with valuables; silk and cloth goods, and jewels, beyond the limits of computation, and that he was making for Karra. This was a source of great gratification to the Sultan, but the wise men of those times knew very well, both from analogy and inference, that 'Alau-d-Din³ had gone to that country without permission from the Sultan, and had suffered much annoyance at the hands of Malika-i-Jahan who was the consort of the Sultan, and also from his own wife, and had accordingly faced the world, always nursing in his breast sinister intentions. Now⁴ that he was in a position perfectly to put his rebellious ideas into execution, and had not the access to the Court, it was strange that the Sultan seemed to suffer no apprehension as regarded him; but no one dared represent these views to the Sultan, who was wholly and entirely ignorant of the annoyance which 'Alau-d-Din had suffered at the hands of the Queen-mother and his own wife, and if by chance they ventured

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¹ MS. (A) از جانب سلطان.

² MS. (A) دلنگرانی تمام داشت.

³ MS. (A) omits ۳۵.

⁴ MS. (A) omits و.

to speak¹ of the possibility of the revolt and treachery of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, the Sultān attributed it to jealousy, and would never allow the idea of his contumacy or rebellion to enter his head.

In short, at the time when the Sultān was in the neighbourhood of Gwālīār he summoned a council of his Amīrs to deliberate about 'Alāu-d-Dīn and said.² "What in your opinion is 'Alāu-d-Dīn's object in coming hither with so great display and circumstance, what will he do and what ought I to do? shall I go to meet him by way of Chanderī or shall I remain where I am, or again shall I return to Dihlī?" Malik Ahmad Chap who was a Vazīr of sound judgment and ripe experience and loyal to the backbone, did all he could to warn the Sultān by adducing logical arguments and quoting precedents, reminding him of the revolt of Malik Chhajū and the mutiny of the inhabitants of Kara, events which were of recent occurrence, as testifying to the probabilities of the present position, and urged him to go out to meet 'Alāu-d-Dīn on the way by which he would arrive, and to put an end to his ostentatious display and pompous arrogance, to seize his elephants and property, and all the things which were likely to be of use; but the Sultān would not listen to his advice, and launching forth into extravagant eulogy of 'Alāu-d-Dīn declared that his mind was perfectly at ease on his account in every possible way, "for is he not" (said he) "my protégé³ and foster child, he can never harbour any evil designs against me." Malik Fakhr-d-Dīn, and the other Amīrs also went with oily speeches to the Sultān, and brought forward all sorts of absurd arguments simply to suit the humour of the Sultān, and adducing weak examples induced him to return to Dihlī; Malik Ahmad Chap rose up in wrath from that assembly, and spoke as follows: "If Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn with all this⁴ pomp and royal display has arrived at Kara and crossing the river Sarū makes for Lakhnautī, I do not know what can be done by any one to oppose him," and lamenting exceedingly the condition of the Sultān he repeated the following lines—

¹ MS. (A) سخن از.

² MS. (A) کنگانی طلبید و گفت کہ.

³ MS. (A) پروردہ برآوردہ.

⁴ MS. (A) با این همه اسباب.

A foeman, though small one should never despise,
For a mountain is made up of stones of small size

The Sultān then came from Gwāliār to Dihli, and 'Alāu-d-Dīn having reached Kara¹ wrote despatches full of craft and cunning to the Court, and worked upon the avarice of the Sultān by presents of elephants and endless wealth, and begged for a kindly worded letter summoning him to the Court, while all the time he was engaged in preparations to start for Lakhnauti. and having sent his brother² Zafar Khān to Oudh ordered him to hold in readiness all the boats on the river Sarū. The simple minded Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn wrote a command with his own hand in accordance with 'Alāu-d-Dīn's request and sent it³ by the hand of two confidential and trusted body servants, one of whom was named Imādu-l-Mulk and the other⁴ Ziāu-d-Dīn. These men when they arrived soon perceived by his manner and bearing⁵ that the face of affairs was altered⁶ and 'Alāu-d-Dīn having prepared the dish for the Sultān, and having arranged for its service at a given signal, handed over⁷ those two messengers to sentries who were charged to keep them so closely guarded that not even a bird should be able to flap its wings near them, then he wrote a letter to Ilmās Beg his brother, who was also a son-in-law of the Sultān,⁸ and sent it to Dihli, couched in these words: "Inasmuch as in the course of this expedition, I have committed many unwarranted acts, in that without taking the orders of the Sultān I proceed⁹ to Deogir, for this reason certain persons have aroused fear in my heart and anxiety—but seeing that I am the loyal servant and son of the Sultān, if he will march lightly equipped and by rapid marches come and lay hands upon me, and carry me off I have nothing to urge against

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1 بکرا وچید.

* MS. (A) برادر خود ظفر خان the word خود in the text is omitted here.

3 MS. (A) فرستاد.

4 MS. (A) دیگر.

5 MS. (A) طرح وضع او.

6 MS. (A) ورق دیگر گون شد. literally "that the leaves had changed colour."

7 MS. (A) سپرد.

8 MS. (A) برادر دلاور سلطان.

imprisonment, and if, as they have said the current rumours are true, and the Sultān's mind is in reality turned against me, I must perforce lay violent hands upon myself and efface myself from the world." When Ilmās Beg laid that ¹ letter before the Sultān, he on the instant sent ² Ilmās Beg to reassure 'Alāu-d-Dīn and gave him a promise that he himself would follow. Ilmās Beg embarked in a boat, and going like the wind over the surface of the water, ³ on the seventh day joined Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and urged him to proceed to Lakhnauti, ⁴ but certain of the wise and far-seeing companions of 'Alāu-d-Dīn said, "What need have we to go to Lakhnauti when the Sultān by reason of his excessive greed for the wealth of Deogīr, and the elephants and horses of that country will come here lightly equipped ⁵ in the very height of the rainy season. ⁶ At that time we will take any steps that may be necessary, ⁷ and whatever has to be done to meet the emergency, we have it all stored up and we will put an end to him on the spot." ⁸ Since the cup of the life of Sultān Jalālū-d-Dīn was full ⁹ and his heart was brim full of lust and greed for that fancied and ill-omened treasure, ¹⁰ and Fate too had rendered him deaf and blind, not one of these evil designs was perceived by him :

Verse.

7. When Fate lets fall from the sky a feather,
All the wise men became ¹¹ blind and deaf.

Casting the advice of his well-wishers behind him, ¹² he embarked on a boat with certain of his trusted followers and a thousand

¹ MS. (A) آن نامه را.

² MS. (A) رخصت فرمود و وعده کرد.

³ MS. (A) بر روی آب روانه شد.

⁴ MS. (A) و او را بر رفتن بلکهنوتی تحریص نمود.

⁵ MS. (A) ایکسال.

⁶ MS. (A) پشکال or پشه کال Turkī word, "saison des pluies" (Pavet de Courteilles)

⁷ MS. (A) هر اندیشه که باید اندیشیم.

⁸ MS. (A) می همانجا and omits می.

⁹ MS (A) پر شده و.

¹⁰ MS. (A) ملل مو هوم شوم.

¹¹ MS. (A) گشتند.

¹² Lit. striking their words on the dorsum of his foot.

sawāra, borrowing his speed from the wind and his haste from the stream, and set out for Kara: he sent Malik Ahmad Chap the Vazir with an armed force and a body of retainers by land,¹ Malik Ahmad Chap was rending his garments but all to no purpose.

Vers.

If the listener will not turn his ear to counsel,
He will reap retribution from the high heaven.

The Sultān, whose life's boat had been wrecked by a contrary wind, and had been cast on the shore of destruction, arrived at Kara on the 17th of the blessed month of Ramaṣān: and 'Alāu-d-Dīn, who had kept his forces in readiness, had crossed the river Ganges between Kara and Manikpūr and had pitched his camp: then he sent Ilmās Beg to the Sultān, sending by him some valuable jewels, with strict orders to use all the means he could devise and all the craft he could command to separate the Sultān from his army and bring him to 'Alāu-d-Dīn. His confederate therefore went and presented himself before the Sultān, and with great craftiness and deceit, and with obsequious humility represented that² if he had not come 'Alāu-d-Dīn would have been utterly scared and would have escaped, "and to such an extent" said he, "have the evil speakers stuffed his ears³ with reports of the unkind and ill-disposed utterances of the Sultān, and filled his mind with fear, that even now fear and suspicion is by no means entirely removed from his mind.⁴ There is still a probability of that of which I spoke before, unless the Sultān should shew him some favour and kindness, and should re-assure him, and going alone, without any retinue, should take him by the hand and lead him here."

⁵The Sultān taking his blood-thirsty words for the truth, ordered the cavalry escort which accompanied him to remain halted where they were, and he himself, together with a small body of retainers armed and ready for battle, proceeded a short distance forward, going forth to meet Death, while the arch-

¹ MS. (A) روان ساخت.

² MS. (A) ۲۵.

³ MS. (A) گوش او را.

⁴ MS. (A) omits و.

⁵ MS. (A) omits و.

traitor Ilmās Beg further represented ¹ saying "my brother is in great fear and awe of the Sultān ² and is quaking from head to foot; and when he sees even this small body of men, he will be all the more alarmed, and will despair of the Sultān's clemency." ³ Accordingly the Sultān ordered this body of retainers to lay aside their arms which they did: those who were closely attached to the Sultān were greatly agitated at this foolish decision, but the Sultān would not be dissuaded by their objections. When they arrived near the bank of the river, the army of 'Alāu-d-Dīn was plainly visible drawn up in close order fully armed and equipped, and evidently expecting an engagement. Malik Khurram ⁴ the Vakildar said to Ilmās Beg "We left our army behind us at your instigation, and we laid down our arms, what is this that we see an army ready for action?" He replied "my brother wishes to review his army, and following his usual course, he wishes to make a proper display ⁵ before the Sultān, with an eye to future advantage," the Sultān in accordance with the saying "When fate comes the plain becomes narrow" ⁶ up to that moment even did not discover the deceit of his enemy, but of his own free will walked deliberately into the jaws of the dragon.

Verse.

When the day becomes dark to any man,
He does that which is hurtful to him.

When he said to the stony-hearted Ilmās Beg "In spite of my old age and the weakness due to fasting I came so far,⁷ even yet will not your cruel brother's heart induce him ⁸ to get into a boat and come to me?" Ilmās Beg answered "my brother is unwilling to receive the Sultān empty handed ⁹ and with reserve.

"If thou goest empty handed to visit a Sheikh,
Thou wilt get no profit, nor wilt thou even see him."

9. He is busy selecting elephants and valuables and goods to present,

¹ MS. (A) نمود.

² MS. (A) سلطاني.

³ MS. (A) سلطاني.

⁴ MS. (A) ملك خرم.

⁵ MS. (A) شان و اجاب در نظر سلطان در آرد.

⁶ See page 190, note 4

⁷ MS. (A) آمدم.

⁸ MS. (A) نمي كشد.

⁹ MS. (A) دست تهی.

and is quite occupied in that service¹ and he has been preparing food for breaking your fast, and to do honour to the arrival of his guest, and is now awaiting the honoured coming of the Sultān, so that he may be distinguished among his peers by the honour derived from the royal visit." The Sultān all this time was occupied in reading the sacred volume; they reached the river's bank by the time of afternoon prayer and he took his seat in the place they had made ready for him to sit in, and 'Alāu-d-Dīn having got every thing ready² came with a great gathering to pay his respects to the Sultān and fell at his feet.³ The Sultān smiling, with affection and kindness and love smote him a gentle blow on the cheek, and addressing him with great shew of fondness and clemency and warm-heartedness, began to give him words of counsel, and was talking to him affectionately and lovingly, reassuring him in every possible way, and seizing the hand of Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn was drawing him near. At this moment when the Sultān laid hold of his beard, and, kissing him, was shewing him marks of his special favour, and⁴ had given his hand into his, 'Alāu-d-Dīn seizing the Sultān's hand firmly, wrenched it, and gave a signal to a party of men who were confederate and had sworn together to murder the Sultān. Then Maḥmūd Sālim who was one of the scum of Sāmāna, aimed a blow with his sword at the Sultān and wounded him; on receiving that wound the Sultān made for the boat crying out as he ran: "Thou wretch 'Alāu-d-Dīn, what is this thou hast done!" At this juncture one Ikhtiyār-d-Dīn who had been a particular protégé of the Sultān ran behind him and inflicted a second wound which killed him; he then cut off his head and brought it to 'Alāu-d-Dīn.⁵ By 'Alāu-d-Dīn's orders, the head of the unfortunate oppressed and martyred monarch was placed upon a spear and carried round Kara and Manikpūr: from thence they took it to Oudh; and the body- 186
servants of the Sultān who were in the boat were all put to death, some of them threw themselves into the river, and were drowned in the ocean of destruction. Malik Fakhr-d-Dīn Kūchī fell into their hands alive and was murdered. Malik Ahmad Chup having made prisoners of the Sultān's army brought it to

¹ MS. (A) بآن خدمت مشغول.

² MS. (A) انقاد.

³ MS. (A) انقاد.

⁴ MS. (A) omits و.

⁵ MS. (A) adds و.

Dihli and.¹ pending the arrival of Arkali Khān from Multān (he was the worthy son of the Sultān and fitted to succeed him in the kingdom) as a temporary measure, with the co-operation of Malika-i-Jahān, seated Qadr Khān the youngest son of the Sultān, upon the throne of Dihli, with the title of Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm. The Amirs and Maliks of Jalālu-d-Dīn's party came one and all to swear allegiance to him at his accession. He retained the name of King for one month. Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn lost no time,² but on the very day of the assassination of the Sultān, made open display of the insignia and emblems of royalty, and raising the imperial canopy over his own head³ was addressed as Sultān and⁴ in the middle of the rainy season marching uninterruptedly he made straight for the metropolis of Dihli, and showering *dīnārs* and *dirhams* like rain over the heads of the populace, and pelting the people in the streets great and small with golden missiles from balistae and slings,⁵ came to his own garden on the banks of the Jumna and alighted there. Day by day the Amirs of the Jalāli faction joined themselves to him and swore allegiance to him, and by the hope of the red gold, all regret for Jalālu-d-Dīn was completely effaced from their black hearts.

Liberality is the alchemy⁶ of the copper of faults;
Liberality is the remedy for all pain.

It is said that by the day when Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn reached Badāou sixty thousand sowārs had joined his standard, Malik Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm seeing that he had not the power to resist him went to Multān to Arkali Khān, with certain chosen Amirs who remained faithful after the massacre (of Jalālu-d-Dīn), and the whole of the kingdom fell under the dominion of 'Alāu-d-Dīn.

¹ MS (A) inserts و.

² MS. (A) reads علاؤالدین فرصت نداده هم در روز.

³ MS (A) بر سر خود گرفته.

⁴ MS. (A) inserts و.

⁵ MS. (A) reads در همراه و صنیعین.

⁶ هر صی 35 بکیمیا رسد زر گردد. Kīmīyā. Cf Roebuck. *Proverbs*, 399.

All copper which is affected by Kīmīyā becomes gold.

"The science (of Alchemy) has for its object the substance by which gold and silver is perfected by artificial means."

See Proleg: Ibn Khaldūn. (de Slane) III. 207. See also Skeat, s. v.

The kingdom is God's and greatness is His. The massacre of 181
Sultān Jalālū-d-Dīn took place in the seventeenth of the month
of Ramazān in the year 694 H. (A.D. 1294) and the duration of
his reign was seven years and some months.

Verses.

Hast thou seen the acts of the tyrant heaven and its star,
Mention it not; what is the heaven, its revolution, or its
arched vault?

How is it that the revolving heaven has cast the sun of the
kingdom headlong into the dust,

Dust be on the head of his sun of glory.

Sultān Jalālū-d-Dīn had a taste for poetry, and Amīr Khwarū
after the death of Mu'izzū-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, came into the service
of the Sultān Jalālū-d-Dīn, and was honoured by being selected
as an intimate companion, and was made Qur'ān-keeper to the
Sultān, he was presented every year with the robes of honour
which were reserved for the Amīrs of the Sultān¹ and were
tokens of special distinction and peculiar trust.

In this same category were Amīr Hasan and Mu'id Jājarū and
Amīr Arslān Kātībī and Sa'd-i-Mantiqī and Bāqī-i-Khatīb and Qāzī
Mughīa of Hānsī, who is one of the most learned men of the
time of Jalālū-d-Dīn and wrote a *Ghazal* in nineteen metres² of
which this is the opening:—

Two pearly ears, a stately form, two lovely cheeks, with
fresh youth dight,

Thy glory is the fairy's pride, a fairy thou, at glory's
height.

And the rest of the learned men used to keep the Sultān's
assembly embellished and adorned with the jewels of poems, and
delicate points of learning and philosophy, and the following
few verses are the offspring of the Sultān's genius:—

1 MS. (A) امرای سلطانی.

غزل نوزده بسطری. It would appear from the statement that this *ghazal*
or ode was made up of nineteen lines, each of which was in a different metre.

The first of the above lines is either *Mutaqarib* or *Ramāl*. This is called
دو بحرین *Zabārain* (of two metres) in p

The second line is in *Ramāl*.

32.

I do not wish those flowing locks of thine to be entangled
 I do not wish that rosy cheek of thine (with shame) to burn.
 I wish that thou one night unclothed may'st come to my
 embrace
 Yes, loud I cry with all my might, I would not have it
 hidden.

And at the time when he was besieging Gwāliār he built a
 pavilion and a lofty dome¹ and wrote this quatrain as an inscrip-
 tion for that building:—

Quatrain.

I whose foot spurns the head of heaven,
 How can a heap of stone and earth augment my dignity?
 This broken stone I have thus arranged in order that
 Some broken heart may haply take comfort from it.

And Sa'd Mantiqi and the other poets he ordered to point out
 to him the defects and beauties of this composition. They all
 praised it exceedingly and said ' It has no fault, but he replied:
 You are afraid of hurting my feelings, I will point out its defect²
 in this quatrain:

It may be some chance traveller may pass by this spot
 Whose tattered garment is the satin mantle of the starless
 sky;³
 Perchance from the felicity of his auspicious footsteps
 One atom may fall to my lot: this will suffice me.

SULTĀN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHILJĪ.

On the twenty-ninth⁴ of Zūl Hijjah in the year six hundred and
 ninety-five (695 H.) (A.D. 1295) raised the banner of the Sultānate

¹ MS. (A) بنا کرد و

² MS. (A) omits عیب.

³ چرخ اطلسی. The highest of all the heavens so called (اطلسی) because
 it has no stars. The literal meaning of اطلسی is "worn out" "effaced"
 Thus رجل اطلس الثوب means a man whose garments are worn out. Also
 by a secondary (post classical) meaning is used in the song "Satin"
 Hence there is a double play on the word اطلسی here, by its opposite senses

⁴ MS (A) reads در یست و نهم while our text has در یست و نهم

of Dihli, with the consent of his brother Ilmās Beg, to whom he gave the title of *Ulugh Khān*¹ and to Sinjar, his wife's brother, who was the *Mir-i-Majlis* he gave the title of *Alp Khān*, while to Malik Nusrat Jalisari he gave that of *Nusrat Khān*, and to Malik Badru-d-Din that of *Zafar Khān*,² and alighted at the plain of Sīrī, where he pitched his camp, and giving public audiences delighted the hearts of the Amīrs and all classes of his subjects by his boundless munificence, then he had the *Khutbah* and the *Sikka* promulgated in his own name and conferred³ appointments and titles upon the Amīrs, and distributing *jāgīrs* gave his mind first of all to his principal object which was to overthrow the two sons of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn who were in Multān.⁴ 183

Verse.

As long as the head of the heir to the throne is on his
shoulders,
Disorder is the mantle of the body of the state.

In the Muharram 696 A.H. (he sent) *Ulugh Khān* and *Alp Khān* against *Arkali Khān* and Sultān *Ruknu-d-Dīn*;⁵ both these

Mir Khusrū in the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāi*, states that 'Alāu-d-Dīn left *Karā* Manikpur on the 12th of *Rabī'ul Aḥir* 695 H. and after taking great booty from *Rām Deo*, *Rāi* of *Deogīr*, returned to *Karā* on the 28th *Rajab*. His accession to the throne took place on the 16th *Ramaḥān* 695 H., and he arrived at Dihli on the 22nd of *Zilbijjah* of the same year.

The text has possibly been corrected to agree with this author's date. *Barnī* does not give the day of the month: nor does *Firishta*. The latter tells us that on the death of *Jalālu-d-Dīn*, *Malika-i-Jahān* of her own accord set *Qadr Khān* the youngest son of *Jalālu-d-Dīn* on the throne, with the title of *Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrahim*, and finding he was too young, sent to Multān to summon the second son *Arkali Khān*, who refused to come hearing of 'Alāu-d-Dīn's success with the army.

¹ MS. (A); the text reads *الغ بك خان*.

² *Barnī* says that the title of *Zafar Khān* was conferred on *Malik Hizabru-d-Dīn*, (*Elliott* III. 157).

³ The text omits *مقرر* before *دانشته* supplied from MS. (A).

⁴ It appears both from *Barnī* and *Firishta* that the youngest son of the late Sultān was in Dihli and that *Arkali Khān* was in Multān. See note 4, last page, and *Elliott* III. 150.

⁵ Although the author has given no account of *Qadr Khān*'s coronation he here gives him the title by which he was raised to the throne.

brothers were besieged¹ in the fortress of Multān. The inhabitants of the city and the Kotwāl asked for quarter, and made overtures for peace, and the two princes, by the intervention of Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn Quraishī may God sanctify his resting place,² came forth and had an interview with Ulugh Khān,³ who treated them with the utmost respect, sending a despatch announcing his victory to Dihlī; and taking the family and tribe of Jalālu-d-Dīn he set out for Dihlī. When they came near Bohar⁴ a place in the vicinity of Hānsī, Nusrat Khān arrived with an order, in obedience to which they put out the eyes of both the sons⁵ of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, of Alghū Khān the Mughul son-in-law to the Sultān, and of Malik Ahmad Chap,⁶ and handed over the Sultān's sons⁷ to the Kotwāl of Hānsī and martyred them together with two sons of Arkalī Khān.⁸ They kept the Sultān's wives and the rest of his children imprisoned in Dihlī, sending Ahmad Chap and Alghū the Mughul to the fortress of Gwāliār, and putting out the eyes of some others also, scattered them in all directions and punished them with tortures, and very many of the old families they utterly destroyed and the hidden meaning of Sidi Manā⁹ soon

¹ I read here *محصور* though there is a question if we should not read *منتصن*. The text reads *محصور* which is manifestly wrong: MS. (A) reads *منتصن* which is perhaps meant for *منتصن* MS. (B) which is of very little value as before pointed out reads *محصور*.

² Barnī states that the sons of the Sultān sent Shaikhnu-l-Islām, Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn to sue for safety from Ulugh Khān and received his assurances, (Elliott III. 161), MS. (A) omits *الرجل*. This Ruknu-d-Dīn was the son of Shaikh Sadru-d-Dīn 'Arif and grandson of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā (See *Am-n-Akbarī*, Jarrett III. 365)

Firishta gives a full biography of Ruknu-d-Dīn, his father and grandfather q. v.

³ MS. (A) *با الغزن ملقات نموده*

⁴ MS. (A) *دوهر*.

⁵ MS. (A) *هر دو پسر*.

⁶ *Nāib Amīr-i-Hūjib* (Barnī Elliott III. 162). MS (A) omits *ly*.

⁷ MS. (A) omits *سلطان*.

⁸ Barnī merely states that the princes were imprisoned, and that all the sons of Arkalī Khān were slain

⁹ MS. (A) omits *مردوم*.

became evident, and (vengeance for) his blood did not long sleep.¹
 In a short time² it became the cause of the shedding of the
 blood of Sultān Jalāla-d-Dīn and his family, and of so many ^{184.}
 thousands of others among the people who had been murdered.

The wealth of Qārūn which still sinks down to the bottom
 of the earth,
 You may have read, that it was a source of envy to the
 poor.³

And in the year 697 A.H. (1297 A.D.), Nuṣrat Khān having
 been appointed to the office of Vazīr, used strenuous efforts to
 recover the money which Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn had lavished in
 the commencement of his reign in order to gain over the affec-
 tions of the people, and demanding the repayment of very large
 sums deposited them in the treasury; and having summoned from
 Kara 'Alāu-l-Mulk the uncle of Zīān-d-Dīn Barnī, the author
 of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* (whom Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn had re-
 moved from the kotwālship of Dihlī and had sent as governor to
 Kara, appointing Nuṣrat Khān to the office of Kotwāl) he
 conferred upon him his old rank, Alp Khān being appointed
 to Multān. And in the year 698 A. H. (1298 A.D.) one Saldī⁴ a
 Mughul commander, crossing the Indus came towards Hindustān,
 and Ulugh Khān and Tughlaq Khān the governor of Depālpūr
 (who is Ghāzī-i-Mulk), were appointed to put down that rising,
 and offered strong opposition to them⁵ on the confines of Jārin
 Manjhūr.⁷ The Mughul army was defeated, some of them were
 killed and others taken prisoners, and the army of Sultān 'Alāu-d-
 Dīn returned victorious with many spoils. A second time

¹ MS. (A) دیر نسیمید.

² MS. (A) مدت.

³ See Qur'ān XXVIII. 76.

⁴ Omit سال MS. (A).

⁵ The text reads چالادی Chaladī. MS. (A) reads سالدی Saldī, so also

Barnī (Elliott III. 165) and *Am-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) III. 347.

Firishta calls him Chaldi.

⁶ MS. (A) با ایشان.

⁷ Both Barnī and Firishta say Sivistān.

Qutluq Khwāja, the son of Duā,¹ came from Māwarān-n-nahr with a countless host to attempt the conquest of Hindustān,² and penetrated³ as far as Dihlī, inflicting no injury on the districts through which he passed. In Dihlī itself grain became very dear, and the citizens were in great straits,⁴ and Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn placing Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān in command of the forces, sent them with a countless host to oppose the Mughul army, and a severe battle was fought on the frontiers of Gūlī.⁵ Zafar Khān was killed, and the Sultān had gained what he wanted in this.⁶ Qutluq Khwāja after his defeat made his way to Khurāsān where he died.

A third time Targhī Mughul who was one of the *margans*,⁷ that is to say accurate archers of that country, accompanied by 100,000 infantry and 20,000 valiant and renowned cavalry, seized the fort of the hills, and gaining possession of that country, penetrated as far as the township of Baran, where Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Amīr Dād the Governor was entrenched; Malik Tughlaq Ghūzī-i-Mulk was sent from the metropolis to put down that disturbance.⁸ Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn sallying from the fortress of Baran,⁹ joined with Malik Tughlaq, and they jointly made a night attack upon the Mughuls.⁹ The Mughul forces being routed, Targhī was taken prisoner and Malik Tughlaq brought him into the royal presence.

A fourth time, Muḥammad Turtāq¹⁰ and 'Alī Beg Mughul, who were the sons of the royal house of Khurāsān, brought together

¹ MS. (A), so also Firishṭa.

² MS (A) در آمده

³ MS. (A) جا تنگ گشت

⁴ Or Kīlī (Barn)

⁵ Barnī explains this. He says " 'Alāu d-Dīn returned from Kīlī, considering that he had won a great victory the Mughuls had been put to flight and the brave and fearless Zafar Khān had been got rid of without disgrace "

⁶ مرگن This word is given by M. Pavet de Courville in the meanings of *fusilier* : *bon tireur* - *héros*. It is a Turkī word.

⁷ The reading of MS (A) is here followed : ۱۱۲

ملک تغلق غازي ملک از درگاه بیجهت دفع ان فتنه نامزد گشت

MS (A) از حضور بیرون برآمده

⁹ MS. (A) باتفاق شبیخون بر عمل آوردند

¹⁰ The reading of this name is a little uncertain MS (A) may be either *تورنق* or *تورنق*. Neither Barnī nor Firishṭa give any assistance : nor does

a very large army, which they divided into two, one bore down upon Nāgor,¹ while the other seized the fort of the Sirmūr hills and occupied the country as far as the river Biāh which they call Kālī Pānī.² Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn appointed Malik Mānik his slave (who is Kāfūr Nāib or Hazār Dīnārī³) with Malik Tughlaq Governor of Depālpūr to proceed to Amoha; and while the Mughul army, having succeeded in capturing much spoil and many cattle, was marching to the banks of the river Rahab, Malik Mānik came up in pursuit⁴ and a severe battle ensued. Both the Mughul princes evinced great bravery, but were ultimately taken prisoners, and were put to death, while the greater part of those accursed ones became food for the sword of vengeance, and the remnant of the sword fled panicstricken to their own country. The heads of these two princes were taken to Badāon and impaled upon the battlements of the fort. One of the learned poets of that time wrote the following quatrain which was afterwards inscribed upon the southern gateway of that city. 16

Quatrain.

Noble fortress! whose helper may the assistance of the
Almighty ever be!

May the victory and conquest of the Emperor ever be thy
standard-bearer!

The Malik of this age became thy builder, and built thee
new,

May Targhī, like 'Alī Beg⁵ become thy captive.

And Mīr Khusrū⁶ has written an account of the fight between Malik Mānik (who had obtained the title of Malik Nāib⁷) in

either word appear in the Turkī dictionary. The text reads تریاق Taryāq which seems rather an *ex necessitate* reading. The *Tarīkh-i-'Alāi* reads Tartāq. (Elliott III. 72.)

¹ MS. (A) بجانب ناگور برد.

² MS. (A) کانرا کالی پانی میگویند.

³ So called because he had been originally purchased for a thousand dīnārs.

⁴ MS. (A) از عقبه رسید.

⁵ MS. (A) علی بیگ.

⁶ MS. (A) omits علیه الرحمة.

⁷ Firiehla states that this title was conferred upon Malik Kāfūr (Hazār Dīnārī) on the occasion of his being placed in command of an army to proceed against Rām Deo, Rājā of Deoghar, a refractory tributary.

the *Tārīkh-i-Khazānu-l-Futūḥ*¹ a marvel of literature, which mortal powers confess themselves impotent to approach or imitate, though to tell the truth all the writings of that king of poets, rightly named *Khusrū*, are of this excellence, and to praise and crown them is an impertinence and error for any other.

Whenever any thought shines forth from his mind
It is so subtle as to escape comprehension and defy imitation.

On the fifth occasion *Iqbālmand* and *Kapak*, *Mughals*, brought together an army to take vengeance for *Turtāq*² and 'Alī Beg, and invaded the frontiers of *Multān*. The *Sultān* on this occasion also appointed *Malik Nāib*, and *Malik Tughlaq*. They proceeded by forced marches while the *Mughals* were falling back, and pursuing them gave battle. *Kapak* was taken prisoner, but was ransomed by the infidel *Tātārs*, with the prisoners and abundant booty which had fallen into their hands.³ From that day the *Mughals* lost their enthusiasm for the conquest of *Hindustān*, and the teeth of their ambition became blunted.

After these victories, the *Sultān* one night was holding a wine party quite at his ease with his companions, and was quaffing copious draughts of wine. The night, like the circulation of the wine cup, had come near to an end; suddenly some of the assembled guests began to make signs to each other⁴ with hand, and eye, and brow that it was time to break up,⁵ the *Sultān* happened to perceive it, he was annoyed and cried out *Mutiny! Mutiny!* and on the instant gave orders for *Bahā* (who was one of his boon-companions and choice spirits) to be killed. The rest fled in confusion. On the following morning when he came to realise

¹ This work, known also as the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāwī*, is a prose history of the first years of *Sultān Alāu-d-Dīn Khuljī* from his accession in 695 H. to the close of 710 H. (Elliot III. 68-69.)

² MS. (A) omits *مستبد* and gives the pointing of *Turtāq* as *ترباق*.

³ MS. (A) *اقتاده بود*. This account differs somewhat from that given by *Khusrū*, who makes the invasion of *Kapak* separate from and precedent to that of *Iqbāl Mandir* as he calls him.

⁴ MS. (A) *یکدیگر را*.

⁵ MS. (A) *و نظر سلطان*.

what had occurred, it was as clear as day to the Sultān¹ that his suspicion was groundless.

Wait, till the world removes the veil from the face of events,
And till that thou hast done this evening, tomorrow is
plain to thee.

Then he asked for Qāzi Bahā.² They replied, He was sent into eternity at that very moment.³ The Sultān was very repentant and ashamed at hearing this, and vowed never again to drink wine, and ordered it to be proclaimed that the use of wine should be absolutely abandoned throughout the kingdom. Cask upon cask of wine was poured out in the court till it became a flowing river. Everyone who was discovered intoxicated, was hauled off to prison, and punished by imprisonment⁴ and confiscation of property.

Piety and penitence became the order of the day. the taverns were in ruins,⁵ and the police officers had plenty of work, and there was no longer any need to purchase vinegar,⁶ while the wine bibbers were giving expression by their actions to these verses :

Now he sprinkles the flagon with salt, now he shatters the
cup,⁷

How the policeman disturbs the peace of the tavern in
which we sup.

¹ The text has a note here to the effect that a *و* should probably be inserted after سلطان but that it is not found in either of the two MSS before the editor.

MS. (A) has *و*, and reads سلطان را چون روز روشن شد که آن گمان غلط بود.

² The text here and in the former line reads بها MS. (A) has بها.

³ The text reads او خود همان زمان هزار سالها پیوست.

⁴ MS. (A) تعزیر مالی و بندی میکردند.

⁵ There is a play on words here in the original خرابات خراب شد.

⁶ Wine not being drunk all the grapejuice could be utilized for vinegar : There is a hint here that every one was discontented, had, as we say, sour looks which the Persians express by saying فلان کس سرکه فروشی می کند. So and so sells vinegar Qaāni says to his mistress.

سرکه فروشی میکنی بچه که در عشق
شیرین ترین سرکه کم نگردد صفراء

⁷ MS. (A) omits *و* but the text is correct.

38. And in the year 697 H. (1297 A.D.) the Sultān becoming suspicious of the newly-converted Muslim Mughuls¹ was contemplating to murder and eradicate them, and they also for their part, goaded by the extortion of the revenue collectors and their extortionate demands for refunding money, were plotting a rebellion whilst the Sultān should be hunting and hawking.² One of them who was opposed to this scheme made it known to the Sultān. Secret orders were written and despatched to the Governors of the country saying that on a certain day³ they should put to death all the new Muslim Mughuls with one consent wherever they found them.

Accordingly on the appointed date they despatched so many poor hapless Mughuls with the sword of injustice, and sent them on their travels to the kingdom of annihilation, that the mind cannot compute their number, and the name of Mughul no longer survived in Hindustān, although this custom of killing strangers has survived from that time.

And in the commencement of affairs, the fact of so many victories following one another in close succession led to extravagant ambitions in the mind of the Sultān; one of these was religious innovation, and moreover by the assistance of these four Ulugh Khān, Nusrat Khān, Zafar Khān and Alp Khān he was led to estimate himself as being superior to the Prophet *on whom be the peace and blessing of God*,⁴ and his companions may God be gracious to them all⁵ The second was the conquest of the whole inhabited world like Sikandar; this led to his ordering his name to be inscribed on the currency and mentioned in the proclamation as Sikandar-i-gānī.⁶ When he sought the advice

1 This was spoken of above 'Alāu-d-Dīn's officers disapproved of the lavish way he had squandered his money in gifts in the early days of his accession to power.

2 MS (A) پرانیدن جانور

3 MS (A) omits در فلان ماه و

4 MS (A) عليه الصلوة والسلام

5 MS. (A) omits و

6 Alexander the second. The accuracy of this statement is testified to by the existence of coins bearing this title. Gold coins weighing 166, 168 G and 169.5 grs are in existence bearing the legend

سکندر الثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين (See Thomas, p. 168)

Sikandaru-i-gānī Yamīnu-l-Khilāfat Nāṣiru Amīru-l-mu'mīnīn.

of 'Alāu-l-Mulk Kotwāl of Dihli he restrained the Sultān from pursuing both these claims and said, "No one can evolve a religion out of his own brain unless he be aided¹ by God, and till he can perform miracles² This object cannot be acquired by the strength of dominion, and wealth, and majesty, and splendour, moreover such an attempt may be expected, nay is certain to result in violent disorders and tumults of all kinds, nothing will be gained while disgrace will follow the attempt: as for conquering realms, it is a worthy ambition, but needs the highest qualifications, as well as perfection of rule and a vazir like Aristotle, none of which are here existent.

If the Sultān clears Hindustān of infidels and frees the environs of Dihli from these contumacious ruffians, this will be in no way inferior to the world conquests of Sikandar."

The Sultān, after due meditation, was greatly pleased with these proofs deduced from reason and supported by precedent, and bestowed a robe of honour upon 'Alāu-l-Mulk and gave him large rewards, and abstained from attempting to satisfy either of his ambitions. The Amirs, who on account of the harshness of the Sultān, and the roughness of his temper, were unable to say anything of service, all sent presents of horses and valuables for 'Alāu-l-Mulk and were loud in praise of him.

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Verse.

In my opinion that one is thy well wisher,
Who says that will be a thorn in thy path.

In this year the Sultān proceeding to Deogir gained a fresh conquest³ and doubled his spoils:

That which he cut after that his sword cut double,
That which he defeated after that his mace defeated again
and again.

And in the year 698 H. (1298 A.D.) he appointed Ulugh Khān to the command of a powerful army, to proceed into the country of Gūjerāt against Rāi Karan who had thirty thousand cavalry, and eighty thousand infantry, and thirty head of elephants. Ulugh

¹ MS. (A) تا مؤيد من عند الله نباشند.

² MS. (A) و معجزات صاد نشوند. The text reads شود correctly.

³ MS. (A) فتح مسجد نمود و.

Khān, after Rāi Karan was defeated, ravaged and laid waste Nahrwāla, and pursued him;¹ and Rāi Karan took refuge with Rāi Rāmdeo² who was the ruler of Deogir, in the country of the Deccan. The family of Rāi Karan, with his treasury and elephants and all his possessions, fell into the hands of the Muslim warrior. Among the ladies of his harem was one Dewalrānī, of whom Khizr Khān the son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn ultimately became enamoured. He related the account of his amours to Mir Khusrū for him to turn into verse, and the book of Khizr Khān and Dewalrānī, which is known as the *'Ashīqa*, is in his name. Ulugh Khān carried off an idol from Nahrwāla (in place of the idol of Somnāt which Sultān Maḥmūd had carried³ to Ghaznin, and the Hindūs had made an object of their worship,) and took it to Dīhlī where he caused it to be trampled under foot by the populace; then he pursued Rāi Karan as far as Somnāt, and a second time laid waste the idol temple of Somnāt, and building a mosque there retraced his steps.

Nusrat Khān having proceeded to Kuhanbāyat,⁴ a well-known post, seized much spoil of valuable goods and rubies and other jewels from the traders;⁵ Kāfūr Hazār Dīnārī whom the Sultān Alāu-d-Dīn had latterly taken into close favour, and made Naibu-l-Mulk, was part of that booty.

When Ulugh Khān arrived on the frontiers of Alwar he occupied himself with verifying the amount of property and spoil which had fallen into the hands of his people during these several battles, and⁶ exacted the giving up of much of it with great severity. A certain party of Mughuls who accompanied him thought

¹ MS. (A) نعاقب او نمود و.

² MS. (A) پناه برای راندیدو.

³ MS. (A) بوده بود.

⁴ MS. (A) reads کهنایه.

Cambay, in Gujerat. According to Hunter (Imp. Gaz, III. 272) "the name of Cambay or Khambhāt is said to be derived from Khambha or Stam-bhatirth, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar god. During the 11th and 12th centuries, Cambay appears as one of the chief ports of the Anhelwāra (Nahrwāla) kingdom and at the conquest of that kingdom by the Musulmāns in 1207, it is said to have been one of the richest towns in India.

Tieffenthaler, Vol. I. p. 372. Cambāhat, grande ville et port de mer, que les Européens appellent Cambaye. (pp. 380-381.)

⁵ MS. (A) از تاجار.

this rather unfair, and consequently plotted a rebellion, but eventually were dispersed; some of them went off to Rāi Hamir Dev in Jhāin,¹ which is near Rantanbhor, and some went elsewhere.

Ulugh Khān proceeded by continuous marches to his master at Dihli, and from this we gather that the massacre of the foreigners (above alluded to) took place after the arrival of Ulugh Khān from Gujrāt. Historians have paid little attention to the due order of events, but God knows the truth.

And in the year 699 H. (1299 A.D.) Ulugh Khān was nominated to proceed against the fortress of Rantanbhor and Jhāin, which is better known as Naushehr,² and Rāi Hamir Dev, the grandson of Rāi Pithora,³ who had ten thousand cavalry, and countless infantry, and celebrated elephants, gave him battle but was defeated, and with great generalship withdrew the whole of his forces into the fortress of Rantanbhor. 191

Ulugh Khān having reported ⁴ the state of affairs to the Court, urged the Sultān to capture the fort; the Sultān collected his forces ⁵ and marched against Rantanbhor, and in a short time, by skillful effort, and aided by the energy of his Malik⁶, completely subdued and took the fortress, and despatched Hamir Dev to hell. Great booty, and spoil, and treasures fell into his hands. Then he appointed ⁶ a Kotwāl to hold that fortress, and having bestowed the country of Jhāin upon Ulugh Khān, left to attack Chitor,⁷ and having conquered that place also within a few days,

¹ Tieffenthaler, I. p. 322, mentions a city called Tschān at a distance of five miles from the fortress of Rantanbhor. This would appear to be probably the place spoken of in the text.

See Elliot, III. 146 where Jhāin is said to be Ujjain, also p. 172, note 1, where this opinion is abandoned.

² Tieffenthaler does not mention this name.

³ MS. (A) reads Rāi Hamir Dev of Rantanbhor, omitting تنبیره رای پتھورا, but Barni calls Hamir Dev the نہروا of Rāi Pithorā, so that the reading of the text is adopted.

⁴ MS. (A) عرض نمود

⁵ MS. (A) omits و.

⁶ MS. (A) تعیین نمود.

⁷ Barni says that after taking Rantanbhor and putting Hamir Dev to death the Sultān returned to Dihli: so also Firighat. See Hunter Imp. Gaz. III. 430.

and¹ having given it the name of Khizrābād, and having bestowed a red canopy upon Khizr Khān aforesaid, made Chitor over to him as governor. Among the events which happened in this expedition this was one, that Nusrat Khān had come from Karra² to Rantanbhor, to reinforce Uluḡh Khān before the Sultān arrived there;³ and during the siege one day a stone struck him on the head, and he went without delay to the other world. One arm of the Sultān, that is to say Zafar Khān, had been broken in the fight with Qutluq Khwāja, and now the second arm was broken also.

When the army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Malhab⁴ the Sultān one day was engaged in the hunting field,⁵ when night came on he remained in the plain, and at dawn of day he posted his troops all round, while he himself with a select following ascended an eminence and was watching the sport.⁶ In the meantime the brother's son of the Sultān, Akat Khān,⁷ together with a band of new-Muslim Mughuls who were engaged in performing the duties of guards, attacked the Sultān relentlessly and smote him with arrows, seized him and wounded his arm. As it was the winter season, and the Sultān was wearing a cap⁸ stuffed with cotton his wounds were not fatal. Akat Khān wished to alight from his horse and strike off the Sultān's head from his body, but some of the attendants pretending to side with him and take his part, cried out, the Sultān is killed! Akat Khān was satisfied at hearing this, and made off with all speed to the camp on horseback, and entering the royal hall of audience seated himself upon the throne, and drawing the canopy over his head, the Amirs, in accordance with ancient custom, gave in their allegiance to him

¹ MS. (A) و.

² MS (A) از کڑه.

³ MS. (A) omits بآسيا.

⁴ The reading here is doubtful. The text has در نواحی قصیده پنهیت with an alternative reading سون پت in a footnote. MS. (A) reads در نواحی ملهب Firishṭa (Bo Text p 186) reads تلیب Taltib.

⁵ قمرغه Qamurgha, lieu de chasse. (Pavet de Courteille). A Tarkī word signifying hunting ground. Firishṭa loc. cit also uses this word.

⁶ MS (A) omits و

⁷ Firishṭa also says Akat Khān.

⁸ MS (A) reads کله پر پنده.

as the rightful king,¹ and raised no overt objection. Akat Khān was so overwhelmed by his inordinate lust that on the instant he made an attempt upon the haram,² but Malik Dinar Haramī who was on guard at the entrance to the haram with his men armed and equipped, said, Till you show me the head of the Sultān I will not permit you to set foot within this private chamber. Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, when he had somewhat regained consciousness³ after that perilous attack, bound up his wounds. He was convinced in his own mind that Akat Khān, in unison with the Amirs who had revolted, had had the audacity to make this disgraceful attempt upon his life, for that were it not so, he was not the man to attempt it alone.

Accordingly his intention was to make his way to Jhāin (where Ulugh Khān was) with the fifty or sixty attendants who had remained with him, and see what course Ulugh Khān would recommend. One or two of his confidential retainers pointed out the unwisdom of this course and urged him to go at once to the royal pavilion and kingly court.

Before they arrived at the Court fifty horsemen joined them, and Akat Khān took the road to Afghānpūr, but a body of men⁴ who had been despatched in pursuit of him by forced marches made him prisoner,⁵ sent him into the Sultān's presence, and then utterly destroyed all his family and relations wherever they found them, among whom Qatlaq Khān his brother also perished.⁶

Verses.

One who injures the country is better beheaded

And at that same time 'Umar Khān and Mangū Khān the two

¹ The words *تورہ و تورک* *torn o tūrak* are Turkī words (P de C) *تورہ* or *تورک* signifies the royal family. It also means king: law: right, also a custom introduced by Ughuz Khān *تورک* means simply "right" or "authority," hence the words in the text would mean that they acknowledged him as rightful king with due formalities.

² MS. (A) omits *خاص*.

³ MS. (A) *بہوش آمد*.

⁴ MS. (A) *اورا دستگیر گودہ*.

⁵ The account given by Barnī of this occurrence is the same as the text (Elliot III. 172-173). Firīšta also calls him Salīmān Shāh, Akat Khān, though Briggs in his translation calls him "The Prince Booka Khān."

nephews of the Sultān, revolted in Badāon: certain of the Amīrs sent from the Court seized them and brought them to the Sultān, by whose orders their eyes were put out.¹

If thou revoltest against thy benefactor
Even if thou art the sun, thou wilt fall headlong.

This further occurrence took place, namely, when the Sultān was engaged in besieging Rantanbhor, a person named Hājī Maulā, one of the slaves of Malik-i-Umarā Kotwāl,² gathered together certain ruffians, displayed a counterfoit order in Dihlī,³ entered the city by the Badāon gate, and sent for one Turmuzī Kotwāl and in an instant cut his head off,⁴ closed the city gates, and sent a messenger to 'Alāu-i-Mulk⁵ a friend of his, who was Kotwāl of the New Castle, saying "An order has come from the Sultān, come and read it" 'Alāu-i-Mulk being fully alive to what was going on⁶ did not obey the summons, whereupon the rebel Hājī Maulā went to the Ruby Palace, and liberating all the prisoners, gave a horse and arms and a large bag (of gold) out of the treasury to each one, gathered together an immense following; then he seized by force Saiyyid Zāda-i-'Alawī Shāh Nabsa,⁷ who on his mother's side was descended from Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Altamsh (Iyaltimish), summoning his chief men and nobles for the purpose, and seated him upon the throne at

1 MS. (A) میل در چشم آنها کشیده شد.

2 According to Barnī "a maulā or slave of the late Kotwāl Amīru-i-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn."

3 Pretending to have received it from the Sultān (Barnī).

4 MS. (A) سرش از تن جدا ساخت.

5 'Alan-d-Dīn Ayāz (Barnī)

6 MS. (A) از سرکار آگاه شد.

7 Barnī's account is as follows: "There was an 'Alawī (descendant of 'Alī in Dihlī who was called the grandson of Shāh Najaf who by his mother's side was grandson of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn. The Maula set off from the Red Palace with a party of horse, and went to the house of the poor 'Alawī. They carried him off by force and seated him on the throne in the Red Palace. The principal men of the city were brought by force and made to kiss his hand — (Elliot III 176). The editor remarks that the passage in which he is called the grandson of Shāh Najaf is very doubtful.

Firūzta writes. علوی کہ اورا شاہنشاہ گفتندی. 'Alawī whom they used to call Shīhanghāh who on his mother's side traced descent from Shamsu-d-Dīn Altamsh.

to entrance to the Red Palace, and compelled the chief men whether they would or no, to swear allegiance to him.

The Sultān, when he heard this tidings, did not publish it, nor did he betray any signs of emotion, until he had succeeded by superhuman effort in entirely¹ reducing the fortress. A week had hardly passed after this exploit of Hājī Maulā when Malik Hamīdu Dīn, who was Amir of Koh, with his sons who were renowned for their valour, and a body of the cavalry of Zafar Khān who had come from Amrohā to oppose the Mughuls,² engaged Hājī Maulā in fight, and having destroyed him, put to death the hapless Saiyyid Zāda also, and sent their heads to Rantanbhor. The Sultān nominated Ulugh Khān to proceed to Dihli to track out those who had taken part in that³ rebellion, and bring them to destruction. He also completely eradicated the family and relations of Malika l Umārā on this suspicion that Hājī Maulā would not have embarked on this enterprise without their instigation.⁴

The Sultān after adding the fortress of Rantanbhor and its surrounding districts to the jāegir of Ulugh Khān returned (to Dihli). Ulugh Khān was taken ill that very day while on the road, and died,⁵ and Rantanbhor became for him like the Paradise of Shaddād.⁶

1 MS. (A) *در تمام فوق السند و الغاية فتح قلعة دست داد*.

2 MS. (A) *نسیخت عوفی مغلی*.

3 MS. (A) *در آن فتنة*.

4 The text reads *شروع درین امر نموده باشد* so also MS. (A), but we should, read *بدان امر نموده باشد* as without this the sense is not very obvious.

Barnī states, "The sons and grandsons of the old *Lotwāl* Maliku-l-Umārā had no guilty knowledge of the revolt, but they and every one belonging to that family were put to death."

5 The *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī* states, in opposition to our author, that Ulugh Khān did not die till four or five months later, when he had collected a large force for the purpose of attacking Tilang and Ma'bar. Firishta also states that Ulugh Khān died about six months later.

6 MS. (A) reads *جکم بهشت شداد پیدا کرد*. See Qur'ān lxxix. 5.

"Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with 'Ad? with Iram of the columns? the like of which has not been created in the land."

Moreover a band of robbers of Jālor, whose leader was Mir Muḥammad Shāh, were captured in Rantanbhor after the fort

Iram of the column. "This city is said to have been situated in Yemen, between Ḥaḡramaut and Ṣana'ā. It was founded by Shaddād ibn 'Ād, who was excessively strong and mighty, and when he heard of Paradise and of what God had prepared therein for his saints, 'palaces of gold and silver and abodes beneath which rivers flow, and upper chambers above which are other upper chambers, (Qur'an xxxix 21) he said to his mighty men 'Verily I will take to myself upon the earth a city like unto Paradise.' Then he appointed thereunto a hundred men of his servants and mighty men of valour, and under the hand of each of them a thousand helpers, and bade them search out and find an open space of the plain in the land of Yemen, and choose the best thereof in soil. Then he provided them with wealth, and designed for them the pattern of their work, and wrote to his three chief lords Ghānim ibn 'Ulwān, Zabḥāk ibn 'Ulwān, and Walīd ibn al-Rayyān, and charged them to write to their lords in the utmost parts of their cities that they should collect all that was in their land of gold and of silver, of pearls and of rubies, of musk and ambergris and saffron, and should send them unto him. Then he sent unto all the mines, and took out therefrom all the gold and the silver that was in them, and he sent his three agents to the divers into the oceans, and they brought out therefrom jewels, and gathered them together as it were mountains, and all of this was brought to Shaddād. Then they sent the miners to the mines of rubies and emeralds and all other jewels, and they brought out from thence immense riches. Then he ordered and the gold was beaten and fashioned into bricks, and he builded therewith that city, and he commanded the pearls and the rubies, the onyx and the emerald and the cornelian, and the walls of the city were set with them. And he made for it upper chambers, and above them other chambers supported on columns, and to all of them pillars of emerald and of onyx and of ruby. Then he caused to flow beneath the city a wide channel which he brought to the city from beneath the earth a space of forty leagues, like to a large canal. Then he ordered, and there were made to flow from that channel, rivulets in the streets, and highways and streets flowed with clear water. And he ordered banks to be made for that canal and for all the rivulets, and they were overlaid with red gold, and the pebbles thereof were made of all kinds of precious stones, red and yellow and green. And there were planted on either bank of the stream and of the rivulets trees of gold bearing fruit, and the fruits of them were of those rubies and precious gems. And the length of the city was made twelve *farsakhs* and the breadth thereof like unto the length. And the walls of the city were high and lofty, and there were builded therein three hundred thousand palaces set with all kinds of jewels within and without. And he built for himself in the midst of the city on the bank of the canal a palace lofty and high, towering over all those palaces."

* * * * * and there passed in the building of it five hundred years

was taken. When the Sultān asked Muḥammad Shāh (who had been wounded) 'If I should spare your life and have you cured, and you should thus escape this deadly danger, how would you treat me in future?' he replied, 'If I should get well and should have an opportunity, I would kill you and raise the son of Hamir Dev to the throne.' The Sultān wondered, and was amazed at 195. this audacity, and enquired of his most shrewd and astute Amirs the reason why the people had so turned against him, and why these continual riots and seditions were so constantly occurring, and further sought to know how to set about remedying these evils. They shewed him several paths of conduct which would end naturally in four things. *Firstly*, that the king should in his own person be aware of the enterprises both good and bad which are going on in his kingdom. *Secondly*, that he should put an end to wine bibbing, which is the source of so much evil. *Thirdly*, abandonment by the maliks of their gadding about to each others' houses and holding deliberative meetings.¹ *Fourthly*, to demand back the money which he had lavished, from all classes, whether soldiery or populace, because it is the fountain head of all riot and sedition, especially upstarts and *nouveaux riches*,² and in a short time these regulations would by their inherent good, be acceptable to the Rāis, and pass from potentiality to actuality just as has already been related in a former place.

The Sultān did away with wine drinking, and brought the other

Then Almighty God wished to send a warning to him and to his host, calling him to repentance, and he chose to himself Hūd ibn Khālīd who came and called upon Shaddād to believe and confess the power and unity of God, but he persisted in his idolatry and disobedience. Then Hūd warned him of punishment to come and of the fall of his kingdom, but he would not be moved from his evil ways "

At last he was informed that the city was finished and he set out to go to it with three hundred thousand, leaving all his kingdom to his son Mursad who had it is said believed in the words of Hūd. When Shaddād arrived with one day's journey of Iram a voice came from heaven, and he and all who were with him fell dead, not one remained, and all who were in the city died, the workmen and artificers, the agents and warriors, not a soul remained alive. And the city sank into the earth."

Mu'jamu-l-Buldān. Yāqūt Vol. I.

¹ MS. (A) reads *تاسم*. in place of *باسم*.

² The Persian phrase is *نوکیشانهای سفلہ*, *Naukishaḥ-i-sifla*.

regulations also into force, and also published several new rules of his own, which have never been heard of either before or after his time, whether they were in accordance with religious law or not ; one of these rules was that regulating the price of grain, and cloth, and horses, and all necessaries essential to the comfort of the soldiery and populace, and the bestowal of rewards and alms upon all classes of the people, the detail of which is told at some length in the history of Zīā-i-Barnī.¹ Those laws were the most extraordinary of all: this cheapness of provisions was one of the chief sources of the prosperity of the people, and formed a stout wall of defence against the irruption of the Moghuls. And inasmuch as in mentioning some of these events and occurrences in the original work,² the chronological sequence has not been preserved, and they have been only incidentally mentioned as occasion arose, for this reason they have also been recounted here in the same manner.

3. In the year 700 H. he ordered 'Ainu-l-Mulk Shihāb Multānī to proceed to Mālwa with a large army [and Kōkā the Rānī who had forty thousand cavalry and 100,000 infantry, not being able to stand against him fled].³ 'Ainu-l-Mulk ravaged and pillaged that country and returned victorious with countless spoils.⁴ The Khusrū of poets has described this in the '*Ashīqa*, in these words :

He gave 'Ainu-l-Mulk a signal with his brow
To turn his face towards the kingdom of Mālwa ;
From the clear-sightedness which 'Ainu-l-Mulk possessed,
That which he ordered was brought into sight.
He marched with an army drawn up in array,
And placed round them sentinels like the eyelashes.⁵

And in the year already mentioned the Sultān set out for Sorath⁶ on a hunting expedition, and despatched to hell Sata

¹ The *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*. Elliot and Dowson, III. pp. 192 *et seqq.*

² MS. (A) در اصل کتاب.

³ The words in brackets are not found in MS. (A).

⁴ Firishṭa gives the date of this expedition as 704 H. and calls Koka the Rājā of Mālwa. The text and MS. (B) reads رانی Rānī.

⁵ There is a series of play upon the words عین 'ain and دیدہ dīda both of which mean "eye" which is quite lost in translation.

⁶ MS. (A) reads سوراث. Sawāna. The text has سوراث Sorath. *Ain-i-Akbarī* II. (J.) 243, 358. Bayley, *Hist. of Gujarat* p. 2.

Dev a rebel who had taken refuge in that fortress with a huge army, the Sultān's army having before been unable to reduce it, but it now fell into their hands. And in the year 701 H. (1301 A.D.) the fort of Jālor was reduced by Kamālu-d-Dīn Kark and he sent Kanhar Dev, a headstrong rebel to the lowest abysses of hell.

And in the year 702 H. (1302 A.D.) he sent Malik Kāfūr Nāib¹ with a large army and complete equipment towards Tilang and Marbat² and an immense quantity of treasure with elephants and horses, jewels and cloths, fell as spoil into the hands of the troops.

And in the year 709 (1309 A.D.)³ Malik Nāib Kāfūr went a second time to Arankal⁴ and having taken much treasure and several fine elephants and seven thousand horses as a present from Rāi Nadar Dev the Governor of Arankal made him a regular tributary. And in the year 710 H. (1310 A.D.) the country⁵ of Ma'bar⁶ as far as Dhor⁶ Samundar came into the possession of the Muslims.

And in the year 711 H. (1311 A.D.) Malik Nāib brought to court and presented his spoils consisting of three hundred and twelve elephants, and twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand man⁷ of gold, and many chests of jewels and pearls besides other

¹ MS. (A) reverses the order of this name. The text has *نایب کافور*.

² Telingā or Telingāna, the ancient name of one of the principal kingdoms of S. India. See *Ain-i-Akbari* II. (J.) 237; also Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* I. art. Andhra; also Cunningham *Anc. Geog. of India* p. 519, 527.

³ There is a great gap here in the history partly due to the confusion of dates, and absence of chronological sequence mentioned by the author. Barni gives no assistance and Firishṭa very little.

⁴ Warangal was the ancient capital of Telingāna (Tieff. III. 5) See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* XIII 521. Regarding Marbat or Maharnashtra see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* IX 166; also Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, Preliminary Observations; also Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India* p. 553.

Arangal or Warangal. Barni gives Laddar Dev as the name of the Rāi of Arangal. Elliott III 201. So also Firishṭa. See text I. p. 207.

⁵ Ma'bar. Coromandel. See Ibn Batūtah (Paris Edn.) III 326. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) III. 51, 50. Abu-l-Feda (Reinard) I. cxxxviii.

Ma'bar extends from Kūlam (Cavalom) to Nilāwar (Nellore). Wasāf (F and D III. 32).

⁶ Firishṭa says Khwāja Hājī and Malik Nāib were sent to conquer Ma'bar and Dhor Samund where there were idol temples full of gold, and jewels. I cannot identify Dhor Samund.

ill-temper, and suspiciousness, and causes the health to become deranged, gained the mastery over him, and when only such a small amount of health remained that it was like a single lamp to light the whole house, Khizr Khān in fulfilment of a vow he had made, in singleness of heart and sincerity of spirit set out from Hatnāpūr¹ barefooted upon a pilgrimage to the holy men of Dihli, and performed his thanksgiving for the restoration of his father's health, but it is a very strange fact that he never once went to visit the Sultān-i-Mashāikh wal Auliā,

“Shaikh of the sects, Pillar of the faith, Nizāmu-d-Dīn
Like Khizr and Masīh, with a breath brings bones to life.”

with whom he was connected by bonds of affection and sanctity.

And Malik Nāib informed the Sultān of the coming of Khizr Khān with considerable embellishment, saying that Alp Khān, the maternal uncle of Khizr Khān, who had arrived from Gujrāt, out of policy and prudence, having regard to the affairs of the State and in his desire to become Nāib and Vakil, had himself summoned his sister's son, and further remarked that if this crude idea and immature desire had not fixed itself in the mind of Khizr Khān, why had he come unbidden to the Court?

The Sultān whose health was upset, and his brain disordered and disposed to entertain absurd prejudices, in according with the saying,² “When a man's health is disordered his fancies are disordered,” from his great lack of discrimination taking this suggestion as the actual fact, and regarding this assertion³ as the truth, instantly gave orders for the execution of Alp Khān.

Malik Nāib and Malik Kamālu-d-Dīn Kark seizing that unhappy wretch like a meek lamb, cut him to pieces inside the Royal palace. After that Malik Nāib induced the Sultān (on the ground that Khizr Khān had taken alarm at the murder of his uncle and that it was not expedient for him to return to his own place in the court), to issue instructions that, to allow of the restoration⁴ of order in the State, he should go for some

¹ MS. (A) reads Hatnāwar. Khusrū in the 'Anhīqa states “When the Sultān recovered in some degree, Khizr Khān set out on his expedition to Hatanpūr.” (E and D III, 554).

² MS. (A) ۶.

³ MS. (A) reads ۷۳۴.

⁴ MS. (A) omits ۷۳۵ text line 1 and ۷۳۶ text line 2.

time to Amroha till a command should issue summoning him to the presence. In the meantime he might engage in hunting, and he was to return to the Court his canopy and staff of office, and all the other insignia of royalty. Khizr Khān having obeyed this order with a sad and distracted heart, after a little while relying upon the sincerity of affection he entertained for his father and the confidence between them, wrote to him to this effect,¹ that he had never committed any breach of trust which could cause the Sultān to be so wroth with him; then overcome by sorrow he determined to leave Amroha for Dihli. When he arrived to do obeisance to his father, the chord of fatherly affection was stirred in the heart of the Sultān, he clasped his son to his breast, and kissed him several times on the forehead, and motioned to him to go and see his mother. Khizr Khān went thither, and Malik Naib out of villainy,² on the instant went back to the Sultān and filled his ears with lies, saying,³ ' Khizr Khān has now come for the second time to the palace with evil intentions without orders, and the Sultān takes no notice of the matter.' The Sultān upon this occasion gave orders to send both brothers, Khizr Khān and Shādi Khān, to the fortress of Gwāliār.⁴ Malik Nāib, after these two heirs had been deported, and the way was clear for Malik Shihābu-d-Dīn, the son of the Sultān by another mother, who was yet a lad of tender years, made him heir-apparent and exacted from him an agreement.

After two or three days the Sultān's life became intolerable through his affliction, and he would willingly have purchased a breath at the price of a world, but it was not to be had.

Verse.

Sikandar, who held sway over a world,

At the time when he was departing, and was quitting the world,

It could not be as he wished, though he would have given a world could they have given him in return the brief respite of a moment.

¹ I follow the text here. MS. (A) omits بمعرض.

² MS. (A) reads لا ذی حرامشورگی.

The mint of Existence was emptied of the coin of life.

This event took place in the year 715 H. (1316 A.D.)! The duration of the reign of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn was twenty-one years.

'Alāu-d-Dīn who struck his stamp upon the golden coin
Subdued a world beneath the palm of his gold-scattering
hand.¹

By the revolution of the sky, that stamp became changed,
but that gold

Remained the same in appearance, and you may see it now
passing from hand to hand.

[Account of Amir Khusrū and Mīr Hazan may God have
mercy on them].²

And among the poets³ by whose existence the reign of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn was adorned and honoured, one was the Khusrū-i-Shā'irān (Prince of Poets), may God shew him mercy and acceptance, whose writings, whether prose or poetry, have completely filled the world from one remotest end to the other.

He completed his five works, collectively called Khamsa,⁴ in the year 698 H. (1298 A. D.), in honour of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn,

1 MS. (A) reads خس Khams in place of ست sit and this is correct as 'Alāu-d-Dīn died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 H. see E and D III. 555, but see also p. 208. "On the sixth Shawwāl towards morning, the corpse of 'Alāu-d-Dīn was brought out of the Red Palace of Sirī, and was buried in a tomb in front of the Jāmī Masjid" (Tārīkh-i-Firās Shāhī.) See also Thomas Pathan King of Dillī p. 158 n. 1.

2 MS. (A) زیر آن کتب دست. See Thomas Pathan King pp. 158 et seqq.

3 These words are not found in MS. (A).

4 MS. (A) reads و از جمله شعری که زمان.

5 These were the following:—

هشت بهشت Hasht Bihisht. سکندر نامه Sikandar nāma,
لایلی و مجنون Laili wa Majnūn. شیرین و خسرو Shīrīn wa Khusrū.
پنج گنج Panj ganj.

Khusrū was of Turān origin, his father Amir Mahmūd came to Dillī during the invasion of Changiz Khān into the service of Sultān Mohammand Tughlaq Shāh by whom he was advanced to high office, but was eventually murdered. Mīr Khusrū succeeded his father, but gave up office and became the devoted disciple of Nizām-d-Dīn Anliyā. His Khamsa was written in imitation of the Khamsa of Shāikh Nizāmī.

He is said to have written 400,000 couplets. Neither Khamsa is now extant.

within the space of two years. Among these works is the *Maṭla'u-l-Anwār*¹ which he composed in two weeks as he himself says (in these verses):

The year of this ancient heaven which had passed away
Was after six hundred and ninety eight.
Following on the steps of the sky traversing star²
In two weeks did the full moon³ arrive at completion.

In the *Nafahāt*⁴ it is stated upon the authority of Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-l-Auliya, may God sanctify his sacred resting-place, that on the day of judgment each individual will boast of some one thing, and my boast (said he) will be of the heart-burnings of this Turk Allāh⁵ (God's champion); Mir Khusrū probably alludes to this when he says:—

1. Khusrū my friend, strive in the right way
That you may be called Turk-i-Khudā (God's champion).

Another poet was Mir Hasan Dihlavi,⁶ whose anthology also has enslaved the east and west of the world. Although in that reign there were other poets who composed anthologies, still by reason of these two eminent poets the mention of the others sinks into insignificance.

“When the sun comes out the stars disappear.”

The death of Mir Khusrū took place in the year 725 H. (1325 A.D.). He is buried in Dihli at the foot of the sacred tomb of his

1 The *مصطلع الأنوار* *Maṭla'u-l-Anwār*. “Ortus luminum. Poema persicum, quod ad Ponticū Khosrowi Dählewī, anno 725 (inc 18 Dec. 1324) mortui, pertinet. Vīginti libri qui singuli historiam unam continent.” H.K. 12256

2 *اختر گردون خوام*. *Akhtar-i-gardūn khwām*. 3 *ماه کامل*. *Mah-i-Kūmil*.

4 *نفحات* *Nafahāt*. The *Nafahātu-l-Uns* see Hāji Khulīfah.

Nafahatu-l-uns. “halitus familiaritatis o viris sanctitate eminentibus prodeuntes, auctore Molla nostro Nūr ed-dīn Abd-el rahmān Ben Ahmad Jāmī anno 898 (inc. 23 Oct. 1492) mortuo.” H. K. 13922

5 *ترک الله*. *Turk Allāh*.

6 *میر حسن دهلوی*. Mir Hasan Dihlavi, whose name was *Shāikh Najmu-d-Dīn Hasan*, was one of the most accomplished poets of his time. He, like Mir Khusrū, was a disciple of Nizāmu d-Dīn Auliya. *Majma'u l-Fuṣahā* I. 196) He died as our author tells us (in 739 A H) at Daulatābād in the Deccan, where he was buried. So also *Ātash Kade* p. 351.

his spiritual instructor¹ may God shew mercy to them. ²
³ *Shihāb* wrote an enigmatical chronogram upon that, and having
 had it engraved upon a tablet of stone had it fixed above the
 shrine⁴ of Mir Khusrū. It is as follows:—

Mir Khusrū, the Khusrū of the kingdom of eloquence,
 That ocean of excellence, and sea of perfection;
 His prose is more attractive than flowing water,
 His poetry purer than the most limpid streams;
 A sweet-singing nightingale without a rival,
 Honey-tongued parrot without an equal:
 In tracing the date of the year of his death,
 When I placed my head upon the knee of thought,
 One phrase '*Adīmu-l-Misl*⁵' came as the date,
 Another was *Tūfī-i-Shakar Maqāl*.⁶

Mir Hasan, in the year in which Sultān Muḥammad having
 laid waste Dihli built Daulatābād⁶ in the Deccan, died in that

¹ Nizāmu-d-Dīn Anliyā.

² See p. 99 note 2 of this work.

³ There is no English equivalent that I am aware of for the word *مزار* which means "a place of pilgrimage." The word "shrine" conveys this idea better than most others.

⁴ The letters of *عديم المثل* give the date 725. Thus 70 + 4 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 80 + 40 + 500 + 30. So also do those of *طوطي شكر مقال*. Thus 9 + 6 + 9 + 10 + 300 + 20 + 200 + 40 + 100 + 1 + 30 = 725. Not counting the hamza.

Mir Khusrū died in the month of Ramazān 725 A. H. (1325 A.D.) and is said in the *Majma'u-l-Fusḥā* to have been buried in the burial place of Shaikh Shakkar Ganj; as above stated in the text he was buried close to the grave of his spiritual guide Nizāmu-d-Dīn Anliyā.

⁵ '*Adīmu-l-Misl*' means "peerless." *Tūfī-i-Shakar Maqāl*, "Parrot of honied speech."

⁶ MS. (A) omits *تعمير فرمود آباد ساخت*.

Daulatābād. Lat 19° 57' N. and long. 75° 18' E. 28 miles N.-W. of Hyderabad.

It was originally called Deogiri or Deogarh, and was the capital of the Yadava kingdom. After being taken by Alāu-d-Dīn, which event is noteworthy as being the first appearance of the Muhammadans in the Deccan, it was given back to its Rājā Ramechandra who rebelled, was subdued by Nāib Malik Kāfūr, taken prisoner and sent to Dihli whence he was restored to his kingdom. Finally in 1338 (739 A.H.) Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh

country, and was buried in the city of Daulatābād where his tomb is well known, and is visited as a shrine of sanctity.

'Arif Jāmī,¹ may his resting-place be sanctified, says—

Those two parrots from whose birth
Hindustān was filled with sugar,
Became at last a mark for the arrow of the sky
And were silenced and prisoned in the cage of earth.

SULTĀN SHIHĀRU-D-DĪN IBN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHILJĪ

12. Who was a child, ascended the throne as a puppet in the month of Shawwāl, 715 A.H. (1316 A.D.) by the exertions, and with the consent of Malik Nāib, and was styled by the above title. He sent Malik Ikhtiyār-d-Dīn Sanbal to the fortresses of Gwāliār to put out the eyes of Khizr Khān and Shādi Khān. He also caused the mother of Khizr Khān, Malika-i-Jahān, to be imprisoned, and confiscated all her property, and having thrown the Shāhzāda, whose name was Mubārak Khān, into prison, intended to put out his eyes, but fate did not second his efforts.

deserted Dihlī for Deogiri which he renamed Daulatābād and issued stringent orders to all the inhabitants of Dihlī to remove to the new capital.

Ibn Batūta (Paris Edn. IV. 46) who visited at this time, compares it to the former capital, and say that the citadel was named *دو قیر*. This was evidently the old name of the city, Deogir as we should probably read *دو قیر*.

1 Nūru-d-Dīn 'Abdu-r-Rahmān was born in 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) at Jām Khurāsān, whence he took the name of Jāmī

His father's name was Nizām-d-Dīn Ahmad. He was from his earliest years distinguished for his mental powers, and at the early age of five received the name of Nūru-d-Dīn (Light of the Faith) and later he was known as Maslānā. He became very famous and attained to the highest dignity attainable by a mystic, that of 'Arif. He wrote many works in poetry, grammar and theology, among others the *Haft Aurang*, a series of seven poems, viz., *Silsilat-i-Zahab*, The golden chain; *Qissa-i-Salāmān wa Absāl*, Story of Salāmān and Absāl; *Tuhfat-i-Ahrar*; The Offering to the Wise; *Subhat-i-abrār*, Rosary of the Pious; *Yūsuf wa Zuleikha*, Yusuf and Zuleikha; *Laili wa Majnūn*, Laili and Majnūn *Khīrad Nāma*, Book of Wisdom.

He died in the year 893, H. (1492 A.D.)

See: Hājī Khalifah 14412. Yusuf and Zuleikha (Griffith's Preface.) Beale (Dict. of Or. Lit.). p. 132.

When his attempts to uproot the family of 'Alāu-d-Dīn became known, two sirdars named Mubashshir and Bashir in concert with a body of *pāiks* of the garrison of the Harār Satūn palace, one night murdered Malik Nāib.¹

Verse.

If thou doest evil, hope not for good,
For never wilt thou gather grapes from thorns;
I do not imagine that thou who hast sown barley in autumn
When harvest comes wilt gather in wheat.

Then, having released Shāhzāda Mubārak Khān from prison, they appointed² him to be Nāib to Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn in place of Malik Nāib: Mubārak Khān carried on the affairs of the state for one or two months after that, and succeeded in conciliating the Amīra and Maliks. Then he sent Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn to the fortress of Gnāliār where he finally died in the year 716 H.³

Verse.

No one has ever seen a trace of fidelity in Time,
Everyone who seeks fidelity from Time is in error.

The Sirdārs having put some of these *pāiks* to death,⁴ scattered the rest of them in all directions. 20

Verse.

Good requites good, and evil meets with evil,
This is the way of the world: requital of actions.

And the period of the reign of Shihābu-d-Dīn was three months and a few days.

SULTĀN QUTBU D-DIN MUBĀRAK SHĀH IBN 'ALĀU-D-DIN KHILJĪ.
Ascended the throne of Dīhli with the consent of the Amīra

¹ Thirty-five days after the death of 'Alāu-d-Dīn (Barnī) i.e., 715 H. (1316 A.D.)

² MS. (A) منصوب گردانیدند.

³ There is a difference here of great importance between the printed text and the MS. The former has 710 H. while MS. (A) reads 716 H. which is correct, as is seen from the *Nah Sipīhr* of Mīr Khusrū.

⁴ MS. (A) بقتل رسانیدند.

With regard to the succession of Shihābu-d-Dīn, see Firishṭa, who describes him by the name of 'Umar Khān (Brigg's Firishṭa I. 283). His full name was Shihābu-d-Dīn 'Umar according to Mīr Khusrū.

and Vazirs in the early part of the year 717, H.¹ and apportioning appointments and suitable *jaegirs* among his most trusted Amirs, specially distinguished by promoting to high office one Hasan, Barāwar bacha,² who was very handsome, and had been brought as a captive from Mālwa. He had been the protégé of Malik Shādi Nāib-i-Khāss, the Hājib of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn.³

He gave him the title of *Khusrū Khān*. The tribe of Barāwar are a family of servile position in Gujiāt; but now in the kingdom of Dīhli, the Sultān, to such an extent was he infatuated by his beautiful face, raised him, in spite of his unfitness for the office, to the trusted post of Vazir.

Verse.

If thou desirest thy kingdom to be glorious
Give not high office to an upstart;
Unless thou wishest that thy state should be ruined
Entrust not thy affairs to the inexperienced.

And Sultān Qutb-d-Dīn, inasmuch as he had undergone the affliction of imprisonment, on the very first day of his reign had all the prisoners liberated, and appointed Malik Fakhr-d-Dīn Jūnā the Son of Ghāzi Malik, who eventually was entitled Muhammad 'Ādil, to be *Mīr Akhor*.⁴

In the first year of his reign he contemplated the conquest of Deogir otherwise called Daulatābād,⁵ but his Amirs opposed and dissuaded him.

¹ So also the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of Barnī, but *Khusrū* in both the *'Ashīqa* and *Nuh Sipihr*, says the beginning of 716 H. In the latter poem the date is specifically stated to have been the 24th of Muharram, 716 H. But Firsihta says the 7th of Muharram, and the editor states in a footnote to the translation of the *Nuh Sipihr*, that in some loose extracts the date is 717 H.

'Alāu-d-Dīn having died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 and Shihābu-d-Dīn having reigned three months and a few days, would bring the accession of Qutb-d-Dīn to about the middle or end of Muharram 716, so that we may consider this as the correct date unless there was an interregnum of a whole year, of which there is no evidence.

² MS. (A).

³ MS. (A) omits و after خانی.

⁴ MS. (A).

⁵ Master of the Horse. Akhor is a Turkish word signifying stable. Cf. Akhtā, a Turkī word signifying, a gelding.

⁶ See p. 271 note 6.

Verse.

It was not deemed expedient, from motives of wisdom,
 That the world's king should move from his place;
 Who knows, what are the hidden designs of evil wishers, 204.
 Or who, in all sincerity, is well disposed to the king ?

In the year 718 H. (1318 A.D.) Sultān Qutb-u-d-Dīn sent Sar Salāhī Kotwāl,¹ with orders to proceed to Gwāliār and put to death Khizr Khān and Shāhī Khān. Having done this he summoned Dewal Rānī and included her in his *haram*. With reference to this Mir Khusrū writes :

Verses.

In short one who is acquainted with the secret of this mystery
 In this way opened the door of this treasury of secrets,
 That when the Sultān Mubārak Shāh in cruelty
 Turned against his own kith and kin with anger and frowning,
 He considered that the interests of the country demanded
 their murder,
 And thought that they deserved the sharp sword.
 His object was to empty the country of noble men by malicious enterprise.
 Secretly he sent a messenger to Khizr Khān
 Making treacherous protestations of hearty good will
 Saying, Oh thou shining light who remainest far from the
 assembly,
 Thy body ill at ease and thy countenance without light;
 Thou knowest that this is none of my doing,
 The oppressed remains while the oppressor disappears.
 If thou art imprisoned, by the Lord of the world
 When the time comes he himself will loosen these bonds.
 In this matter haste and anxiety are not fitting,
 An elephant extricates itself from the mire by patient endeavour.
 Now, we too are engaged in plumbing this matter
 So that by clever contrivance we may free you from that
 captivity.

¹ A ruffian named Shāhī " (Mir Khusrū E and D III. 555.)

If thou art fitted to become a king
We will make thee ruler over a wide kingdom.
But the affection for some one which springs in thy heart
Is not fitted for the loftiness of thy ambition.
Dewā! Rānī who is but a handmaiden to thee,
For whom even were the moon needed as handmaid this were
an easy matter,

I have heard that she is so dear to thee
That thy cypress-like form stoops to kiss her feet.
This is not fitting that from shortsightedness
The king should be enslaved by a slave
The gourd is in any case of no account in the garden
That it should attempt to raise its head in emulation of the
Ohinār.

A straw which places its foot upon the face of the stream
Is carried hither and thither by the wind and buffeted by the
floods.¹

[My heart's desire makes this request, that thou should'st give
up that mistress of thine.]

Since she went from here, send her back hither again
Send her to take her place at the foot of my throne.
When the infatuation of thy mind is somewhat less
We will send her back to thee to be thy handmaid.
When the messenger went and took back the message
Khizr Khān's heart no longer enjoyed any rest.
First he wept tears of blood which flooded his eyes and lips,
Then he sent back an answer mingled with blood
Saying, since the *Shāh* has attained his ambition in becoming
a sovereign,

He must leave Dewā! Rānī to me
If however you desire to deprive me of this wealth
You desire to see me despoiled of wealth and light.
Since this heart's delight holds her head as high as mine
Cut off my head, afterwards thou wilt know.
When the messenger, from that grief-stricken soul

¹ Here follows in the text the following verse given above in brackets

تمنای دل ما میکنسد خواست که زان زبونشین بریایدت خواست

With a footnote saying that this verse is in the '*Agha*' but in none of the three MSS. It is also not in MS. (A.)

Bore those fiery sighs to the palace of the king,
 The Emperor waxed wroth from head to foot
 From his heart he smiled, as lightning smiles in the cloud,
 The flame of the fire of ¹ enmity shot forth.
 He who sought a pretext, was provided with a new one.²
 In anger he sent for Sar Salāhī (the Kotwāl)
 Saying you must travel this day before nightfall a hundred
irohs;

Go to Gwālīar at this moment without delay,
 And with the sword cut off the heads of the lions of the
 country,

That I may be safe from the nobles of the country;
 Because this disturbance, small as it is, risks the existence of
 the country.

At his order the tyrant set out,
 The pigeon was tied ³ by the foot and the hawk hungry.
 In that day and night he travelled several leagues
 He arrived and again imprisoned him intending (to kill him).⁴
 He made known the orders he had received from the throne,
 The garrison of the fort set about carrying out this severe
 measure;

The ruthless soldiery entered shamelessly ⁵ into that pure 206.
 place of chastity,

The veiled ladies ⁶ were thrown into consternation and screamed
 so that the roof and doors shook with their cries.

In that palace every arrow-like beam ⁷ became curved like a
 bow,

The day of resurrection became a guest in that Paradise,
 From the corners of the rooms in great consternation
 The male lions leapt forth in wrath,

¹ MS. (A) reads شعله کیں زد زیاتہ.

² MS. (A) reads نہای جوی را باید بیاضہ.

³ MS. (A) بند. The text has a misprint ہند.

⁴ The text is wrong here. MS. (A) reads correctly.

رسید و بند کرد تڑنویا ہنگ

⁵ MS. (A) بی آہی.

⁶ MS. (A) پرو پرشیدگان.

⁷ تیر has here the two meanings of arrow, and rafter or beam.

The arms had lost their strength, and the bodies their power
Force was dead, and wit had sunk to sleep.¹

Shādi Khān Wālā waxed wrath, and sought aid from the
protection of God most High,

Nimbly he leapt upon the Kotwāl and fought with him for
long time, threw him to the ground and sought for a sword
wherewith to slay him.

Inasmuch as he had lost his sword of victory

What did that unattainable strength avail him?

Allies ran up to help him from right and left

They fell one after the other and that fallen one rose up.

Each fierce (lion) was attacked by ten dogs,²

See how the dogs vent their wrath upon the lions,

Hey for the meanness of the cowardly sky

That permits dogs to hunt lions!

When they had forcibly bound those two prosperous chief-
tains,

The time bound the hands of fortune and prosperity.

Those wondrous men fell into disgrace,

Blood-reeking swords appeared on every side

When the murderous clashing of daggers was heard,

The blood-thirsty murderer appeared from the door,

Hard as a rock,³ source of grief, though his name was Shādi
(Joy)

As repulsive as the document of a dowry, and the grief
arising from debt.

Artful enough to depose Dajjāl⁴ from his place,

¹ MS. (A). توان مرده خرد در خواب رفته

² MS. (A). بهر یک شتر دهگان یک بیابانت

³ MS. (A). جمادی

⁴ MS. (A). الدجال Ad-Dajjāl called also المسيح الكذاب Al-Masīha-l-Kaẓāb.

The false Christ or Antichrist who is to appear as one of the signs preceding the resurrection. Cf. 2 Thess ii. So called according to some because he will cover the earth with his adherents like as the tar covers the body of the mangy camel, the word دجل *dajala* in Arabic having the primary meaning of smearing with tar.

According to others he is so called because of his lying (secondary meaning of دجل) in arrogating to himself godship; or again from دجل *dajjala* in the twofold signification of "covering" (truth with falsehood) or "gilding," see Lane s. v.

Hideous enough to make Satan forgetful of his own ugliness;
On each side of his face was gathered a dark cloud,¹
From every hair sprang a sword.²

207.

Fierce wrath as cutting as the executioner's sword,
A glance as piercing as the chisel of Farhād;³
His lips wreathed in an angry smile,
Through wrath seizing his lips between his teeth
His one desire and wish was revenge and punishment,
From head to foot a statue of hatred and scorn;

According to the *Mishkāt*, Dajjāl will be the second of the ten signs or tokens which are to precede the resurrection. After three of these signs have occurred, namely, the rising of the sun in the west, the coming of Dajjāl, and the appearance of the beast which is to emerge from the mountain of Safah, repentance will no longer avail anything.

The coming of Dajjāl is to be a time of calamity such as has never before been known. He is of low stature though bulky, with splay feet, blind, with the flesh even on one side of his face without the mark of an eye. His right eye is blind, like the seed of a grape, and the word *kuf* کفر, infidelity, is written between his eyes, he is to appear from the middle of a road between Syria and 'Irāq and will mislead on the right hand and on the left. The repetition of the Chapter of the Cave (Qur'ān XVIII) will be a means of repelling his wickedness. He will not be able to enter either Mecca or Medinah. His stay upon earth is to last forty days, one day equal to a year, and another day equal to a month, another day like a week and rest of the days like ordinary days. Dajjāl will it is said bestow great abundance upon those who believe in him, but sorely afflict those who reject him. He is to perform miracles such as killing a youth by severing him in two with a sword and restoring him to life. Then Jesus will descend from heaven and will destroy Dajjāl at the entrance to a village called Lād in Palestine. The Jews of Iṣfahān will follow Dajjāl before whose coming there will be three years during the first of which the sky will withhold one-third of its rain and the earth one-third of her productions, during the second the sky will withhold two-thirds and the earth two-thirds, during the third neither sky nor earth will yield rain nor produce, and every animal in the earth will die. He will then come forth upon a white ass, the space between the ears of which is seventy feet.

¹ His whiskers.

² MS. (A) *برسته*. The text reads *برسته*.

³ *فرهاد* Farhād. See Beale Dict. O. B. p. 87. for the story of Farhād who in order to gain the lovely *Shīrīn*, with whom he was madly in love, attempted to cut through a mountain; he was on the point of completing his labour when false intelligence was sent to him by the husband of *Shīrīn* that she was dead, whereupon he cast himself headlong and was dashed in pieces.

When he gave the signal and brandished his sword on all sides,
Not one leapt like lightning from that mass of clouds.
May God have mercy!

How could anyone draw the sword of revenge upon that
crowd of moonlike faces.

Whose heart would not be torn with distracting grief

In pity for so many young and beautiful men?

Oh Lord! may the breast of heaven be rent a hundredfold

To think that it has brought so many noble ones to the dust.

How can you look for pity for the blood he sheds, in the heart
of the butcher?

Whose one desire is to see his knife stained with blood.

When the bloody butcher binds roses upon his head,

Why should he withhold his knife from the rose like body?

Since no one of them desired that the sword should succeed
in shedding their blood,¹

There leapt from their midst like a whirlwind

A man of low origin, a Hindū by birth

Dusky of hue, like to Ahriman,²

Nay! a thousand Ahrimans would stand aghast at his face;

Grief-increasing like the pleasure of those in distress,

Wrong in judgment like the intellect of young people;

Unlucky to look upon as a young owl,

Like a morning in Dai⁴ at Ghaznī cold and inhospitable;

Like the night of sorrow his forehead full of gloom,

Like the nature of a wicked man, accursed.

A lip like the sole of a ploughman's foot,

A cheek like the mouth of a man with paralysis;

That hideous one had a mouth like a helmet,

His smile like the yawning of a burst shoe;

Long whiskers twisted over his ears

¹ MS. (A) *بشارت کرد و شرمسوارانند چون تیغ*.

² MS. A *تیغ خون را*.

³ Ahrimān, the Satan of the Persians, is said in their traditions to have been born out of the thought of the Almighty and of his pride in the world, while the first man (whom they call Gayōmarth) was born from the sweat of the brow of the Almighty wiped off in bewilderment at the sight of Ahrimān. See Albirūnī (*Chron.*) p. 107.

⁴ The tenth month of the Persian year. See Albirūnī (*Chron.*) p. 52. It answers to our month of December.

His whiskers taking the place of the ring in the slave's ear;
 Lightly he leapt out from the line of warriors,
 [You would think that a wave of blood would burst from him, 208.
 His skirt tucked up in his wrathful haste, his sleeves drawn
 back for bloodshed.]¹

He demanded a well-tempered sword from his officer,²
 Drew it, and tightened up the skirt of his tunic;
 [The head of that cypress-like noble fell from his shoulders
 He who was renowned for his youth and beauty]³
 Martyrdom was evident⁴ in Khizr in that palace;
 Just as the tree praises God when its branches put forth leaves
 The heaven kept lamenting over his punishment;
 The angels continually assisted him in his martyrdom,
 Rizwan threw open the gates of Paradise,
 All the Hūris began to sing his praises.
 From that martyr's shout of triumph which came forth from
 the Shāh,

The sun and moon joined in the martyr's song.
 When the dagger was raised aloft and the Shāh's face was
 seen amid its clustering locks,
 Lamentation arose in that assembly like⁵ the roll of thunder;
 The sun made his body a shield to protect him,
 But Fate turned it on one side from before him.
 When the sword of Fate severs the cord of Hope,
 Neither sun nor moon can become a shield for thee;
 With one blow which that ruthless one struck
 He made the Shāh's head a guest in his bosom.
 To wash away the blood, the revolving water-wheel of the sky
 Required that the spring of the sun should yield all its blood;
 But since there was no longer a breath of life in his body,
 Of what avail was it to wash the blood from the surface of it.
 Dewal Rāni, who was a woman of dignity and beauty,
 Was the lifspring of Khizr Khān's existence.

1. A footnote to the text states that these lines are not in either MS. MS. A) contains them.

2. MS. (A) فرمایند.

3. These lines are not in the text. MS. (A) reads

آه گردن سر و گوا می که از سر و بد زنی خود بود نامی

4. MS. (A) شهادت خامست.

5. MS. (A) چون رعد.

Since the Khizr of the sky had lain in ambush to slay him
 That very well of life ¹ of his became the sword of enmity
 When we look in this crystal globe carefully
 Many life giving springs are also fatal to their Khizr.
 The soul of the lover was poured out with his life blood,
 But still was hovering round about the beloved one.
 A rose from which thou hast tasted a pearl of dew,
 Thou wilt shed thy blood ² for it a hundred times.
 Instead of rose water they drew his heart's blood from that
 rose,
 See how they (mercilessly) robbed him of his blood !

And when the foundation stone of this edifice of his destruction of the family of 'Alāu-d-Dīn was laid, the question was asked of a devotee, why this should be ? His reply was because 'Alāu-d-Dīn had cast a firebrand into the family ³ of the uncle of his benefactor, and as a consequence similar treatment had been meted out to his own family.

Verses.

3.

In this full voiced, re-echoing dome (the world)
 Whatever speech you utter that same will you hear.

At all events, after the usurpation by Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn, all the rules and regulations made by 'Alāu-d-Dīn, each of which embodied some wise purpose or far-seeing design, were thrown into confusion, and dissoluteness and wickedness, contumacy and rebellion sprang anew to life during the reign of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn, who threw open the doors of license and gratification of desires to the people ; and when Malik Kamālu-d-Dīn Garg, after that Alf Khān had been summoned to the presence and had been executed, proceeded to Gujrāt where he attained martyrdom, 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī was nominated by the Court,⁴ and having quelled the disturbance there regained possession ⁵ of Nahrwāla and all the country of Gujrāt, Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn married the

¹ دهرل رانی.

² MS (A) خون خود.

³ MS. (A) reads. خانان instead of خان و مان and خاندان in place of خانان.

⁴ MS. (A) نامزد شد

⁵ MS (A) در ضبط آورد و

daughter of Malik Dinār, and having given¹ him the title of Zafar Khān sent him to Gujrāt. He performed² the important duties of that province better and more satisfactorily than 'Ain-ul-Mulk.

In the year 718 H. (1318 A.D.) Sultān Qutbu-d-Din marched for Deogir with a larger army, and the Rāis of that country were not able to stand against him.

He slayed³ Harpāl Deo who had rebelled during the time which followed the death of Rām Deo.⁴ The country of the Marhattas also fell into the hands of Qutbu-d-Din who, having given Khusrū Khān the canopy and staff of office ordered him to proceed to Ma'bar, and having left Yaklakhi in Deogir as Nāib, returned to Dihli. Near Badra-i-Sakūn⁵ Malik Asadu-d-Din ibn Yaghraash Khān who was called Malik Khamūsh, and who was the uncle's son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din, was smitten with the ambition of chieftainship,⁶ and plotted a rebellion against the Sultān, who however was warned⁷ of this design by one of his loyal adherents, and gave orders for the immediate execution of Malik Asadu-d-Din. He also sent orders that twenty of the relations of Yaghraash Khān who were aware of this conspiracy⁸ some of whom were children, should be executed, and when he reached Jhēin he sent Shādī Kath⁹ his chief captain to Gwaliār to bring the family and relations of the murdered Khizr Khān and Shādī Khān with the remainder of the haram of 'Alāu-d-Din to Dihli, after having

210.

¹ MS. (A) inserts *و اورا*.

² MS. A. *برکرد*. The textual reading is preferable.

³ The Sultān ordered him to be slayed, and his skin to be hung over the gate of Deogir.

⁴ MS. (A) omits *که*.

⁵ Called Ghāt-i-Sakūn by Barnī.

⁶ MS. (A) reads *میری*.

⁷ MS. (A) *خبردار گردانید*.

⁸ There is a direct opposition here between the printed text and the MS. The latter MS. (A) writes *که از این واقعه خبر داشتند*, and this is adopted as it seems more reasonable than that entirely innocent persons should have been put to death, though the statement that some were children is in keeping with the reading of the text. This latter is moreover supported by the statement of Barnī. "They had no knowledge whatever of the conspiracy, but were all seized and slaughtered like sheep."

⁹ MS. (A) reads *شادی کته* Shādī Kath, and this is the name given also in Barnī's history. Neither the text nor the alternative reading given in its footnote is correct.

killed Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn, which he carried out. Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn was led by the fact that Khizr Khān had been a disciple of the Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya, to regard that holy Shaikh with suspicion and distrust, and in opposition to the wishes of the holy Shaikh, sent for Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn from Multān, and honoured Shaikhzada-i-Jām, who was one of the opponents of Shaikh (Nizāmu-d-Dīn) with special distinction.

Verse.

When God¹ desires to openly disgrace any man
 He leads him to abuse those of holy and pure nature;
 And if God desires to hide the sins of any man
 He leads him to talk little about the sins of other sinners.

His habits also underwent great change, and his heart emboldened him to walk in the valley of bloodshed as his father had done, so that rivers of blood began to flow, and he put to death without any cause Zafar Khān Wāl of Gujerāt.

In the mean while Yaklakhi had prepared a rebellion in Deogir, and had arranged to assume the insignia of royalty. At last when Khusrū Khān reached Deogir, the men of the army who had been sent to Deogir seized Yaklakhi and made him over to Khusrū Khān, who sent him bound to Dihli where he was executed. The Sultān² also put to death Malik Shāhin who was known by the title of Wafā Malik, without any reason save the representations of some intriguers.

In these days the Sultān used generally to array himself in women's garments, and adorning himself like them with gold and jewels, used to give public audience. Moreover he openly indulged in drinking and other forms of vice. *inter-marem feminamque discrimen nullomodo facere solebat.*

Verse.

Statura cujusvis ut littera *Alif* erecta, idem quod litteram
Dāl et *Nūn* incurvescebat, adeo *Alif* in imam omnium
 inserabat.

¹ MS. (A) omits the word *إله* in error.

² MS. (A) omits the word *سلطان* but it appears to be required.

He used to command buffoons and jesters to insult with jest and witticisms his most trusted and eminent Amirs, as for instance Aḥmad Mulk Maltānī and Qarābeg, who held fourteen appointments, and summoning them for that purpose to the roof of the Hazār Sūtān palace, they used to perform low buffooneries, et nudeloci, gestu tarpī et obsceno, in vestes nobilium honoratorum mungebant. Thus he prepared everything that was necessary for the downfall of the kingdom.

Verse.

There was the rose, the leaf adorned it too.

And the kingdom seemed to say :—

Oh ! King what can come to pass from wine bibbers

What too can come to pass from unrestrained lust

The king maddened by lust, the empire ruined, the enemy
before and behind.

It is only too plain in such a case, what must come to pass. And after the murder of Zafar Khān, he raised Husāmu-d-Dīn who was half-brother¹ to Khusrū Khān to succeed to the position 212 enjoyed by Zafar Khān and nominated him to proceed to Gujrāt. Husāmu-d-Dīn collected together the Barāwar² crew from all parts of that country and nursed a scheme of rebellion in his brain. The Amirs of Zafar Khān's party³ however seized him and sent him to Dīlī. The Sultān led by the feelings he entertained towards Khusrū Khān took no steps to punish him, but had him set at liberty on the instant and gave him extraordinary privileges. Then he appointed Malik Wabīdu-d-Dīn⁴ Qnraishī to Gujrāt in place of Husāmu-d-Dīn. He it was who was the

¹ Barnī calls him برادر مادر which the translator renders maternal uncle. But if our text is correct it would appear that he was not برادر مادر but برادر مادری that is to say half-brother by the same mother, but by a different father. This is the meaning of the word برادر اخيائي here used, and would further account for Barnī later on calling him baseborn.

² MS. (A) برار.

³ MS. (A) امرای ظفر خان.

⁴ Thus the printed text. Barnī also calls him Wabīdu-d-Dīn so I have adopted this reading. MS. (A) reads وجیه الدین Wajīhu-d-Dīn.

cause of the arrest of Yaklakhi.¹ Khusrū Khān having arrived on the frontier of Tolinga, and having blockaded the Rāi of that country in one of his fortresses, accepted several head of elephants² with treasure and valuables beyond all power of computation as a present from him, and moved his camp towards the Maithili country,³ and having gained possession of nine hundred and twenty elephants and a diamond weighing six dirams, came into the country of Ma'bar, and relying on that⁴ wealth entertained the idea of disobedience and rebellion, and obtaining permission to remain there, put to death several Amīrs whom he had with him Malik Talbīgha Yaghda⁵ and Malik Talbīgha Nāgorī and Malik Hājī Nāib, with certain other Amīrs of the Sultān's party, becoming aware of his secret intentions throw him by force into a litter, and, marching with all haste by forced marches, conveyed him from Deogir to Dihli in seven days and acquainted the Sultān with his nefarious designs. Khusrū Khān however in the private apartment of the palace where he enjoyed the special companionship of the Sultān, gained him over by artful and specious representations, and fully persuaded the Sultān of the villainy of the Amīrs⁶ The Sultān took his words as Gospel, so greatly was he influenced and controlled by him, and was incensed against the Amīrs, censured them⁷ severely and subjected them to many indignities, and although they brought forward many veracious witnesses in support of their allegations it was all of no use, and the wretched witnesses were severely punished.

The story of Farazdaq the poet fits in with this, namely when he accompanied by his wife, appealed to the Khalifah of Baghdād, he got Ja'far the Barmecide, to plead for him, and used his wife Zubeida Khātūn as an intermediary. Hārūn the Khalifah was

¹ The printed text has simply لکھی but MS (A) reads یکلکھی Yaklakhi. Yakalakhi it will be remembered, had been appointed Governor of Deogir after Harpāl Deo had been taken and put to death. According to Barnī, Yaklakhi was "an old servant of 'Ala u d-Dīr, who for many years was naib of the bands" (couriers). Yaklakhi now revolted and was arrested by Wahīdu-d-Dīn.

² MS (A) omits.

³ MS. (A) جرکت نمود و . . .

⁴ MS (A) بقوت آن امور

⁵ MS (A) reads thus Barnī calls him Malik Talbagha Yaghda

⁶ MS (A) omits سلطان after حاضر نشان.

⁷ MS (A) omits با ایشان

favourably disposed towards Zubeida, and passed orders in accordance with the petition of the wife of Farazdaq.¹ He accordingly wrote these lines :—

An advocate who appears before thee clothed
Is not like one who comes before thee naked.²

That is to say an intercessor who comes near thee wearing drawers will not be so influential as she who comes naked. From that day this became a proverbial saying among the Arabs.

As soon as Khusrū Khān became quite assured in all ways of his predominant influence over the Sultān, he gave orders for the assembly of all his tribe from Gujrāt and began to introduce them into the service of the Sultān. The Sultān reposed entire confidence both in him³ and in his family, and gave up the reins of Government absolutely into his hands,⁴ abandoning himself to rioting and debauchery.⁵

¹ Abū Firās Hammām or Hamaim the son of Ghālib surnamed Abū Akhtal was a celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamīm. He was commonly known as Al Farazdaq because of his stern and forbidding countenance. The meaning of Farazdaq is said to be a lump of dough which has been kneaded. (Freytag *Hamash* II 585). It was a nick-name given him according to Ibn Kutāiba on account of his ugly face. He further states however that he was so called on account of his short and dumpy stature which made him be compared to the crust (*farazdaq*) with which women polish their teeth. But the first explanation is best, because the poet caught the small-pox and when he recovered his face remained deformed and wrinkled (Ibn Khall: de Slane III. 623).

² Read *مستورا* for *متزرا* which appears to be intended for *متزرا*. The occasion on which these lines were spoken was, according to Ibn Khalliqān, when Nawār the granddaughter of Dhubān, wished to marry one of the Qurāish tribe, and asked Al-Farazdaq to act as her legal guardian because he was the son of her uncle. He however availed himself of a formal promise given by her to abide by his decision as to her affairs, to say he would marry her himself. Nawār was very angry at this and went to 'Abdullah ibn as-Zubair, sovereign of Hijāz and 'Irāq, to obtain redress. Al-Farazdaq set out also. They stopped at different houses. Al-Nawār stayed with al-Khāula wife of 'Abdullah ibn as-Zubair, and Al-Farazdaq with Hamza their son. Al-Khāula interceded for al-Nawār, and her intercession prevailed over that of Hamza whereupon Farazdaq spoke as above. (Ibn Khall: de Slane), III. 624).

³ MS. (A) *اعتماد تمام بر او و قبيلة او نمود و*.

⁴ MS. (A) omits *باز*.

⁵ MS. (A) *مشغول شد*.

Verse.

A. Casting aside the Qur'ān and the sword
Taking instead to the cup and flagon.

The attendants who were loyal to the state were struck dumb and were compelled by the necessity for time-serving to throw themselves upon the protection of Khusrū Khān.

Verse.

If the times give the reins of authority to a wolf,
You must save yourself by saying, God save you S

And the family of Barāwar¹ gained entire control of the Court of the Sultān, and used to assemble by day and by night at the house of Khusrū Khān to plot sedition and rebellion against the Sultān, and when Qāzī Zīāu-d-Dīn, who was known as Qāzī Khān, made these facts known, the Sultān who was the slave of his lust immediately summoned Khusrū Khān in private,² and informed him of what had been said, whereupon Khusrū Khān said, the people see the great kindness which the Sultān shews me and regard it as excessive, and from motives of jealousy falsely accuse me. The Sultān believed him and³ made over to him the keys of the royal treasury and of all the other store-houses as well: Khusrū Khān⁴ regarded this as a proof of his complete ascendancy deduced from it a favourable omen for his future:—

Verse.

When he saw his affairs so prosperous
He considered that omen as a proof of victory;
From that favourable omen the heart of Khusrū Khān,
Like a strong mountain, became firmly established.

Eventually, one night the Sultān was holding a drinking party in the company of Khusrū Khān and the Amīrs of the guards withdrew from their posts. Qāzī Khān came down from the roof of the Hazār Sutūn palace and was engaged in examining if the doors were safe, and the guards posted.

¹ MS. (A) الویس بر و

² MS. (A) adds در خلوت.

³ MS. (A) تصدیق او کرد و میبرد

⁴ MS. (A)

In the meantime one Randbol¹ the uncle of Khusrū Khān 215 with a body of the Barāwas, having daggers concealed under their arms came upon Qāzī Khān, and kept him engaged in talk on one way and another, till, taking him off his guard, they stabbed him and despatched him as a martyr to his abode in Paradise. There was a great uproar,² and the Sultān, who at that moment had no other companion than Khusrū Khān, enquired what was the tumult. Khusrū Khān rose from beside him and went out to instigate his followers to murder the Sultān, then returned and said that some of the horses of the stud had broken loose, and were fighting among themselves. At this moment Jāhiriyyā the uncle of Khusrū Khān approached the Hazār Sultān with a party of his men, and having assassinated Ibrāhīm and Ishāq who were on guard at the palace, made for the Sultān. The Sultān rising,³ half intoxicated as he was, ran towards the ḥaram, Khusrū Khān caught him from behind by the hair of his head, and as the Sultān was begging him to aid his escape Jāhiriyyā arrived, aimed a blow at the Sultān wounding him in the side, then with his sword cutting off the Sultān's head⁴ threw it down below from the roof of the palace.

Verse.

The bed of that dear one was one of thorns
For his brocade'd bed led to his ruin.

When the populace saw what had occurred, every one of them went into hiding and there was dismay in all quarters. Putting to death some of the Amīra at the door of the palace, the Barāwas entered the Sultān's ḥaram and tore Farīd Khān and Mangū Khān, the two infant sons of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, from their mother's arms and cut off their heads, and committed every kind of violence they wished, and in one moment scattered to the four winds all the honour and glory of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Qutbu-d-Dīn.

Verse.

In one hour, in one moment, in one instant⁵
The whole course of the world becomes changed.

¹ MS. (A). رندبول.

² MS. (A) omits بلند.

³ MS. (A) برخاسته.

⁴ MS. (A) سر را برید.

⁵ MS. (A) has بیک آنکه بیک ساعت بیک دم.

And when they had glutted themselves with murder and rapine, they sent for certain of the Amirs namely 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī, and Malik Fakhru-d-Din Jūnā, by whom is meant Sultān Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq Shāh, and Malik Wahīdu-d-Din Quraishī with the two sons of Qarābeg and other notable Amirs, and kept them all that night till morning upon the roof of the Hazār Sutān; and when it was day they made all the 'Ulamā and chief men of the city swear allegiance to Khusrā Khān, and read the *Khushbah* in his name. By craft they got the upper hand of a certain party whom they suspected of being opposed to them, and sent them to the world of non-existence, and made over the family of Qāzi Zīāu-d-Din Qāzi Khān,¹ all except his wife who fled,² to the aforesaid Randhol.³

Husāmu-d-Din, the brother by the mother's side of Khusrā Khān, was given the title of Khān-i-Khānān and Randhol⁴ became Rāi-i-Rāiyān, and the *ḥarams* of Sultān Qutbu-d-Din and the other princes and relatives they divided among themselves. Khusrā Khān took to himself⁵ in marriage the chief wife of the Sultān. These events happened in the year 720, H. (1320 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sultān Qutbu-d-Din was four⁶ years and some months.

Veree.

Since the world began so it has been, and so will always be,
To everyone the end of all things will be as this.

NĀSIRU-D-DIN KHUSRŪ KHĀN

Whose name at the first was Hozan Barwabacha, in the aforesaid year sat upon the throne of 'Alāu-d-Din and Qutbu-d-Din, by the co-operation of his own tribe; and the Amirs who have already been mentioned, whether they would or no, were constrained to give in their allegiance to him, and addressed him by this title. The rites and ceremonies of Islām tended towards neglect while Hindu customs and heathen observances obtained currency.⁷ Idolatry and devastation of mosques became wide-

¹ MS (A) omits و.

² MS. (A) رندھول

³ MS. (A) omits در.

⁴ MS. (A) رواج گرفت.

⁵ MS (A) کہ گزینمت.

⁶ MS (A) رندھول.

⁷ MS. (A) reads چہار.

spread, and although Khusrū Khān, to conciliate the people scattered gold and lavished presents on all sides so that in a short time he squandered the greater part of the treasures of Alān-d-Dīn and the wealth which Qutbū-d-Dīn had amassed.

Verse.

Who was it had acquired the wealth,
Who was it squandered it?

still the hearts of great and small were not so attuned to this disloyalty and irreligion of his that he could bring them into harmony with his own.

And in the year 721 A.H. (1321 A.D.) Khusrū Khān put out the eyes of certain of the offspring of 'Alān-d-Dīn, for instance Abūbakr Khān, and 'Alī Khān, and Bahādur Khān,¹ and gained over² certain of the Amīra, such as 'Aīnūl Mulk and some others.

The Hindūs gained ground and increased their influence in most of the provinces, and a torrent of destruction swept suddenly upon the followers of Islām and destroyed their wealth and property, giving their families to the wind of extinction.

The affair of the Ghuzz which had happened in the time of Sultān Sinjar³ was forgotten, and the state of mankind was expressed by this verse—

Verse.

You will never see your fellowmen happy save at the door
of death,

You will never find a virgin save in the womb of earth.

Khusrū Khān⁴ issued *firmāns* to all the outlying districts and invited the people to side with him, he also bestowed upon Yūsuf 218
Sūfī Azībacha⁵ the title of Sūfī Khān while Ikhtiyārū-d-Dīn Sanbal was styled Hātim Khān. He also made Kamālū-d-Dīn Sufī Wakīldar, and the son of Qurra Qamār 'Ariḡū-l-Mulk; Malik Fakhrū-d-Dīn Jūnā the son of Ghāzī Malik he appointed Akhur Beg, and was especially desirous of gaining his good will, with the object of using his influence to induce Ghāzī Malik also, who

¹ MS. (A).

² MS. (A) منیجر.

³ MS. (A). The text reads برورارچ.

⁴ MS. (A) منیجر.

⁵ MS. (A) omits و.

was one of the notable Amirs of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and was posted to oppose the Mughuls, to leave the frontiers of Dipālpur and fall into his trap. At that time he put into effect every means he could devise and gave 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī for a time the title of 'Ālam Khān. At last having gained over Ghāzi Malik, he wrote a letter¹ expressing his sincerity of purpose, and desiring him when the day of battle should arrive to flee from Dihlī to his own country, that is Mālwa, and return when the danger had passed.²

And of the Amirs, some sided with Khusrū Khān out of lust for place and property, but some others were rebellious. When Ghāzi Malik heard this startling news his zeal for Islām and for the preservation of the honour of his benefactor was stirred, so that he girded up his loins for vengeance, and sending despatches to the Maliks of the various districts sought their aid in extirpating that ungrateful wretch. Malik Fakhr-d-Dīn sent secretly a letter to his father conveying his intention to fly from Dihlī and asking for post horses,³ which in the Hindī tongue are called *ḡāḡ chaulā*, and for the posting of cavalry escorts at several places along the route.

At last one night by the assistance of the Son of Bahrām Ibn⁴ the governor of Multān and Uchh⁵ he fled from Dihlī with a party of horsemen and made his way by forced marches towards Dipālpur.

Verse.

Seated upon that fleet Barāq⁶

He hastened steadfastly with unity of purpose.

¹ MS. (A) مکتوبی نوشت مشتمل بر.

² I read here بعد از قرار گرفتن مراجع although MS. (A) is the same as the text مراجع.

³ اولاق Ulāq or اولاق Ulāq travail sans salaire—cheval—courrier—petit bateau. (Paret de Courteille).

⁴ MS. (A) and text footnote.

⁵ The text has a misprint هه here.

⁶ The animal upon which Muhammad was mounted during his ascent to heaven known as the مراح (mi'rāj) Qur'ān XVII. i.

In the *Mishkātū-l-Maḡābīh* it is thus described, "After this a white animal was brought for me to ride upon. Its size was between that of a

And Ghāzi Malik himself previously to this had sent two hundred cavalry into the fort of Sarsuti. When Khusrā Khān awoke from his slumber of neglect he recognised that the departure of Malik Fakhra-d-Din Jānā was a strong proof of the decline of his own power: ¹ accordingly he despatched the son of Qurra Qumār, whom he had appointed 'Āriz-i-Mamālīk,² in pursuit of him. He proceeded as far as the town of Sarsuti, but on his arrival there was obliged to retrace his steps without finding an opportunity of accomplishing his object, and conveyed to Khusrā Khān tidings regarding the real state of affairs.

Ghāzi Malik, after the arrival of his son, was demonstrative ³ in his expressions of satisfaction, and gave effect to the aspirations of the Maliks; further by issuing orders for the commencement of the *jihād*⁴ he made amends for the previous delay, and gave full satisfaction to the demands of bravery by marching in the direction of Dīli.

Khusrā Khān having bestowed upon his brother Khān-i-Khānān the canopy and staff of office, despatched Sūfi Khān with the other Amirs of this cantile against Ghāzi Malik who for many years had done ycoman's service in the various wars with the Mughuls, and had everywhere returned victorious and triumphant. But on the other hand Malik Bahrām Ibs, the Governor of Multān and Uchh, arrived to reinforce Ghāzi Malik. The two armies selected as their field of battle a spot near the reservoir of Thānesar.⁵ At the first onset the breeze of victory blew favourably for the armies of Islām, the standards of the infidels

mule and an ass and it stretched as far as the eye could see. The name of the animal was Burāq" (*Mishkāt-i-Maḥabib*, Matthews, II. 651). The word Burāq signifies brilliant like lightning, or swift as lightning.

¹ MS. (A) reads *بروزی دولت خود*. ² Mastermaster General. See p. 291.

³ MS. (A) *نموده و*.

⁴ Holy war undertaken in defence of the religion of Islām.

⁵ *هوض ثپا نیسور*. This is the lake with which one of the alleged derivations of the name Sthāneswara is connected viz., Sthānu (a name of Mahādeo) and Sar a lake. See Huntq.: *Imp. Gaz.*, XIII. 260.

This holy lake is situated (says Cunningham) to the South of the town, it is called by various names. It is the centre of attraction for most pilgrims. It was in full repute in A.D. 500, but in the Puranic legends is given an antiquity long anterior even to the Paudās themselves, the sacred pool is at least as old as the Rig Veda itself (Cunningham, A.G. India, pp. 335-339.)

were overthrown, and the adherents of Khusrū Khān abandoning their elephants and horses, and ammunition and standards fled precipitately to Dihli. Ghāzi Malik with all speed pursued and scattered these ungrateful wretches¹ and reached Dihli in one long march.² Khusrū Khān having rallied his scattered and panic stricken forces, opened the doors of the treasury and gave his army three and four years' pay together with large rewards and promises of appointments and governorships; and things being as they were, he brought out from confinement in the *haram* the remainder of the princes of the family of 'Alān-d-Dīn whom he had blinded, and put them to death; then, led by hostile Fate, he marched on from the city in great force and proceeded to the Hanz-i-Khāss³ where he encamped, his camp extending in one line of tents from the Hanz-i-Khāss to Indrapath,⁴ while Ghāzi Malik encamped in the vicinity of the tomb⁵ of Sultān Razziya. In the meanwhile 'Ainu-l-Mulk, in accordance with agreement, having deserted the unsuccessful army of Khusrū Khān fled with haste towards Dhār and Ujjain;⁶ his defection was a cause of great despondency to the followers of Khusrū Khān. On the following day the array of battle was drawn up and the followers of the truth engaged in close conflict with the partisans of infidelity, and utterly vanquished the impious horde.

At the outset the army of Khusrū Khān obtained the mastery, and the army of Ghāzi Malik suffered a repulse, but Ghāzi Malik planting firmly the foot of resolution like another Rostum came to the rescue, and with three hundred cavalry, men of tried

¹ MS. (A) کافر و غمناک.

² The distance traversed in this march was about 80 miles as the crow flies, a long march but perfectly feasible for cavalry.

³ Barnī says the Hanz-i-'Alāi. The royal lake constructed by 'Alān-d-Dīn.

⁴ Indrapath. MS. (A) اندر پتہ. Barnī tells us that Ghāzi Malik's forces lay encamped at Indrapath so that the two camps were face to face. It lies just outside Dihli. Its etymology, Indraprastha, points it out as the probable place where Indra slew the Vritras with his thunderbolt formed of the head of the horse-headed Dadhyanch (see also Cunningham 335).

⁵ I read here حظيرة not خطيرة as in the text and MS. The burial place of Sultān Razziya is not apparently mentioned in any of the histories, but as she was taken prisoner at Kaithal and put to death there (638. H.) it is not unlikely that she was buried near Indrapath.

⁶ MS. (A) شتافت.

valour, whom he had kept in concealment in an ambush, utterly discomfited the infidel horde¹ and Malik Talbugha² Nāgor, and the son of Qurra Qumār³ with the other nobles of that ignoble kingdom, in that battle became food for the sword,⁴ as such hypocritical knaves should. Khusrū Khān brought to bear all temerity and manliness in spite of his unmanly character, and fought bravely till the close of the day, but⁵ at last finding he was unable to withstand these lionhearted warriors, he turned 221. his back in flight, and made for Talpath; his canopy and standards and borrowed⁶ retinue fell into the hands of Ghāzi Malik.

Khusrū Khān returning from Talpath came to the tomb of Malik Shādī⁷ who was an old patron of his, alone and distraught, and hid himself there in despair, but the following day they laid hands upon him, treating him with all possible indignity, and brought him to Ghāzi Malik,⁸ so that he reaped the reward of his infamous and abominable deeds.

Verse.

The tree thou didst nurture has borne its fruit,
Dost thou not see even now its fruit in its bosom,
If it has borne thorns it is thou who didst plant them,
If it has brought thee silk attire it is of thy own spinning.

And the following day Ghāzi Malik left Indrapath⁹ and alighted at Kāshk Sabzi.¹⁰ Great and small came out to welcome his coming, and gave vent to expressions of congratulation. The day following he went on to the city of Dihlī, where tidings was

1 MS. (A) جمعیت کافرانوا.

2 Shāyista Khān.

3 MS. (A) inserts و.

4 ما یستی.

5 MS. (A) آمد.

6 Text تلبه. MS. (A) تلبه.

7 MS. (A) omits بی دروغ.

8 MS. (A) omits ملک.

9 MS. A اندپته. The text reads تلبه. But the real reading should be اندپته, Indrapath, as is shown by what has gone before, and also by Barni.

10 كوشك سبزى "the Green palace" but although this is the reading of the text and both MSS, I think we should read for كوشك سبزى undoubtedly كوشك سیرى Kōshk-i-Sīrī, the palace of Sīrī. This is the reading of the Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī.

brought to him that the rascal Khān-i-Khānān had crept into the corner of a garden,¹ where he was lying concealed.

Malik Fakhr-d-Dīn proceeded by order of Ghāzī Malik, and having mutilated and disgraced him² paraded him about the city where he met with condign punishment. This event took place in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.). The duration of Khusrū Khān's rule was four months and a few days.

Verse.

That which thou doest they will show thee again,
That which thou givest, they will return thee the like.

SULTĀN³ Ghīyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh⁴

Who is the same as Ghāzī Malik, ascended the throne in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.) by the consent of the Amīrs and nobles and was styled by this title. In the space of one week he ordered and regulated the important affairs of the state with a perfection unattainable to others in the course of years.⁵

He appointed his own relations to various posts and showing many favours to the Amīrs of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and to some of the Maliks of Qutb-d-Dīn gave them districts. Then he directed his ambition to the rebuilding of the fortress of Tughlaqābād and all the lofty edifices, and set about it (without delay)⁶ and Badr Shā'ir Shāshī⁷ invented as a chronogram for the date of building

¹ MS. (A) omits و.

² ساختن *Musta Sākhān* is the term applied to a form of punishment which consisted of cutting off the nose, ears and lips. The literal meaning is "making a public example."

³ MS. (A). The text omits the prefix سلطان —

Barnī gives an account of the mode in which Ghāzī Malik succeeded to the throne, not as a usurper but as the rightful successor in the absence of any scion of the house of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Qutb-d-Dīn. (See Elliott, III. 228-229).

⁴ MS. (A) omits the words نورانی and the words are so foreign to the style of the author that they must be regarded as an interpolation. The Editor of the text supplies them from one copy. See footnotes to Text.

⁵ There is a difference here. The printed text reads سرگیا دران نمود *Shirgīyā darān namūd* showed great alacrity therein, but MS. (A) reads simply شروع دران نمود *Shirū' darān namūd* set about it. This seems the preferable reading.

⁶ Badr-d-Dīn Chāchī, "was a native of Chāch in Turkestan. He was a man of great repute as a scholar who passed a large portion of his life in

the fort (of Tughlaqābād)¹ the following : "Enter then her gates."² He brought to punishment also a body of men³ who during the glorious reign of Sultan Qutbu-d-Dīn had joined hands with Khusrū Khān and had aided and abetted the band of ruffians and scoundrels. He also gave the title of Ulugh Khān to Malik Fakhr-u-d-Dīn Jūnā⁴ who shewed marked signs of discretion and kingly dignity,⁵ and conferred on him a canopy and the other insignia of royalty, making him his heir-apparent; he also raised Bahrām Iba,⁶ who was the adopted brother of the Sultan,⁷ to the dignity of the title of Kishlū Khān, and entrusted to him the district of Multān and the whole of Sind. To his other four sons he gave the titles of Bahrām Khān, Zafar Khān, Mahmūd Khān and Naṣrat Khān.⁸

And in the year 721 A. H. [he appointed] Ulugh Khān [to proceed in command of his troops which were at Chandōri and Badāon and in the other eastern districts of Hindustān, towards Deogir and Tilang, and Ulugh Khān]⁹ taking with him the army of Deogir, invested the fortress of Arankal which for the past seven hundred years had been the capital of Rai Sadar Mahadeo and his ancestors, and having gained possession of the clay-built citadel forming the outer line of defence, was on the point of reducing the inner stone citadel also. In the

Dihli as the panegyrist of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh and other monarchs who provided his allotted portion from the tray of their bounty. His *Divān* consists of 2,000 couplets. His style is strange." (*Majma'ul Fughah* I. 169). The date of his death is not stated. See also Beale, O. B. D., p. 62.

¹ MS. (A) inserts تَغْلَا بِاِیْ.

² تَدْخُلُوْهَا. These words give the date 727 H.

³ Omit one ب from text.

⁴ MS. (A) omits بِسَرخُوْد which is in the printed text.

⁵ MS. (A) omits ۲. It is unnecessary.

⁶ MS. (A). The printed text has بِهَرَامِ اِلَهِ Bahrām Ullah.

⁷ The printed text adds the words تَغْلِيْ شَاْه.

⁸ See also the account given by Barnī which is almost identical with the above. (Elliott, III 230).

⁹ By the copyist's error the words included in square brackets have been omitted from MS. (A), he having omitted all the words following the first اَلْخَلِیْفَ and proceeding with the words following the second اَلْخَلِیْفَ. The printed text is correct.

meantime¹ 'Ubaid Rākātī² the poet, a turbulent fellow, the notorious³ opponent of Mir Khusrū (on whom be mercy) who rascal that he was wrote the following famous verses:

Khusrū's own verse was very raw, so by mistake he took Nizāmi's⁴ saucepan by mistake, his flummery⁵ to cook.

(Mir Khusrū in many of his compositions complains bitterly against him and Sa'd Falsafī) joining with Shaikhzāda Dīmishqī on the occasion of the late arrival of the stage from Dihli, spread a false report that the Sultān Tughlaq was no more, where-upon great dismay spread through the Muslims, 'Ubaid also terrified the Amirs by his account of Ulugh Khān, and infidels springing up put to death many of the soldiers of the army;⁶ Malik Tigīn and other revolutionary Amirs planned an insurrection against Ulugh Khān who with fifty sowās came by rapid marches to the metropolis, whereupon the Amirs took themselves off, each to his own district; and Malik Tigīn who had gone to the country between Multān and Jaisalmir⁷ was taken prisoner with his family, and Tājū-d-Dīn Tālaqānī, the son-in-law of Malik Tigīn who had escaped from prison, was captured⁸ on the banks of the river Sarū, and Ubaid (the poet)⁹ also was captured in the same way in a wretched

¹ MS. (A) reads دریں صیان.

² 'Ubaid. MS. (A) adds راگاتی Rākātī. See Beale, C. B. D., p. 275.

³ MS. (A) reads معارض مشهور.

⁴ Shaikh Nizāmi Ganjawi whose full name is Abu Muhammad Nizāmu-d-Dīn Ahmad Ilās ibn Abī Yūsuf ibn Mursayyid al Majarrazī, a celebrated poet, author of the Sikandar-Nāmā, also of other well-known works. His Khamsa (pentad) consists of *Khusrū* and *Shīrīn*, *Haft Paykar*, *Laili o-Majnun*, *Maḥzanu-l-Asrār* and *Sikandar Nāmā*.

His death is said by Beale to have occurred in 597 A. H. but according to the *Majma'ul Fuzūḥ* (I. 637) he died in the reign of Tughlul ibn Arslān the Saljūq, 576 A. H.

⁵ سکیا is a dish made of wheat flour, meat and vinegar. The word 'flummery' suggests itself from its etymological signification of raw, crude, harsh, W. Wymrued, (so named from its sourness). (vide Skeat. s. v.)

⁶ We should here read مردم لشکر MS. (A).

⁷ MS. (A) Lat. 26°. 55' N. Long. 70°. 57' E. in Rājputāna, C. I.

⁸ MS. (A) گرفتار گشت.

⁹ MS. (A) omits شاعر. Barnī says that he was impaled alive Firāhta says that he was buried alive. (See Elliott, III, 231-233).

plight. All this party with their families and friends, they cast under the feet of elephants, and those who escaped this fate met their death wherever they went.

And in the year 723 A. H. (1323 A.D.) Ulugh Khān for the second time marched towards Tilang; and Rāi Ladar Mahādeo again shut himself up in the fort.

Ulugh Khān gained possession of both the outer and inner citadels¹ by force of arms, and took the Rāi prisoner together with his family and followers, and leaving commissioners there drew off his army to Jājugar² and Bida.,³ and having taken as spoil many elephants and other property with jewels and valuables without number [sent them] to Dihli [and despatched Rāo Ladar also to the capital and having given to Arankal the name of Sultānpūr] returned to Dihli.⁴

And in the year 724 A.H. (1324 A.D.), Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-224
Din Tughlaq Shāh, upon the occasion of the tyranny of the governors of Bengal, left Ulugh Khān as his viceroy in the capital Tughlaqābād which had been built in the space of three years and a fraction, entrusting to his sound judgment the whole civil administration, and left for Lakhnauti with a firm intention of setting things straight; Sultān Nāsiru-d-Dīn the ruler of Lakhnauti, with the notable princes of those districts hastened to meet the Sultān and placed their necks under his yoke; Sultān Tughlaq Shāh conferred upon Sultān Nāsiru-d-Dīn the canopy and staff of office and all other insignia of royalty, entrusted Lakhnauti once more to his control and sent a despatch announcing his success to Dihli; then he sent on in advance Tātār Khān his adopted son, the Governor of Zafarābād who brought Bahādur Shāh otherwise known as Tūda (? Nūda) the Governor of Sunār Gānw who was boasting his independence, with a chain around

¹ MS. (A) حصار درونی و بیرونی.

² Or Jāpur, the former capital of Orissa (See *Hunter's Gazetteer*, Vol. VII and *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XVIII for a full account of this place).

³ Bida (or Bedar). Town in the Nizām's dominions, Haiderābād Deccan, 75 miles N.W. of Haiderābād town. Lat. 17° 53' N. Long. 77° 34' E. (See *Hunter's Gazetteer*, Vol. II, 419).

⁴ The words enclosed in square brackets are by a copyist's error omitted in MS. (A), the word Dihli occurring twice has misled the copyist. The printed text is correct.

his neck, and accompanied by all his elephants into the royal presence at the Court

Sultān Tughlaq Shāh taking Bahādur Shāh with him, victorious and triumphant returned to Dillī, and proceeding by double stages made forced marches. Ulugh Khān upon hearing this news gave immediate orders for the erection of a lofty and noble palace near Afghānpur which is at a distance of three *brohs* from Tughlaqābād. It was completed in three days, so that Sultān Tughlaq Shāh might alight there,¹ and having passed the night in it and having rested might depart thence at an auspicious moment and alight at Tughlaqābād.

The Sultān arrived there and Ulugh Khān having gone out to meet him with all the nobles and grandees, spread a banquet of welcome. The Sultān gave orders for the elephants which he had brought with him from Bengal to be raced, and as the foundation of the New Palace was new and unsettled the palace began to shake and totter with the tramp of the elephants. When the people became aware that the Sultān was mounting with all haste, they hurriedly came out from the palace, without even washing their hands. The Sultān Tughlaq Shāh was engaged in washing his hands² and so did not come out. In consequence he washed his hands of life and the palace fell in upon him³

We should not lose sight of the fact that from having built a palace such as this, which was quite unnecessary, there is a suspicion that Ulugh Khān may have built the palace⁴ without

¹ These words are repeated twice in MS (A).

² The text has *بِقَرَابِ دَسْتِ شِسْتَن* but MS (A) reads *شِسْتَن* the latter is correct. MS (A) also omits the words *وَأَنْ خَانَهُ* (line 2 of the printed text).

³ Barnī gives a different version, attributing the fall of the palace to a thunderbolt which descended from the sky. (Elliott, III. 285) Firāhta gives a somewhat similar account to Badīonī; without specifically stating the cause, he alludes to the suspicion which attached to Ulugh Khān of being designedly close by the author of the catastrophe, but discredits it. He further tells us that according to *Ṣīdr Juhān Gajarātī*, Ulugh Khān had raised the palace by magic, and the magical art being withdrawn it fell; he proceeds "Hājī Muḥammad Qandahārī says that it was struck by lightning and this does not seem at all improbable" (Firāhta Briggs, I. 408).

⁴ MS. (A) *قَصْرًا* *qasr rā* The text has *قَصْدًا* *qasdan* purposely.

foundations¹ as was currently ramoured, but the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* makes no mention of this although this may possibly be due to a desire to flatter Fīroz Shāh and out of regard for him.

This event took place in the year 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh was four years and some months.

Verse.

If thou placest the world beneath thy feet
Thou wilt not sleep at last in thine own place.

It is currently reported among the people of India that Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq, on account of the ill will he bore to Sultān-i-Mashāikh, sent a message to the Shaikh while on the way to Lakhnauti to this effect, "After my arrival at Dihli, either the Shaikh will be (ruler) there or I." * The Shaikh replied, "Dihli is still some way off." † This saying became proverbial from that day and gained currency.

The *Tughlaq Nāma* of Mīr Khusrū which was the latest of his works, was written in verse in honour of the Sultān and in obedience to his order.

The death of the Sultān-i-Mashāikh and also of Mīr Khusrū occurred in the same year as has already been stated.

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD 'ADIL IBN TUGHLAQ SHĀH.

That is to say Ulugh Khān, by the agreement of the Amīrs and

¹ *مخوف* literally means "hollow" but in its grammatical sense implies weakness due to want of proper support cf. *فعل اجوف* "hollow" verb: a verb of which the middle letter is weak.

* In accordance with the proverb *دو درویش در گلیمی* *dū darrīsh dar gulīme nakhuspand*. Two dervishes cannot sleep in one blanket; or again the proverb *دو شمشیر در یک نیلم* *dū shamshīr dar yak nīlām naqhuspand*. Two swords will not go into one scabbard; as we say: There cannot be two kings in Brentford.

† This is a well-known proverb and has come from the Persian into common use in Urdu, used to express the fatuity of an incompetent person attempting any task, or on an occasion of unnecessary haste. "It's a far cry to Loch Awe" Bochnak in his collection of Oriental proverbs does not give this as a Persian, but as an Urdu proverb. Its origin is clear from our author's statement.

26. officers of the Court ascended the royal throne in the year 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.),¹ and after performing the ceremonial mourning for the space of forty days,² went to the treasure house of the kings of former ages, and gave largesse such as exceeds all bounds of description, and having distributed appointments and offices among the Amirs, he made Malik Firoz his uncle's son (who is the same person as Sultān Firoz) *Nāib-ul-Mulk*, and advanced the dignity of his near relations in the same manner. *Hamīd Lawikī*, too, was raised to an exalted position and Malik Sartez obtained the title of *'Imādu-l-Mulk*, Malik *Khurram* that of *Zahīru-l-Juyūsh* (Inspector of the Forces) Malik *Pindār Khiljī* was given the title of *Qadr Khān*, and Malik *Izzu-d-Din Yahyā* that of *Ā'zamu-l-Mulk*, the district of *Satgānw* being also confirmed to him.

And in the year 727 A.H. (1326-1327 A.D.) the Sultān having formed the design of proceeding to Deogir, posted a chain of *dhāwa*,³ that is to say *pāiks*, or runners, as guards at distances of one *kroh* along the whole road⁴ from Dihlī to Deogir, built a palace and a monastery at each stage and appointed⁵ a *Shaikh* to each. They used to keep in constant readiness food and drink, betel-leaf⁶ and all provisions for hospitality; and in

¹ According to *Firishṭa* on the third day after the funeral obsequies of his father.

² The period here mentioned of forty days is the same as that enjoined in olden times to the Israelites: thus we find in *Genesis* i. 3, speaking of the death of Jacob "the physicians embalmed Israel and forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of these which are embalmed; and the Egyptians mourned for him three score and ten days. But in *Numbers* xx. 29, we find that the congregation mourned for Aaron thirty days.

The period of three days only is enjoined on Muhammadans, except in the case of widows who must perform the special ceremony of mourning called *Ihdād* for four months and ten days. Among Hindūs the period of mourning is thirty days. (See *Matthew*, *Mishkātul-Maṣābih* i. 380).

³ The word *دھوا* here spelt *دھوا* is a Sanskrit word धावः rt. धाव् to run. *پایک* *pāyik* its Persian equivalent has a more usual form *پیک* *pāik*.

⁴ MS. A omits *درواه*.

⁵ MS. (A) نصب قروود.

⁶ The leaf of *Charica bella* (Miq.) N.O. Piperaceæ is used in conjunction with lime for mastication as a stomachic. The leaves containing a portion of the nut of *Areca catechu*, known as *Supārī*, some lime (*chānn*) catechu (*lath*) and various aromatics, such as cinnamon, cloves, &c., and rolled together

both¹ (palaces and monasteries) guides were stationed who were ordered to see that travellers suffered no annoyance. The traces of these (rest-houses) remained for many years. He gave Deogir the name of Daulatābād² and considering it as the centre of his dominions³ made it the metropolis, and conveyed Makhdūma-i-Jahān his mother, with all his family and relations, the Amīrs and Malīks, the notables of the city, his servants and dependents, and all his treasure to Daulatābād: all the Saiyyids and Shāikhs and 'Ulamā⁴ also proceeded thither in the following of Makhdūma-i-Jahān, and the stipends and emoluments of all of them were doubled, but in accordance with the saying "Exile is the gravest of all calamities and banishment is the sorest of all afflictions" this desolation of Dihli and its desertion was a source of great dis-

into the form of a cone and skewered with a small piece of wood and offered for sale. In this condition they are known as khili, بیرا بیرا or گلمری gilmurī. The distribution of this بیرا pln or betel, forms an important part on all ceremonial occasions, generally as a final act of hospitality before the guests depart. To European palates the bīra is anything but pleasant, it has a pungent somewhat acrid taste. It is a powerful analagogue.

The medicinal virtues of the Charica betle are supposed to be great. The leaves smeared with mustard oil and applied hot to the chest in several layers are used as poultices in pulmonary catarrhs, or in painful affections of the liver. They are said also to arrest the secretion of milk when applied to the breasts. A form of cancer known as "betle-chewer's cancer" has been described by Dr. Ellott of Colombo.

The plant is said to be a native of Java whence it has been introduced. It grows best in a hot moist climate such as that of Lower Bengal where it is largely cultivated. (*Drury, Useful Plants of India*).

¹ MS. (A) omits the word بازار.

² MS. (A) نام نهاد. See page 271, note 6, of this volume.

³ MS. (A) صیانت و ایات omits خود.

⁴ The word Saiyyid (سید) is a term used to denote the descendants of Muhammad from his daughter Fātima by 'Alī. The Sultan of Zanzibār also adopts this as his regal title.

Shāikh (شیخ) is a term of honour denoting some considerable reputation in the religious world: a doctor of religion and law, a head or chief of some religious order, a chief of a tribe: or a reputed saint.

The two first Khawās Abū Bakr and 'Umar are known as الشیخان. Ash Shāikhān. The two Shāikhs.

The term 'Ulamā (علماء) includes all religious teachers as Imāms, Muftis, Qāzīs, Maulavis, (see Hughes Dictionary of Islam, also D'Herbelot.)

comfort to the inhabitants, large numbers of the feeble and widows, the helpless and indigent perished by the way, while even those who arrived in safety, could not settle there; and towards the end of the above-mentioned year Malik Bahādur Gurshasp the Inspector-General of the Forces, raised a rebellion in Dihli,¹ and Malik Aiyāz, who held the title of Khawāja-i-Jahān, fought with Bahādur and defeated him. Bahādur was taken prisoner and brought before the Sultān and met his punishment. After that, Malik Bahrām Iba the adopted brother of Sultān Tughlaq raised a rebellion in Multān,² and put to death 'Alī Khataī who had been sent from Dihli to summon him thither. The Sultān, in order to put down this rebellion, left Daulatābād for Dihli and thence by uninterrupted marches reached Multān. Bahrām having come out³ against him fought with him, but was defeated and eventually put to death, his head was brought to the Sultān who intended to set the blood of the Multānis flowing like rivers on account of his crime, but when the Shaikh-i-Islām Qutbu-l-'Alam Shaikh Ruknu-l-Haqq wan-d-Din Quraishi,⁴ may God sanctify his holy resting place, having bared his venerable head presented himself at the Court of the Sultān and made intercession, the Sultān pardoned the offences of the people.

Verso

From the earliest times of Adam till the days of the king.
Great men have shewn mercy⁵ mean men have committed
faults.

And the Sultān having bestowed Multān upon Qiwāmu-l-Mulk Maqbūl retraced his steps, but after some little time⁶ having turned

¹ Barni makes no mention of this occurrence. Firishṭa gives an account of it, but calls the rebel Bahāu-d-din and states that he was governor of Sāgur. The year assigned by him to this revolt in which Bahāu-d-din Gurshasp was defeated is 739 A. H. twelve years later than Badāonī's date, according to Briggs (I 418). A reference to the original text, however, shews that the date given by Firishṭa is the same as Badāonī's date. Firishṭa Bo Text I. 241.

² MS. (A) باغي شد.

³ MS. (A) بمقابله آمد و مقاتله نمود.

⁴ *Am-i-Akbār* (Jarratt), III. 365.

⁵ MS. (A) عقوبت و.

⁶ MS. (A) چند گاهی.

against him despatched Behzād to replace him, but Shāhū Lodī the Afghān¹ killed Behzād and broke out into open rebellion. The Sultān on his arrival at Dīpāl-pūr found that Shāhū had fled into the hill country,² so he turned back.

And in the year 729 A.H. (1329 A.D.) Narma Shirīn the Mughul,³ the brother of Qutlugh Khwāja the Mughul King of Khurāsān who had formerly invaded Hindūstān, having entered the Dīhlī territory⁴ with an enormous army, reduced the majority of the forts, and proceeded slaughtering and taking captives from Lāhor and Sāmāna and Indarī to the borders of Badāon; and when the victorious troops of Islām came up with him, he retreated as they advanced; the Sultān pursued him⁵ as far as the frontier of Kalānor and defeated him, and leaving the destruction of that fort in the hands of Mujīru-d-Dīn Abūrijā returned in the direction of Dīhlī. At this time the Sultān formed the opinion that in consequence of the refractory conduct of his subjects in the Doāb it was advisable to double the taxes levied on that country; he also instituted numbering their cattle and a house census, and other vexatious and oppressive measures, which were the cause of the complete ruin and desolation of the country,⁶ the weak were utterly destroyed and the strong laid the foundations of rebellion. The Sultān gave orders for the remainder of the inhabitants of Dīhlī and the adjoining towns to start for Daulatabād, caravan by caravan, the houses were to be purchased from their owners, and the price of them to be paid in cash out of the public treasury, in addition to which large rewards were to be offered. By these means Daulatabād was populated, and Dīhlī

¹ MS (A) افغان. The text reads افغانان

² The printed text has در کوه پايه but MS (A) has کوه پايه. The text is correct.

³ MS (A) مغول. The spelling مغول adopted throughout the printed text is incorrect, but is preserved as it is the commonly accepted form. Mr. Noy Elias in his introduction to the translation of the *Tārīkh-i-Roḡhāḡī* (p. 73, note 1) says that it takes a sharp ear to distinguish the exact pronunciation of the word as spoken by a true Mongol. It sounds as often Mo-ghol or Ma-el as Mongol. It has, he says, always the vowel sound of o, and never that of e which is a foreign introduction.

⁴ MS. (A) آمد.

⁵ MS. (A) تعاقب او نمود و.

⁶ MS. (A) omits آن.

became so deserted that there was not left even a dog or a cat in the city. The following verse describes its condition:—

Verse.

There where the heart-ravishing one used to toy with her
friends in the garden,
The wolf and the fox had their home, and the rhinoceros
and vulture their abode.

This state of affairs also led to a diminution of the public funds. Among other sources of loss to the treasury was this that the Sultān enacted that the *muhar*¹ of copper should become current on an equal footing with the *muhar* of silver, and any one who showed reluctance to receive it used to be instantly punished severely. This enactment led to many corrupt practices in the kingdom as a matter of course, and unscrupulous and contumacious rascals used everywhere in their own houses to set up mints and stamp coins,² and taking them into the cities used to purchase with them silver and horses, weapons and fine things, and thus rose to great wealth and dignity. But inasmuch as copper had no value as a currency in places at a distance and one *tanka* of gold rose to the value of fifty or sixty copper coins, the Sultān perceived the worthlessness of the copper coinage, and issued an edict to the effect that every one who had in his house a copper *tanka* should, if he brought them to the public treasury, receive for them golden *tankas* in equal value.³ The people

¹ Firigha does not use the word *muhar* مهر and it would appear here to have the meaning of "coin" in its general sense. The round *muhar* in Akbār's time was of the weight of eleven māshas and was worth nine rupees (*Ain-i-Akbārī* I. 80). Barnī uses it in the same way as Badāonī. See Barnī Calcutta text, p. 475, line 10 et seqq.

² MS. (A) omits the word مس but it seems probable that this illicit coining was mainly confined to copper. Barnī states that the Hindūs of every province coined krors and lakhs of copper coins, so also Firigha.

³ The Persian text is: تنگهای زر برابر آن نبرد. This can hardly mean that for every copper *tanka* a golden *tanka* would be given, and yet the wording of the preceding line gives colour to this view. It runs as follows هر کس در خانه مس در خانه باشد "Every one who has in his house a copper *tanka*." Barnī's account is much the same, Firigha's is more explicit, but it is not clear whether the coins were exchanged at their relative metal value or their face value. It however is most probable that the copper *tanka* having

profited greatly by this arrangement, till at last copper became copper and silver silver, and those copper tankas were lying in heaps in Tughlaqābād as late as the time of *Salṭān Mubārak Shāh* according to the author of the *Tā'rikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, and had no more value than stones. God knows the truth.

And in the year¹ 738 A.H. (1337 A.D.) he despatched a force of eighty thousand² cavalry under eminent commanders to capture the mountain of *Himāchal*³ which stands between the country of *Chin* and *Hindustān*, and which they also call *Qarāchal*⁴ with orders to leave garrisons in each successive place so that the line of communications for transport and supplies might remain open and the road of return might be easy. After the entry of this army into this country, by reason of the peculiar features of that mountain, on which heavy clouds form and rain pours in torrents at the sound of men's voices and their shouts and the neighing of horses, in consequence also of the narrowness of the

been artificially pronounced equal in value to the silver tanka, was repurchased by the treasury at that same value, so that the dislocation of the currency and its consequent disasters are easily intelligible. See Elliott III. 240, Brigg's *Firishṭa* I. 415

Although Brigg's translation leaves us in doubt as to this, the text of *Firishṭa* is perfectly clear on the subject. and we see that these copper tankas were issued as tokens with an artificial value, and it was when the *Salṭān* found that the copper currency was distrusted by his people who found it was not received in foreign countries, that he hit upon the expedient of offering to exchange the copper tankas for silver or gold tankas, hoping thereby, as *Firishṭa* says, to rehabilitate the copper tankas, but the people were too wise for this, and threw the whole stock getting and counterfeit alike upon the Treasury which was thus drained of gold and silver. *Firishṭa* (Go. Ed. p. 239).

For a full account of this forced currency See Thomas *Pāthān Kings* pp 239, et seqq.

¹ MS. (A) در سال.

² Omit و *Firishṭa* says 100,000.

³ *Himāchal*. Snowy mountain. The *Colcutta Text* of *Barnī* calls this mountain قراجل misprint probably for قراجل p. 477, line 16, &c.

⁴ *Rashīd-u-d-Dīn* in the *Jāmi'u l-Tawārīkh* (Elliott, I. 49) states "Besides these mountains there are others called *Kalārchal* (called also by the same author in another passage *Lārjal*). The editor notes "The mountains of *Birūz*." *Reinard* reads the name "Kolarājak." *Ibn Batūta* calls them "Kārāchil" (Vol III. 326). The latter part of the name is probably the Sanskrit *śchal* mountain. The first part may be the Turki word قراجل signifying black; from the intense cold of such a snowy range

paths and the scarcity of fodder, the patrols were not able to stand to their posts, and the hill tribes getting the upper hand drove back the army, and falling upon the rear of the force killed many of them with poisoned arrows and stone showers, and sending the most of them to the eternal world enabled them to attain martyrdom, taking the rest prisoners.¹ For a long time they wandered helplessly among the mountains, and those who escaped after countless hardships the Sultān visited with condign punishment.² And after this calamity so great an army never gathered round the Sultān and all that money expended in their pay was thrown away.

And in the year 739 A H (1338 A.D.) Bahrām Khān Governor of Sunargānw died, and Malik Fakhr-u-d-Dīn Silāhdār became rebellious and assumed the title of Sultān, and having fought with Qadr Khān the ruler of Lakhnautī in conjunction with Malik Husamu-d-Dīn Abūrijā the *Mustaufī*, and 'Izzu-d-Dīn Yaluyā *A'zamu-l-Mulk*, was defeated, and all his sources of grandeur, his treasure and his retainers fell into the hands of Qadr Khān; and when the rainy season had arrived the horses belonging to Qadr Khān died, and he had collected much money³ and had stored it up in heaps in his own house with the object of presenting it to the Sultān. In spite of all that Husamu-d-Dīn Aburjā could do to dissuade him from amassing wealth and inducing men to covet it and thus leading to disorder, Qadr Khān would not listen, till eventually the very result predicted by Husamu-d-Dīn ensued; Malik Fakhr-u-d-Dīn returned, and the soldiery of Husamu-d-Dīn joined him and killed their own master, and all the money fell to the lot of Fakhr-u-d-Dīn. The absolute control of Sunargānw was given him; he appointed one Mukhlis a servant of his, to Lakhnautī, and 'Alī Mubārik Inspector of Troops; Qadr Khān put Mukhlis to death and aspired at independence, writing diplomatic letters to the court of the Sultān. The Sultān appointed Malik Yūsuf, but he died by the way, and the Sultān, having other affairs to attend to, omitted to send any one else to that district.⁴

¹ Barnī states that the Hindūs of Qarājā seized the passes behind the advancing force, and that of all the force only ten sewars returned. (p. 478). See also Elliott, III. 242

² According to Firishṭa all those who escaped were put to death by order of the Sultān.

³ MS. (A) omits *و مال*

⁴ MS. (A) *محمی دیگر بان جادب*

At this juncture 'Ali Mubārak by reason of the enmity he bore to Fakhru-d-Dīn, displayed the insignia of royalty, and assumed the title of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and Malik Ilyās Hajī who was a man of family and retinue, after a few days put 'Alāu-d-Dīn to death with the assistance of some of the Amīra and Maliks of Lakḥnauti, and himself assumed the title of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn.

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And in the year 741 A.H. (1340 A.D.) Sultān Muḥammad having left with the object of reducing Sanārgāw, seized Fakhru-d-Dīn and brought him prisoner to Lakḥnauti, where he put him to death and returned. Shamsu-d-Dīn became absolute monarch of that region, and the kingly power and authority over that country descended for a lengthened period in the hands of his sons,¹ and never again returned to the possession of Sultān Muḥammad 'Adil.

And in the year 742 A.H. (1341 A.D.) Saiyyid Hasan Kuthali the father of Malik Ibrahim a feoffee of the Sultān, who was generally known as Hasan Kāngū, and who eventually obtained the sovereignty of the Deccan with the title of 'Alāu-d-Dīn Bahman Shāh, fermented a revolt in Ma'bar on the grounds of the severity of the Sultān's governors, and the innovations introduced in the laws, and the number of executions,² and gained over to his own party nearly all the great men of Dihlī who had been appointed to that district. He put to death the leaders of the opposite party. The Sultān proceeded from Lakḥnauti to Deogīr for the purpose of quelling that disturbance, and on his arrival at Tilang was taken ill, and was forced to return by uninterrupted marches to Dihlī. He left Qutluḡ Khān in Daulatābād; thus the rebellion in Ma'bar remained unchecked and Hasan's influence increased rapidly.

And in the year 743 (1342 A.D.) they put to death by treachery Malik Halājun and Kuti Chander Khākhar and Malik Tātār Khurd, the Governor of Lāhore,³ and when Khwāja-i-Jahān came up against them,⁴ they came out to do battle with him, but the scoundrels suffered a severe defeat and were sorely punished.

¹ MS. (A) reads مدتى مدید در عهد قریندان او بود.

² MS. (A) has not the word قتل او simply.

³ MS. (A) has کل چندر and کشنده. The text has گشتند which seems preferable.

⁴ MS. (A) omits نامزد شد and reads رقت.

And in the year 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.) the Sultān passing through Sanām and Sāmāna gave orders to the Saiyyids and all the Muslims in opposition to the advice of Ḥasan Kānkū, for a general massacre, but he kept the chief men of those districts in their posts, conveyed them to the suburbs of the city, and conferred upon them villages and districts, and bestowing many rich robes of honour, and purses of gold gave them a place of abode there; and when a general famine arose he issued an edict that any one who wished should proceed to the eastern part of Hindustān and spend the days of dearth and scarcity there, without let or hindrance, and in the same way if any person wishing to give up living in Daulatābad should return to Dillī, no one would molest him. Moreover in that year so many people arrived in Hindustān from the countries of Khurāsān and 'Irāq and Samarqand, in the hope of receiving the bounty of the Sultān, that hardly any other races were to be seen in that country.

And in this year Hāji Sa'id Saḡarī¹ arrived from Egypt bearing the diploma of the Khalīfah² with a banner and a robe of honour, conferring upon the Sultān the title of Nāḡir-i-Amīn-i-Mū'minīn from the Khalīfah of the Abbāsides who were still extant. The Sultān ordered decorations and illuminations in the city, and proceeded with all the Shaiḫs and Saiyyids and his retainers to give him an honourable reception, then, dismounting, he kissed the feet of Hāji Sa'id and joined his retinue. He then re-established the Friday prayers and the 'Id, which all this time he had kept in abeyance waiting for the orders and sanction of the Khalīfah, he read the *Ḍu'ā* in the name of the Khalīfah, and struck out the names of those kings who had not received authority from the Dār-ul-Khilāfah, with the exception of Sultān Mahmūd. He then gave largesse³ of money and valuables to such an extent that his treasury became exhausted, he also des-

¹ The printed text reads صوري, but MS. (A) has صوري. So has also Barnī, Cal. text p. 492, l. 10, and 13. (See also Elliott, III. 249).

Barnī gives a good account of the events preceding this mark of favour from the Khalīfah, a course of fulsome adulation seems to have been then, as in more modern times, the royal road to favour.

² Al Ḥikm bi Amr Illāhi Abūl 'Abbās Aḥmad ibn al Muṭakkfi bilāhi, who was proclaimed in 741 A. H. For an account of these Egyptian Khalīfahs, see Thomas' Pathan Kings, pp. 237 and seqq. Also D'Herbelot.

³ MS. (A) نثار.

patched to Egypt a precious jewel, the like of which he had not in his treasury, by the hands of Hājī Barq'ai, with other rarities and presents; and having become, in his own opinion, the rightful Khalifah, and keeping constantly placed before him the Qar'ān¹ and the honorary presents and the patent of the Khalifah, would issue commands as though he were the Khalifah, and used to say 233. "The Khalifah says" this or that. He compelled the people to profess allegiance to the Khalifah, and went to Sarkdawāri which is in the vicinity of Ghamsābād, and on two or three occasions² in Barūj and Kanbhāyat also³ he received patents from the Khalifah, and a second time the Makhdūmzāde-i-Baghdādī⁴ came to visit him, and the Sultān went on foot to Pālam to receive him; and when he saw him from afar off he advanced to meet him, and seated him upon the throne beside himself and made over to him without reservation, the city of Kili⁵ with the garden and the palace and all the buildings.

And in the year 745 A. H. (1344 A. D.) Malik Nizāmu-l-Mulk governor of Karra, raised a rebellion, Shahr-u-llah the brother of Ainn-l-Mulk brought up an army against him from Oadh and took him prisoner, but the rebellion was quelled. Then Shihābu-d-din Sultān wazed riotous in Bidar, and Qutlugh Khān was despatched against him, and Shihābu-d-din coming out with his son to do battle was besieged in the fortress, and Qutlugh Khān inducing him to come out by promises of quarter, sent him to the royal presence.

And in the year 746 A. H. (1345 A. D.) 'Alī Sher sister's son to Zafar Khān 'Alā'ī gained possession of Gulbarga⁶ in strong force, having put to death the ruler of Bidar, and taking much spoil,

¹ MS. (A) reads مصنف مشارق. All MSS. read مشارق which has no intelligible meaning. We must read here مشارف in the sense of 'honours,' i.e., the banner and robe of honour sent by the Khalifah to him.

² MS. (A) omits دیگر نیز.

³ MS. (A) نیز Broach and Cambay. Hunter Imp. Gaz., III. 101.

⁴ Ghūsu-d-din Muhammad, a son of a great-grandson of the Khalif of Baghdād Al-Mustansir-billahi (Thomas, P. K. D. 257, note 1).

⁵ A full account of this is given by Ibn Batūta (Paris, Edn. iii. 258 and seqq.) who writes و اعطاه جميع مدينة سيدي قطا. He gave him in fief the city of Sīrī. Barnī (Calcutta text p. 408) says و کوشک سیوی و قلعه سیوی.

مصنوع درون حصار سیوی.

⁶ MS. (A). See Imp. Gaz., VIII. 332.

fought with Qutluḡh Khān, but was defeated and obliged to retreat to the fortress of Bīdar where he shut himself up. Qutluḡh Khān however took him also prisoner, and sent him to Sarkdawārī which was the camp of the Sultān's army. The Sultān in the first instance sent the captives to Ghaznī in exile, but afterwards recalled them thence and put them all to death.

And in the year 747 A.H. (1346 A.D.) at the time when the Sultān had made Sarkdawārī his camp, 'Ainu-l-Mulk arrived at the Court, bringing from Zafarābād and Oudh much property and rarities of great value as presents; then the Sultān came to the conclusion that it was advisable to recall Qutluḡh Khān from the Dakkan, and send 'Ainu-l-Mulk to replace him. 'Ainu-l-Mulk got some idea into his head, and fled by night from Sarkdawārī and crossing the river Ganges made for Oudh, and his brother Shahrullāh laid hands upon certain of the elephants and horses¹ belonging to the king, which had been left behind to graze, and carried them off. The Sultān went in pursuit of them as far as Qanauj, and 'Ainu-l-Mulk, at the instigation of his brothers and a party of the followers of Malik Firoz Nāib Barbak, who had been placed in charge of the elephants and horses, crossed the river Ganges and coming over to this side² attacked the army of the Sultān, and like the thieves and Gawārs (of India)³ took to the woods and fought on foot, but not being able to stand against the elephants and archers of the king took to flight,⁴ and Shahrullāh and his other brother together with the majority of the *sirdārs* of 'Ainu-l-Mulk were drowned, and the remainder fell by the swords of the soldiers, and the fugitives were taken prisoners by the *Gawārs*, who having found 'Ainu-l-Mulk alive took him on their shoulders⁵ and brought him bareheaded⁶ to the court and gave him a few days respite,⁷ and the Sultān in consideration of his excellent

¹ MS. (A) omits *را*.

² MS. (A) طرف.

³ MS. (A) omits *هند*.

⁴ MS. (A) نمودند.

⁵ The text reads *برلاشته برداشته* and so does also MS. (A). It seems probable however that this is an erroneous reading due to the repetition of *برداشتنه* in the original copy.

⁶ MS. (A) reads *برهنه* naked.

⁷ Barnī entirely omits all reference to the events here recorded. The *Gawārs* are a race of gypsies in India according to Steingaes. I can find no mention of them in Sherring's *Hindu Castes*, nor in Elliott's *Tribes of the N. W.*

services gave him his freedom, and in accordance with his former custom treated him well, and giving him a district sent him back to Dihli; then he recalled Qutluḡ Khān from the Dakkan, but inasmuch as Qutluḡ Khān had reduced that country to excellent order and had gained the good will of the people, his recall was the cause of great discontent (and disaffection)¹ and 'Azīz Khumār² who was one of the *cunails*, proceeding to Mālwa put to death many centurions (or Amīrs of a hundred) which is the meaning of the word Yūzbāshī³ in accordance with the Sultān's orders, and thence arose many insurrections.

And in the year 748 A.H. (1347 A.D.) the captains of hundreds, stirred up rebellion and sedition in Gujrāt against Muqbīl the servant of Khwāja-i-Jalān who was *nāib-nazir* of Gujrāt, and was bringing treasure to the Court, and attacked him by night, getting possession of the treasure and horses and property belonging to the king. The Sultān arrived at Gujrāt with the object of quelling this rebellion, and sent some of the trustworthy Amīrs as for instance Malik 'Alī Sarjāndūr, and Ahmad Lāchīn to Daulatābād to bind the Amīrs of hundreds who were there and bring them to Court. As soon as Malik Ahmad Lāchīn arrived at the pass of Manikganj, the Amīrs of hundreds in their alarm⁴ came to a common understanding, and put Malik Ahmad Lāchīn to death; Azīz Khumār who had gone from Gujrāt to oppose the Amīrs of hundreds of Dabhoi⁵ and Baroda, on coming face to face with the insurgents lost his head,⁶ fell from his horse and was taken prisoner. This news had reached the Sultān and had augmented his wrath considerably. And after the defeat of Muqbīl and the murder of 'Azīz, the Amīrs of hundreds waxed bold, and sent for their families and relations from all directions, and with one consent turned against the Sultān⁷ and having captured the fortress of Daulatābād from the governors of Malik 'Alam took possession of it, and raising

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¹ MS. (A) omits وقصور.

² MS. (A) عزیز حمار Azīz Hmar.

³ یوزباشی Commandant de cent hommes. (l'aveu de Courtoille).

⁴ MS. (A) omits the words جان خویش.

⁵ MS. (A) The text is wrong here. Dabhoi. See Tietz, I. 372. also map, Vol. III. see also Hunter, Imp. Gaz., IV. 76; and Bayley, History of Gujrāt.

⁶ دست و پا گم کرده (Lit.) Had lost his hands and feet.

⁷ The printed text reads طایفه بپیر سلطان which is meaningless. MS. (A) reads لا سلطان and this seems the correct reading.

to the throne one Isma'il Fath gave him the title of Sultān Nāṣir-u-d-Dīn. After this the Amirs of hundreds of Dabhoi and Baroda over whom the Sultān had appointed other Amirs, being defeated by the army opposed to them joined hands with the Amirs of hundreds of Daulatābād. When the Sultān went to Daulatābād Isma'il Fath prepared to give him battle, but being defeated shut himself up in the fortress of Dhārānagar by which is meant the citadel¹ of Daulatābād; many Muslims of Daulatābād were slain in this rebellion, or were made prisoners, and Malik² 'Imādu-l-Mulk Sartez was ordered to pursue³ the fugitive Amirs of hundreds towards Bidar. In the meantime tidings arrived of the rebellion in Gujrāt of Malik Taghi, who, having put to death Malik Muzaffar the governor of that place, had obtained possession⁴ of a large number of horses and much property. Thereupon the Sultān leaving in Dhārānagar Malik Janhar and Khudāwandzāda Qiwāmu-d-Dīn and Shaikh Burhānu-d-Dīn Balārāmī⁵ left to quell the rebellion of Taghi; the army which had fled from Daulatābād under the leadership of Hasan Kāngū, coming out of hiding attacked⁷ 'Imādu-l-Mulk Sartez. 'Imādu-l-Mulk was slain, and his army fled to Daulatābād and sought shelter there, and Malik Janhar with Khudāwandzāda Qiwāmu-d-Dīn and the other Amirs not being able to withstand Hasan in Daulatābād evacuated those districts and made for Dhārānagar. Hasan Kāngū pursued them and came to Daulatābād,⁸ and having driven out Isma'il Fath assumed the title of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and usurped the government, and from that time forward the rule of the districts of Daulatābād and the overignty of that kingdom remained in his family. The history called *Futūḥ-u-s-Salāṭīn*⁹ was written in his honour. And Taghi

¹ ارگ *arg*, a small fort built between two large forts (Burhān-i-Qāṣi'). MS. (A) spells this word ارگ *irk*.

² The printed text reads ملک منایت حمادالملک MS. (A) omits منایت. Barnī calls him ملک حمادالملک سر تیز سلطانی Malik 'Imādu-l-Mulk Sartez-i-Sultānī.

³ The proper reading here is بتعاقب MS. (A). The printed text has متعاقب.

⁴ Read بتصرف او در آمد MS. (A). ⁵ MS. (A).

⁶ MS. (A) omits ملک.

⁷ MS. (A) omits ملک.

⁸ MS. (A) در آمد و.

⁹ I can find no mention of this work.

the rebel, after the arrival of the Sultān at Gujrāt, ventured a second time to fight with him and was again defeated, and giving himself up to brigandage roamed about from place to place. the Sultān however continued to pursue him and followed him wherever he went. And in this expedition the Sultān having sent for Malik Fīroz from Dihlī attached him to his Court; and¹ in this year Malik Gīr the son of Malik Qabūl Khāhīstī, to whom the Sultān had delegated the control of all his important affairs, and on whose behalf he had written a letter expressing submission to the Egyptian Khālīfah, and had sent it by the hand of Hājī Barqā'ī, died, and Ahmad Aiyāz, who is also called Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Qabūl Qiwānu-l-Mulk were carrying on the government in Dihlī. Towards the end of the reign of Muḥammad, disaffection and rebellion, mischief and sedition became increasingly evident day by day,² so that if he turned his attention to curing one evil, another was not wanting to supply its place,³ and matters were past all remedy,⁴ and the glory⁵ of the kingdom, and prosperity⁶ of the country was entirely subverted. Tyranny supplanted equity, and infidelity flourished in place of Islām. There were many reasons for this, which by their co-operation led to ruin and dissension, and the decline of the kingdom. These causes are given in detail in the original history⁷ the *Fīrozshāhī*, and also in the *Mubārakshāhī*. The results are here given in brief arranged under seven heads. *Firstly*.—The greater part of the people and inhabitants of the towns and districts were

1 MS. (A) بدرگه پیوست و.

2 MS. (A) omits چندی.

3 This is the reading of MS. (A) دیگر از دست نمیرفت.

4 The printed text has صلاح. MS. (A) reads correctly اصلاح.

5 MS (A) ارایش.

6 Omit MS. (A).

7 There are two histories known as *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* one by Zān-d-Dīn Baranī, (*Biblioth. Indica* 1882) and the other by Shams-i-Sirāj Afīf. (*Biblioth. Indica* 1891). (Elliott, III. 269).

MS. (A) reads (as does the printed text) در تاریخ اصل but the better reading seems to be that given, without reference to the authority, in the footnote to the printed text در اصل تاریخ. This would distinguish the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of Baranī as the original history of that name. The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* is that of Yahyā ibn Ahmad (See Elliott, IV., pp. 6 and seqq.)

ruined by the rapine of Tarma Shīrīn, and never again recovered their prosperity. *Secondly.*—The tribute to be paid by the inhabitants of the Doāb, which district comprises some of the chief towns of Hindustān, was increased from ten per cent. to twenty per cent, besides which there was the numbering of the cattle, and the house-censuses, and other taxes¹ over and above these, and² in this way the more needy portion of the people left their property and cattle and attached themselves³ to the richer folk, while the wealthier subjects plotted rebellion and sedition and took to highway robbery, and pillaged the country in all directions⁴ so that from all these causes the revenue of the country began to dwindle⁵ *Thirdly.*—An universal famine, and (consequent) dearth of grain, for it so happened that for seven whole years not a single drop of rain fell from heaven. It should be remembered that this statement has been copied as it stands from the *Mubārakshāhī*, but I cannot say whether the author of that work has been guilty of exaggeration or if in reality the facts were as stated.⁶ *Fourthly.*—The desertion of Dillī, and the population of Daulatābād, because after Dillī was laid waste they brought people from the towns and other places into that city and populated it, and then again removed them thence to Daulatābād, so that all their hereditary estates and family holdings, and all the property and effects⁷ they possessed were wasted and dissipated, so that they never saw anything more of them. *Fifthly.*—The massacre of the eighty thousand cavalry in a body, in the hills of Himāchal, and the consequent desolation of their families. *Sixthly.*—The daily occurrence of rebellion and mutiny in every place where people were in dread of their lives, some of them fell in battle but the greater number were put to death with their families upon false charges, so that in every way that wretched country was being ruined. *Seventhly.*—The blood thirsti-

¹ The word اخراجات is apparently used here in this unusual sense.

² MS. (A) و باین طریق.

³ MS. (A) می پیوستند.

⁴ MS. (A) تخریب ولایات می کردند و.

⁵ MS. (A) 'inserts' بهر حال محصول ولایت کم شدن گرفت و خراب شد.

⁶ میان دو اب and omits ولایت

⁷ The question of exaggeration admits of no doubt. Barni a contemporary author lends no countenance to such a statement.

⁸ MS. (A) reads اشیا.

nom of the Sultān, and his system of Government of his people, which made Saiyyids, 'Ulamā, Shāikh, ragamuffins and scoundrels, artisans,¹ peasants,² and soldiers, all alike in his eyes. Moreover there was constantly in front of his royal pavilion and his Civil Court a mound of dead bodies and a heap of corpses, while the sweepers and executioners were wearied out with their work of dragging (the wretched victims) and putting them to death in crowds. So that³ the people were never tired of rebelling nor the king of punishing (the rebels).⁴ At last the Sultān was at his wit's end what to do, but for all this he did not keep his foot out of the stirrup, nor did his sword rest from punishment, but all to no purpose, till the flood of sedition waxed violent, and the nobles of the kingdom by degrees grew⁵ feeble. at length disease overcame him, and the Sultān was freed from his people and the people from their Sultān.

Verse.

Of all the people of the world, although most of them
Are gone astray, and few of them are in the right path,
Do thou so live that when thou diest thou mayest escape
(punishment),
Not so that when thou diest the people may escape (thy
tyranny).

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They relate an extraordinary story of one of the irregular acts of the Sultān which was that he kept such strict watch over all matters involving punishment, that he used to keep four Muftis⁶ to whom he allotted quarters in the precincts of his own palace, and used to see that they kept to their appointed places,⁷ so that when anyone who was arrested upon any charge, he might in the first place argue with the Muftis about his due punishment, so far as he was

¹ Whether we read *مستورف* or *مستورف* this word is used in a very unusual sense. Its proper meaning is a tax levied upon artisans, but here it must mean the (اهل حرفه) artisans themselves.

² This again is not correctly used. It must be read *مزارع* but should be plural.

³ MS. (A) *و نه خلق از فتنه*.

⁴ MS. (A) *می گردید*.

⁵ MS. (A) *منضم یافت*.

⁶ *مفتی* Mufti. The officer who assists the Qāḍī or judge by supplying him with *fatwas* or decisions.

⁷ We should read here *جایگاه در منازل معین نگا داشته بود* MS. (A).

able,¹ and had said, Be very careful that you do not fail in the slightest degree by defect in speaking that which you consider right, because if any one should be put to death wrongfully and the oversight should have been on your side, the blood of that man will be upon your head. Then if after long discussion they convicted (the prisoner), even though it were midnight² he would pass orders for his execution,³ and if he himself found for conviction⁴ he would refer it to another meeting, and would endeavour to find a means of upsetting their arguments,⁵ and would come and make a speech, and when the Muftis were at a loss for a further argument, he would put (the prisoner) to death on the instant or else release him on the spot.

They say⁶ that one day Sultān⁷ Muḥammad wearing his chocs went on foot into the Court of Justice⁸ of Qāzī Kamālu-d-Dīn Ṣadr-i-Jahān and said, The Shāikhzāda-i-Jāmi has called me a tyrant, and for him that he may substantiate his charge of tyranny against me, or, if he fails, that you may pronounce⁹ against him the sentence of such punishment according to law as the case may require. When the Shāikhzāda was summoned he confessed to having said it) and the Sultān enquired (what his grounds were). He replied, every one whom you punish (with death) lawfully or unlawfully, that is your prerogative, but that you should hand over his wife and children to the executioners as you do, to do what they will with them, in what religion and under what sacred law do you find this? The Sultān was silent and rose¹⁰ from the Court,¹¹ and ordered that the Shāikhzāda should be bound; this order was carried out and he was put into an iron cage; then he had him carried in that very way on the journey to Daulatābād on the back of an elephant. When he returned and arrived at Dihlī, he brought him before the same Court,¹² and bringing him out of the cage gave orders in obedience to which the poor wretch was cut in two in his presence. From this it is clear that the Sultān was a mixture of opposites, and¹³ for this reason his name has been handed

1 MS. (A) حسب مقتدر.

2 MS. (A) omits آن متهم.

3 MS. (A) می اندیشید و.

4 MS. (A) omits مستند.

5 MS. (A) نمایید.

6 MS. (A) omits قضا.

7 MS. (A) میبود.

8 MS. (A) و اگر خرد الزام می یافت.

9 MS. (A) omits حکایت.

10 MS. (A) میبکشد قضا.

11 MS. (A) omits قاضی.

12 MS. (A) و.

hope of exterminating him set out for the kingdom of Thatha where¹ Tughī had fled for safety; and² in that expedition Qarghan Nāib of the king of Khurāsān sent Altān Bahādur with five thousand cavalry to assist the Sultān. The Sultān's illness was at that time slightly less urgent³ and when he arrived at Thatha he fasted on the day of the 'Āshūrā,⁴ which was in the very middle of the hot season, and after breaking his fast he ate some fish, whereupon his illness returned, and on the twenty-first of Muharram in the year 752 H. (1351 A.D.) he took his way to the next world,⁵ the duration of his reign having been twenty-seven years.

also appears in the urinary excretion, oiliness and a scaly deposit; the nose becomes sharp, the hair grows long, and lice are of frequent occurrence on the body because of the excessive amount of exhalation. The abdomen falls in till it touches the backbone, the skin of the chest is also retracted, and the nails become long (جفت و الطفار) then the diarrhoea recurs, the hair falls out and death occurs.

It will be observed that there is no mention here of any of the lung symptoms of Phthisis, all that we have described is a continued fever of remittent type running a moderately long course as is shown by the symptoms described. No mention is made of any eruption, nor is diarrhoea apparently more than an intercurrent symptom appearing late in the disease.

This was probably one of the fevers so common in India for which for want of a better name "typho-malarial" has been suggested.

Probably the complication, of "diqq" with "putrid fever" of which Sadidī speaks was more comparable to the "enteric fever" of modern science. Sadidī speaks elsewhere of three degrees of severity of this fever. The first is called "diqq" the second more severe is called *zabāl* and the most severe of all is called "*hushf*."

I have only been able to epitomise Sadidī's account which will be found at pages 427-428 of his work. (*Al Mughni fi Sharh al Mūjar*).

اندک روی به سمت نهاده بود MS. (A). و MS. (A). MS. (A). نجا ۱

* "The 'Āshūrā," is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muharram. It is the only day of Muharram observed by the Sunni Muslims, being the day on which it is said God created Adam and Eve heaven and hell, the tablet of decree, the pen, life and death. It is kept by the Sunnis as a fast" (*Engbas, Dict. of Islām*, 25)

⁵ On the banks of the Indus at fourteen kos from Thatha according to Barnī (Elliott, III, 265), but Radsonī states he had arrived at Thatha. Barnī states that he was taken ill thirty kos from Thatha where he had arrived on the 'ashūrā, thence he was carried ill as he was "for the second and third day until he came to within fourteen kos of Thatha." There he remained according to Barnī gradually growing worse and died on the 21st of Muharram.

When the Empire of justice arose with ease, like the sun.
The land of Hindustān came under his sway like that of 241.

Thurāsān;

A fortress like that of the Haft Khwān¹ he built of Haft Jūsh² which in loftiness

Would need the Nasr-i-Tāir³ to fly to its pinnacles inaccessible as Harumān.⁴

So strong that it registered a vow to last till the Resurrection-day, but by reason of the vicissitudes of time, it became destroyed in many places like the web of a spider.

You will find nothing upon the top of its walls but the voice of the evil.

In its topmost garden you will see nothing by the ill-omened raven.

It befits the duration and pride of Empire that its condition should become in accordance with the words "God most High is far above all that the tyrants of men say of Him."⁵

And among the celebrated poets of the time of Sultān Muḥammad is Badar Shāshī⁶ who wrote a Shāhnāma in his honour, of some thousand verses⁷ and for the very reason that it is a history in poetry it is a valuable acquisition.

SULTAN TIROZ SHAH SON MALIK RAJAB

Who was the brother's son of Sultān Qhiyāsu-d-Din Taghlaq and uncle's son of Sultān Muḥammad 'Adil, in accordance with the

¹ *Haft Khwān* *فت خوارن* The capture of the Brazen fortresses of Das was the final stage of the seven great labours of Isfendiār known by the name of the Haft-Khwān. See *Shah Nāmā* (Atkinson), pp 407 to 426, also *Burhān-i-Qāṭi* s. v.

² *Haft Jūsh* *فت جوشی*. These are seven metals which are melted together to form an alloy of special value; the seven are, iron, zinc (antimony, Stengase) lead, gold, tin, copper, and silver. *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*. According to the *Ghāṣṣu-l-lughāt*, it also contains quicksilver and brass.

³ *Nasr-i-Tāir* *نسر طائر*. The constellation called also *Uqā* *وقا*. The Eagle.

⁴ *Harumān* *هرمان*, a fortress on the frontier of Egypt. *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*.

⁵ Cf. *Qar'ān* XXVII. 64.

⁶ See page 296, note 6.

⁷ This looks as though we should read *قریب بیست هزار بیت* nearly twenty thousand verses. Both MSS. however read the same as the printed text which is here followed though it is an uncommon construction.

authority appointing him the heir-apparent of Sultān Muḥammad ascended the throne of sovereignty and state, by the consent of the chiefs of the Shaiḥs and the leading Amirs and Vazīrs in the aforesaid year, in the vicinity of Thatha. It is said that the Makhdūmzāda-i-'Abbāsi of Baghdād, and Shaiḥ Nasīru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihli may God sanctify their sacred resting places were¹ the cause of the allegiance thus sworn to Sultān Fīroz, and it is currently reported that [Makhdūm Shaiḥ Nasīru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihli may God sanctify his resting place]² had secretly made Malik Fīroz King during the absence of Sultān Muḥammad. Some of the Muftis informed the Sultān of this, and his orders were that those two, master and disciple³ were to be taken in confinement from Dihli and brought to the camp. This was carried out,⁴ and Malik Fīroz in some way or other gained over the guards, and made his way, just as he was, to the neighbourhood of Hānsī to Shaiḥ Badru-d-Dīn who was one of the descendants of Shaiḥ Jamāl-d-Dīn of Hānsī⁵ may God sanctify their resting-places. That holy man exclaimed "Great God! a man has been made prisoner and taken off to be Sultān, and he wots not of it"! When they arrived⁶ at the camp of the Sultān in the vicinity of Thatha and the tidings of the arrival of these two holy men reached him⁷ he gave orders that they were to be put to death the instant of their arrival, and with that he lapsed into a state of intoxication. A son of his had gone on a hunting expedition, accordingly when the guards saw⁸ this state of affairs, they liberated the holy Shaiḥ and the Sultān;⁹ then Sultān Fīroz by the consent of the nobles raised the banner of sovereignty and got the Sultān's son out of the way by some crafty scheme, and

1 MS. (A) reads بیعت نمودند for بیعت بودند (Text)

2 The words between square brackets are omitted from MS (A)

3 The reading here is uncertain. The printed text has پیر و مرید را while MS (A) has مرید و ضراد را. The latter has the more genuine ring though it is an uncommon expression

4 MS. (A) بیاوردند The text reads بیاوردند

5 MS. (A) که یکی از اولاد شیخ جمال الدین خاسوی قدس الله سرهما بود

6 MS. (A) رسیدند اند.

7 MS. (A) خبر این دو عزیز باور رسید

8 MS. (A) دیدند اند.

9 MS. (A) گذاشته اند. By Sultān, Fīroz Shāh must be here meant.

after that¹ he had returned to Dihlī he made the pargana of Chaurāsī in the district of Hānsī a present to the monastery and rest house of Shaikh Badru-d-Dīn, whom I have mentioned. This is what I have heard—God alone knows the real truth. They also say that Sultān Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq Shāh took the reverend Shaikh under his protection, till one day the Shaikh, may God sanctify his resting-place, tied a knot upon one of the Sultān's robes and said "Naṣīra-d-Dīn fastens and God opens" and that very day the Sultān died.

Versa.

The only kingdom which sorrows not for the affliction of its decline,

Hear my words freely spoken, in the kingdom of the darvesh. 243.

However this may be, the Sultān Fīroz at the outset of his reign issued this order that the Mughuls who had obtained influence over the soldiery should be brought apart from the camp, and inasmuch as their mutinous conduct had passed all bounds, the Sultān himself saw to their safe custody, and punishing these Mughuls effectually put a stop to their interfering with the discipline of the army.

Versa.

Far better than giving a Mughul a hint to plunder

Is it that you should rejoice him with a sight of Paradise.

Then he brought his army in safety into security, and proceeding by way of Siwistān made for Dihlī by continuous marches, and Aḥmad Aiyāz, styled *Khawāja-i-Jahān*, who in the absence² of the Sultān had urged the claims of an obscure child³ to the

¹ MS. (A) بعد از آنکه.

² MS. (A) در غیبت.

³ *Shams-i-Sirāj Afīf* gives the "true account of this transaction just as he heard it from Kishwar Khān, son of Kishlū Khān Bahram, one of the servants at the Court."

He asserts the *Khawāja-i-Jahān* who was on terms of great intimacy with Fīroz Shāh received false tidings that Tātar Khān, and the *Amir-Hājib* Fīroz Shāh were missing and either dead or prisoners. "After the days of mourning were completed, the *Khawāja*, believing this report to be correct, placed a son of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh upon the throne, and thus through adverse fate committed a blunder." Elliott, III. 279-280.

throne, and had given him the title of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh, appointing himself Fakīl, after considerable argument,¹ and much correspondence, by reason of his helplessness and defection, by the mediation of Ashraf-ul-Mulk and the other nobles and grandees, came with bared head, casting his turban on his neck, to the neighbourhood of Hānsī, and had an interview with the Sultān, who washed out the writing of his fault with the water of forgiveness and made him over to the Kotwāl of Hānsī, and as for the party who had been his companions in this faction and opposition, he dispersed them all in different directions. At Sarantī tidings arrived of the birth of Shēhzāda Fath Khān,² whose son eventually became Tughlaq Shāh, and the news of the death³ of Taghi Taghi also reached him there from Gujrāt; and on the second of Rajab in the aforesaid year, he graced the throne of Dihli by his accession and made a fresh distribution of appointments.

And in the year 753 H. (1352 A.D.) he went to the Sirmūr hills for the purpose of relaxation and sport, and returned thence, and in the month of Rajab of this year Shāhzāda Muhammad Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Nāsiru-d-Dīn Muhammad Shāh, was born.

And in the year 754 H. (1353 A.D.) he returned from Kalānūr whither he had gone on a Luntin expedition, and built a lofty building on the banks of the river Sarantī, and [gave it to Shaikh Sadru-d-Dīn Miftānī, may God sanctify his resting place, the Shaikh-i-Islām] and Malik Qubūl - Nāib Vazīr he made Khān-i-Jahān,⁴ and at the close of this year he went to Lakhnautī with the intention of putting down the rebellion of Hājī Ilyās who had assumed the title of Shamsu-d-Dīn. He accordingly took refuge in the fort of Ikdāl,⁵ which is the strongest of the forts

¹ Cf. Elliott, III. 285.

² MS. (A) که پسرش آخر تعلق شاه بود. Birāj 'Afif tells us that he founded a town here and called it Fathābād in honour of this event. Elliott, III. 283.

³ MS. (A) قتل طغی.

⁴ See note 6, page 254.

⁵ In MS. (A) this sentence precedes the one in square brackets.

⁶ Ikdāl. Regarding this fortress, see J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 244. See Elliott, III. 294. It was afterwards called Azādpur by Firoz Shāh. (Elliott, III. 297).

of Bangāla, and after a desultory¹ defence fought for a very short time, and threw his elephants and his material of war, with his servants and retainers to the winds, and all of them fell into the hands of the Sultān who, having made peace with him because of the rainy season,² retraced his steps.

And in the year 755 H. (1354 A.D.) having crossed by the ford of Manikpūr he arrived at Dihli and built Fīrozābād³ on the banks of the Jamna. And in the year 756 H. (1355 A.D.) he

¹ This appears to be the meaning. MS (A) omits *سالمات* and has *در آمد* see also Thomas, Pathan Kings, p. 291 and note.

² *بشکال* *baghāl* in M. Pavot de Courtilles Turki Dictionary this word is given *پشکال* *pushkāl* or *پشکال* *pushkāl* Saison des pluies. He gives three instances of its use from the Bābarnamah.

³ Fīrozābād. This must not be confounded with the Fīrozabād which arose from the change of name of Pandua, see Elliott, III. 295, and Paudyal, Imp. Gaz. Vol. XI.

This Fīrozābād (see J. A. S. B., 1870), was situated five kos (ten miles) from Dihli, and included according to Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, eighteen places, the *qasba* (townships) of Indarpat and others a list of which will be found in Elliott, III. 303. At page 298 will also be found an account of the founding of the city of Hissār (Hissār Fīrozah) and of the construction of two canals leading to it one from the Sutlej and the other from the Jamna. The modern representation of the latter canal, which was called *Rajīwa*, is found in the Western Jamna Canal passing through Karnāl (see Hunter's Imp. Gaz., Vol. VII. 258 for an account of this canal). The canal leading from the Sutlej was called *Alagh Khāni* (Ulogh Khāni). In modern maps there is a trace of this canal, but it is called the Juresah canal, which is probably the word *Rajīwa* converted and applied in error to this canal. Rennell's map (Tieff. Vol. III) shows the supposed canal of Fīroz Shah, and it is evident from our author's statement that this canal was commenced not from the Hissār end but from Dipālpūr, which lay at the junction of the Bīas and Sutlej on the banks of the Bīas, and passed south-east near Pathabad, if not actually through it, to join the river Jajhar, which in Rennell's map is called the Jidjer its nearest point measured from Dipālpūr being exactly 100 miles (forty-eight *kroh*) on this map, whereas the town of Jajhar Lat. 23° 18' N, Long. 77° 12' 15" E. is 200 miles (Hunter's Imp. Gaz., Vol. VII. 195). (The river Jajhar flowed south-east through Fatahpūr joining the Jamna near Etawah). For this reason it appears likely that the canal was led not to Jajhar but into the river Jajhar as above stated (See Bō: Firāhta, Text I. 263).

Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf makes no mention of Dipālpūr in connection with any canal, and there is one difficulty in his account as he says that both the canals, the *Rajīwa* and *Ulogh Khāni*, were conducted through the vicinity of

went to Dipālpūr and bringing a canal from the river Satlaj¹ led it as far as the Jahjar which is forty-eight *kroh* from there

In the year 757 A.H. (1356 A.D.) he conducted a stream from the river Jamna from the vicinity of Mandūi (Mandili) and S. Sarūr,² and having led seven other canals into it took it to Hānāl

Karnāl. If this was so the "supposed canal of Fīroz Shāh" in Rennell's map cannot be the Ulugh Khānī. His words are as follows:—

دهانه این رودو جوی از اتصال کرنال بیرون آورده میان هشتاد کروه
در شهر حصار فیروزه برده -

*Dahāna-i in har dojā as ittisāl i karnāl birān āwarda miyān i hashtād kroh
kroh dar shahr i Hīşar Fīrōza burda.*

It is not to be supposed that Fīroz Shāh would take his canal from Dipālpūr to Karnāl when his objective was Hissār; we have also Badāoni's clear statement that a canal was brought from the Sutlej and led as far as the Jahjar, this canal would coincide with the line of that shewn in Rennell's map, but not with that of Shams-i-Sirāj.

The canal mentioned in the next paragraph is evidently the one to which Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif refers (Elliott, II. 299-300), although it is not very evident what the exact course of this canal was: I can find no trace of any places named Mandūi (Mandili) or Sarūr anywhere in the maps, while Rās mentioned here by Badāoni must be what 'Afif calls Great Larās, as he states that it was in the neighbourhood of Great Larās that Sulţān Fīroz built the city of Hīşar Fīroza. (Elliott, p. 299). Rennell (memoir p. 72, quoting from Dow I. 327 has Beraison, which is a mistaken reading of bi Rāsain in the original, that is to say the two Rāses, Great Larās and Little Larās.

It would seem that there were in all three canals to Hīşar Fīroza, one from Dipālpūr to Hissār and on to the Jahjar, this was brought from the Sutlej. A second from the Jamna as far as Karnāl (Rajīwah). A third from the Sutlej as far as Karnāl (Ulugh Khānī). At Karnāl according to 'Afif's account these two last joined. The only way this can have been possible is by the courses of the Sutlej and Jamna being very different from their present courses or even from the beds of these rivers in 1782 when Rennell made his map.

By bringing the Sutlej farther south-east near to the course of the Ghaggar any near to Thanesar, we should have a point from which we can understand that it would have been advantageous to bring water from both the Sutlej and Jamna viā Karnāl.

See Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, 1833, p. 105 and 1840, p. 688.

See also Thomas' Pathān Kings, 294 and notes.

1 MS. (A) ستلج.

² I cannot identify these places. Firāhta (Do. Text-I. 262) says Mandawī and Sirmūr, MS. (A) reads Mandili and Sardar.

and thence to Rās¹ where he built a fortress which he called Hiqār Firoza, and dug² a spacious reservoir beneath the palace which was in that fortress, and filled it with water from the canal; he also led another stream from the canal of the Ghaghar underneath the fortress of Sarauti, and from thence to Birnī Khers,³ and in the space between them he built a fortress⁴ and named it Firozābād.⁵ At the end of this year on the occasion of the 'Ida-z-Zuhā a robe of honour arrived for the Sultān from the Khalifah Al-Hākim bi amrillāhi Abū Fath Abū Bakr ibn Abī Rabi' Suleimān⁶ from the Dārul Khilāfat of Egypt, with a patent conferring upon him the whole of Hindustān: and⁷ in this same year messengers from Hājī Ilyās the ruler of Lakhnauti, having arrived bearing splendid presents and offerings, were distinguished with countless favours and kindnesses, after which they returned, and it was ordered that in return for these presents (handsome) elephants⁸ should be sent. The whole of Hindustān was now in possession of Sultān Firoz with the exception of Lakhnauti which was held by Hājī Ilyās,⁹ who had come to terms with the Sultān,¹⁰ and with the exception also of the Deccan, which, after the death of Sultān Muḥammad, had come into the possession of Hasan Kāngū.

¹ See page 326, continuation of page 325, note 3 Briggs' Firishṭa calls it Raisen. It should be Rāsin, the two Rāsas, i.e. Great Larā and Little Larā, Elliott, III 299.

² MS. (A) کاغت.

³ MS. (A) the text reads هرنی کهر. Sarauti is shown in Rennell's map (Tieff. III) as lying southeast of Karnāl. Birnī Khers, I cannot trace. Firishṭa So. Text, I. p. 263 reads بنهر سر کهر ba nahr-i-Sarkhars. Compare Rennell's memoir, pp 72-73.

⁴ MS. (A) بنا قروند.

⁵ فیروز آباد نام گود. At the village of Gāwīn on the banks of the Jumnā, Elliott, III. 302.

⁶ According to the list of Egyptian Khalifahs given in Thomas' Pathān Kings of Dihli the Khalifah in 757 A.H. was Abul Fath Al-Mu'tazidbillāhi Abū Bakr ibn al-Mustakfi billāhi. He was the sixth of the Egyptian Khalifahs. Al-Mustakfi billāhi Abul Rabi' Suleimān ibn al-Hākim bi amrillāhi was the third of this line.

⁷ MS. (A) adds و.

⁸ MS. (A) omits خوب.

⁹ MS. (A) reads حاجی الیاس داشت.

¹⁰ MS. (A) مصالحه کرد.

And in the year 759 H. (1358 A.D.) having gone to Samāna, he appointed Malik Qabūl *Sarbu-badār*¹ to proceed against² the Mughuls who had arrived on the frontier of Dipālpūr. The Mughuls upon hearing particulars of the Sultān's army turned back and went to their own country, and the Sultān returned to Dibli;³ and in this year the Sultān despatched some Arabian horses and foreign fruits⁴ with all kinds of choice presents by the hands of the messengers of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn of Lakhnauti who had arrived at his Court bearing many presents,⁵ and at Bihār they heard that the Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn had died, and Sultān Sikandar his son had ascended the throne in the room of his father, so they sent the horses in accordance with orders to the Court at Bihār and conducted the messengers back to Kara.

⁶ And in the year 760 H., the Sultān having formed the design of attacking Lakhnauti with a vast army, left Khān-i-Jahān in Delhi, and after deputing Tātār Khūn, that is to say Malik Tātār, to proceed from Ghazni to Multān, set out and passed the rainy season in Zafarābād, and at this place, A'zam Malik Shaikhzāda-i-Bustāmi⁷ who had become intimate during his absence with Malik Ahmad Aiyāz, and by the orders of the Sultān had been banished, brought from the Dārul Khilāfat of Egypt a robe of honour for the Sultān and received the title of A'zam Khān. Saiyyid Rusūldār was sent with the messengers of Lakhnauti⁸ to the Sultān Sikandar at Lakhnauti, and Sikandar despatched five fine elephants with other costly presents and offerings to the Court. The Sultān when the rains were over leaving Zafarābād shaped his course for Lakhnauti, and while on the way set apart the requirements of kingship, and elephants and a store of rubies which at that time were held in great estimation, for the Shāhrāda Fath Khān, they also struck coins in his name. When they arrived at the confines

1 MS. (A) Sirāj 'Afīf calls him Torābānd. Elliott, III 311.

2 MS. (A) برسر مغول.

3 MS. (A) مراجعت نمود.

4 MS. (A) میوه.

5 MS. (A) هدایا.

⁶ The events preceding this are related by 'Afīf, showing how friendship was established between Sultān Fīroz and Sultān Sikandar. Badāonī's account gives no idea of the circumstances. (See Elliott, III. 305-312.)

7 MS. (A) omits &

8 A footnote to the text states that in two MSS. the words یافته بود follow the word لکهنوتی.

of Pandūah, Sultān Sikandar shut himself up in the castle of Ikūālā¹ whither his father had been in the habit of going for refuge, and after the Sultān had laid siege to that fortress Sultān Sikandar asked for quarter, and sent thirty-seven elephants with other costly presents as his humble service.

And in the year 761 H (1359-60 A.D.) the Sultān proceeded by continuous marches by way of Pandūah² to Janupūr where he spent the rains, and at the close of this year he marched with a highly equipped force³ by way of Behār towards Jajnagar, and sent his elephants and baggage to Korra, and by uninterrupted marches arrived at Satgarh⁴ the Rāi of which place⁵ withdrew, and thence he came to Bārānāsī⁶ which was the abode of the Chief Rāi, and crossed the river Mahandūī,⁷ and the Rāi of Bārānāsī having taken to flight made with all haste for Tilang. The Sultān pursued him part of the way turned back to hunt,⁸ and arrived at the country of Rāi Parihān Dev⁹ who sent a present of thirty-two¹⁰ elephants and other costly offerings. From thence the Sultān coming to Pādmāwat and Param Talāo¹¹ which was the haunt of elephants of enormous size, engaged in hunting them and killed two [and they took the other three alive]¹² and Malik Ghau-i-Mulk¹³ wrote a quatrain upon this:

¹ See 'Afīf's account of this. (Elliott, III 308). Sirāj 'Afīf calls this place "the islands of Ikūālā." see note G, page 324

² 'Afīf says by way of "Qansuj and Qadh"—Jaunpūr was so called by Sultān Firoz Shāh after Sultān Mahammad Shāh, son of Tughlaq Shāh, whose name was Jannān, so he called the place Jannān-pūr. He stayed there six months, during which period the city was built on the banks of the Kowah (Gumti).

³ 'Afīf says حضرت شاه بگایه در کس کس کس the Shāh left his heavy baggage in Korra. Text p. 163 (Calc. Edu. Bibl. Ind) see Elliott, III. 312, note 2.

⁴ MS. (A) ساتگار.

⁵ Named Adesar ('Afīf) or Rāo Sulhan (Firishṭa).

⁶ 'Afīf says Banarasi the ancient residence of the independent Rāis of Jajnagar.

⁷ MS. (A) مہاندوی.

⁸ 'Afīf tells us (Text, pp. 166-67) that the Sultān turned aside from the pursuit to hunt some wild elephants (see Elliott III 312-313).

⁹ The Rājā of Beerbhoom (Briggs' Firishṭa).

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads three.

¹¹ MS. (A)

¹² Not in MS. (A).

¹³ MS. (A) فیاض الملک.

Verre.

The Shāh who of right¹ assumed a lasting kingdom
Seized the ends of the earth like the glorious Sun
To hunt elephants he came to Jājnagar,
Two he killed and thirty-three² he took alive.

And thence by way of Karra he returned with all possible
haste.³

3. And in the year 762 H. (1360-61 A.D.) victorious and triumphant he came to Delhi, and after a short time he gave orders for an expedition to the river Salima,⁴ which is a river issuing from a large mound of sand and falling into the river Sutlej which they also call Satlaz.⁵ The Salima is also called the Sarauti,⁶ and this river consists of two large streams which are always flowing, and situated between these two streams there is a high mound or dyke, and if this were dug through the water of the Sarauti would flow into this stream, and it flows through Sibrind and Mansūrpūr and Sāmāna.⁷

The Sultān gave orders for fifty thousand men with spades to be collected and to occupy themselves in digging through that barrier. Out of it they obtained many bones of elephants and human beings. Every bone belonging to the arm of a man was three gaz⁸ (in length). They were partly converted into

¹ MS. (A) *qasr*.

² There is a footnote in the text which says that "in one MS. this same number occurs and it is probably correct," but on the other hand there is 'Afif's statement that there were only eight elephants, seven males and one female to begin with (Text, p. 167.) However 'Afif, Text 172, says he took with him 78 elephants alive.

³ MS. (A) *بسرعت تمام*. *نہر سالیما نام*. *ساروتی*.

⁴ Compare with this Firishṭa's account, with which Badāonī's is almost identical. Firishṭa, Bomb. Edn. p. 265.

⁵ Firishṭa says *سالیما* see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* XII. 261, for the Sarauti or Saraswati. See also J. R. A. S. Jan. 1893, pp. 42-76. The Salima seems to answer in position to the Markanda which runs near Shāhābād S. of Ambālā.

⁶ *Gaz.* See *Asn Akbari* (Jarrett), II. 58 et seq. Throughout Hindustān there were three kinds of gaz—long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts each of which was called *qasāj*.

Presumably it is the short gaz which is here meant but even then it would be about 25 inches, and taking the author's meaning to be the bones of the forearm, an ulna measuring 25 inches is hardly likely to have been human.

stone and had partly remained bone, just as they were. That stream however could not be diverted, and¹ in the meantime he made Sihrind and for ten *krohs* beyond into one district, which he put under the control of Ziān Mulk Shamsu-d-Din Abū Rijā, and ordered them to build a fort there and called it Fīrūxpūr which is in fact Sihrind,² and the Sultān from thence, went to Nagarkot whose Rājā after a siege and some fighting came in and submitted and met with royal treatment.³ The Sultān gave to Nagarkot the name of Muhammadābād after the deceased Sultān Muhammad; and when they brought the Sultān ice on that mountain fort he said,⁴ "when Sultān Muhammad, who is now dead and whom I regarded as a god, arrived in this place they brought him a *sharbat* mixed with ice, but he had⁵ no inclination for that beverage because I was not with him." Accordingly they made an iced *sharbat* with several elephant and camel loads of cane-sugar which was carried with Sultān Fīrūz, and he ordered them to read the whole of the Qur'ān for the soul of Sultān Muhammad and distribute the *sharbat* among the entire army. Under these cir- 249
cumstances they informed the Sultān⁷ that from the time when Sultān Sikandar Zūl Qarnain arrived at this place the people of that city have preserved an image of Noshāba⁸ and keep it in a room, where they worship it. There are one thousand three hundred books of the Brahmans of olden time in that idol temple which is commonly known as Jawālamukhī;⁹ a flame of fire rises from it towards heaven and is not to be extinguished, No, not by thousands of *mashks*¹⁰ of water. The Sultān having sam-

¹ I take this to be the meaning. The Persian is *و چون آب را*.

² MS. (A) inserts *و*.

³ See *Imp. Gaz. (Sirhind)* XII. 552, and *Kāngra* VII. 414.

⁴ See Elliot III. 318-319.

⁵ MS. (A) *و*.

⁶ MS. (A) *ازان*.

⁷ MS. (A) adds the word *سلطان*.

⁸ Firsihta's words are *صورت نرشابه را ساخته*.

⁹ Firsihta says *Jālamukhī* *چهارمکی*.

¹⁰ *مَشَك* *mashk*. The goatskin bag for carrying water.

Briggs in his translation adds the words "the wife of Alexander the Great," but upon what authority does not appear. The wives of Alexander were Roxana the daughter of Oxyartes, whom he married in 327 B.C. and

moned the Brahmins, ordered some of his translators to translate some of those books¹ into Persian. Among those translators 'Izzu-d-Dīn Khālid Khān,² who was one of the poets and *muntakhibs* of the time of Firuz wrote in verse a translation of a book on the risings and settings of the seven planets, and their good and evil import, and of auguries and omens. Its name is called up to the present day³ *Dalā'il-i-Firuzī*, and the author of this *Muntakhab* read it in Lāhor in the year 1000 H. (1591-92 A.D.) from beginning to end. It is moderately good, neither free from beauties nor defects; and I saw some other books before that also which were translated in the name of Sultān Firuz, some of them on the Science of "Pīngal"⁴ that is to say on Music, and the kinds of *Alkhārā*⁵ which they call *Pātur bāzī*, and some on other subjects. I found most of them to be profitless, and their paucity of interest is for the most part due to the triviality of their subject matter, and the difficulty of explaining it, as is evident.

The Sultān leaving there proceeded to Thatha, and the Jām,⁶ by which title the ruler of Thatha is called, entrenched himself so that the Sultān was induced by the vehemence of the rainy season, and the amount of water which was out, as well as by the dearness of

(2ndly) at Susa, 324 B.C., Bārsine or Stateira the eldest daughter of Darius III, while according to some accounts (Arrian) he also took as his wife Parysatis the daughter of Ochus, at Susa, B.C. 325. Arrian is the only author who mentions this last wife (Smith, D. G. R. Biography).

It *نوشابه* represents in reality either of the wives of Alexander it must be the first named whose name might have been written *روشابه* *Rushāba* and by copyist errors perverted to *نوشابه* *Nushāba*.

Firuz's original however gives no countenance to the statement in Briggs' translation.

¹ MS (A) omits *بعضی* but writes *بعد*.

² MS (A) reads *خالی* Berle (O. B. D.) calls him 'Izzu-d-Dīn Khālid Khānī and mentions him as the author of the *Dalā'il-i-Firuz Shāhī*, probably on the authority of this passage.

³ MS. A *مانده*.

⁴ So called from Pīngala or Pīngalanāga the inventor of the art of prosody. See Al-Bīrūnī, India I. 137, also Colebrooke Essays, II 67.

⁵ The *Alkhārā* is an entertainment held at night and consists of singing and dancing by females. See *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett), III. 258. The word *Pātur* signifies in Hindi a prostitute or dancing-girl.

⁶ 'Alif tells us that Jām the brother of Rāi Umar, and Bānhabāza (*بانہبازا*) his brother's son were in possession of Thatha.

grain, to abandon the siege and make with all haste for Gujrāt,¹ which country he placed under the control of Zafar Khān; then having deposed Nizām-ul-Mulk² and appointed him Naib Wazir of Dihli, he returned to Thatha; and on this occasion the Jām asking for quarter³ had an interview with the Sultān, and with all the *Namūdārs* accompanied him to Dihli, and from there took 250. his leave after being kindly treated and confirmed on his former footing as ruler of Thatha.⁴ In the year 772 H. (1370 A.D.) Khān-i-Jahān the Vazir, died, and his son Jūnā Shāh obtained that title;⁵ and the book *Chandāhan*⁶ which is a *Masnawī* in the Hindī language relating the loves of Lūrak and Chāndā, a lover and his mistress, a very graphic work, was put into verse in his honour by Maulānā Dā'ūd. There is no need for me to praise it because of its great fame in that country, and Makhdūm Shaikh⁷ Taqī-u-d-Dīn Wāiz Rabbānī used to read some occasional poems of his from the pulpit,⁸ and the people used to be strangely influenced by hearing them. and⁹ when certain learned men of that time asked the Shaikh¹⁰ saying, what is the reason for this Hindī *Masnawī* being selected? he answered, the whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplation of devout lovers, and conformable to the interpretation of some of the *Āyāt* of the Qur'ān, and the sweet singers of Hindūstān. Moreover by its public recitation human hearts are taken captive.

In the year 773 H. (1371-72 A.D.) Zafar Khān died and the control of that province was confirmed to his son.¹¹

¹ Encountering great difficulties on the march, so much so that for some months the impression in Dihli was that the army had been lost ('Afif. Text, p 211).

² Amir Hussain son of the late Amir Miran (Elliott III. 326).

³ Famine appeared and his troops were starved out (Elliott III. 334).

⁴ 'Afif says the son of the Jām and Tamāchi brother of Bānhabān were appointed to rule over Thatha.

⁵ See Elliott III. 371.

⁶ MS (A) reads *حداين* *Hadayan* without dots, and also reads *حدان* *Hadān* la. I have failed to obtain any information regarding this work.

⁷ MS. (A) omits *شيخ* *Shaykh*. ⁸ MS (A) *بر سر صمبر* *Bar Sar Sumbhar*.

⁹ MS. (A) reads *و حالات فريده روی ميداد و* *Wahallat Farīdah rūy Mīdād w*.

¹⁰ MS (A) *پرسیده اند* *Parsidē and*.

¹¹ According to Firūhta, Zafar Khān died in 775 H. and was succeeded by his elder son Daryā Khān.

Then in the year 776 H. (1374-75 A.D.) an event distressing to the people (death) happened to Fath Khān; and in this year Shamsu-d-Dīn Dāmaghāni having obtained the yellow girdle and the *Ohandol* of silver, that is to say, the palanquin of honour, was appointed governor of Gujrāt in place of Zafar Khān; and since he had boasted when accepting the post on his departure, that he would send to the Court every year a hundred splendid elephants, two hundred Arab horses, and four hundred slaves, Muqaddam-zādas¹ and Abyssinians, together with valuables and money, when he found that he could not perform his promises he was compelled to rebel.

And in the year 778 H. (1376-77 A.D.) the Amīrs of hundreds² of Gujrāt put him to death and sent his head to the Court; thus that rebellion was quelled, and thereafter Gujrāt was put under the control of Farhatu-l-Mulk, otherwise known as Malik Mufarrih Sultāni.³

And in the year 779 H. (1377-78 A.D.) he marched towards Itāwa and Akchak⁴ and having sent the Rāis of these districts with their families to Dihlī, built many fortresses on these frontiers; then having left Fīrozpur and Batlāhi,⁵ in charge of the son of Malik Tājū-d-Dīn, and having given Akchak to Malik Afghān returned to Dihlī. In this year also Malik Niẓāmu-d-Dīn the ruler of Oudh, who was in attendance on the Sultān, died, and the governorship of that province devolved upon Malik Saifu-d-Dīn his eldest son.

In the year 781 H. (1379 A.D.) having gone⁶ to Sāmāna and passing through Shāhābād and Ambāla, he came to the country at the foot of Sintūr hills,⁷ and receiving many presents from

¹ *مقدم زاد* muqaddamzāda has the same meaning as *خانه زاد* Khānazād, born in the house

² Briggs' "Amoer Jadeeda" is in the original text *امیران صد* Amīrān-i-Sada as in Badāoni.

³ We see from Firishṭa that it was now he acquired the title Farhatu-l-Mulk (Bo. text, p. 267).

⁴ Firishṭa gives the reason of this expedition, which was a rebellion of the zemindars of Itāwa. Instead of *اکچک* Akchak, Firishṭa reads *اکهل* Akhal. He says *اقاوة و اکهل و تیلائی* Itāwa, Akhal, and Tilāi.

⁵ *تیلائی* Til Firishṭa.

⁶ MS. (A) *رفتہ*.

⁷ Firishṭa says *بدامن کوہ سہارن پور*. To the foot of the hills of Sahāranpur

the Rāis and Governors and Commissioners, arrived at the capital and summoning Maliku-sh-Sharq Marwān-i-Daulat, who held the title of Nusrat Khān,¹ from the district of Karra and Mahoba, appointed him to the Multān district,² with a view to close the door to Mughal intrigues: he then confirmed Karra and³ Mahoba together with all their dependencies upon the son of Maliku-sh-Sharq ⁴ Suleimān the son of Malik Marwān, whose adopted son was Saiyyid Khizr Khān, the grandfather of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Badāoni who eventually succeeded to the kingdom of Dihli.

And in the year 782 H. (1380 A.D.) he raised the standard for an expedition with the intention of taking vengeance on the Khūkhar Rāi Chief of Kaithar⁵, who had invited and put to death by 252. treachery both Saiyyid Muhammad and Saiyyid 'Alāu-d-Dīn his brother,⁶ who were Governors of Badāon. The rebellious Khūkhar⁷ fled towards the hills of Kumāon, accordingly after laying waste and plundering the whole of his country, he left Malik Khitāb the Afghān in the country of Sambhal⁸ to deal with the rebellion of Khūkhar, and turned back after having made over Badāon to Malik Qabūl; Qabūlpūra which at present is a quarter of Badāon lying outside the fort is called after his name; also he used to come every year for the purpose of sport and lay utterly waste the Kaithal⁹ country.

And in the year 787 H. he built a fortified town in a place called Babūli¹⁰ which is seven *krohs* from Badāon and is better

¹ MS. (A).

طریق.

² MS. (A).

³ Firishta calls him ملک شمس الدین سلیمان Malik Shamsu-d-Dīn Suleimān.

⁴ MS. (A) reads. وای کھر کھر مقدم کیتھر. Firishta reads موسوم بکھر کو.
مقدم کیتھر. The chief of Kaithar called Kharkū.

⁵ Firishta says Saiyyid Muhammad governor of Badāon with his brothers Saiyyid 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Saiyyid Mahmūd.

⁶ کھر کو Kharkū (Firishta).

⁷ Firishta سنبھل MS. (A) سنبل. Firishta calls him ملک داؤد افغان.
Malik Dā'ūd Afghān.

⁸ MS. (A) کیتھر. Kaithar. Firishta states he had given Malik Dā'ūd orders to ravage the country year by year.

¹⁰ Possible from the abundance there of the Acacia Arabica known as Babul or Kikar. However Firishta calls it بیسولی. Basūli.

known as Mawās,¹ and gave it the name² of Kīrūzpūr, and since in later times no other building was ever erected by the Sultān it became commonly known as Ākhirīnpūr³. Now-a-days although not a trace of that building remains, still from the old bricks and the foundations and general lie of that high ground it is evident that once upon a time there was a building on that site.⁴ The age of the Sultān was now nearly ninety years, and how truly had these verses come to pass—

When thou reachest eighty or ninety years
Great is the vexation thou reapest from the world;
And going further when thou reachest the hundredth stage
Death will then be to thee a form of life.

52. Khān-i-Jahān⁵ the Vazīr who had obtained great influence in the affairs of the state, and was in a position to overthrow those who opposed his schemes of self-aggrandisement, at a hint from the Sultān destroyed one party and put to death another and making accusations of conspiracy against Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān and some of the other Maliks who were hand in glove with him, by this means turned the Sultān against him, and gave him a fixed idea⁶ that this confederacy had for their object to raise the Shāhzāda to the throne, accordingly the Sultān set his heart upon the defeat and extinction of those Āmīra. The Shāhzāda, however, after that he had been in terror for some days and had omitted to pay his respects to the Sultān, one day in private⁷ came into the Sultān's presence and loyally told him the whole truth, and informed him also of the treacherous designs of Khān-i-Jahān, so that the tables were turned.⁸ Obtaining *carte blanche* from the Sultān to defeat and exterminate Khān-i-Jahān, and having brought over to his

¹ Or Mawāsāi MS (A) مواصای

² MS (A) نام آن گذاشت.

³ i. e. Last city.

⁴ MS (A) omits زمیں

⁵ Briggs says Zaffar Khān Farsy—but this is not in the text. This was Jūnān Shāh who has been mentioned, see next page, note 7.

⁶ MS (A) خاطر نشان او کرد

⁷ Faghfa tells us that he came in concealed in a woman's litter under the pretence that his own wife was visiting the Sultān's harem.

⁸ MS (A) قضیه منعکس شد و

side the *Kuruzi* Amīra and the mass of the people, in the month of Rājā, 769 H. (1337 A.D.) he started with a strong force to attack *Khān-i-Jahān*, and having wounded him plundered his house and family. *Khān-i-Jahān* fled¹ with a few followers towards *Miwāt*, and took refuge there with one *Kūkā* a *Zamīndār*;² and the *Shāhzāda* destroyed certain of the Amīra who had been well-disposed to *Khān-i-Jahān*. Subsequently to this the *Shāhzāda* became *Vazir* with full uncontrolled powers, and the *Sultān* having given him all the apparatus of royalty, elephants and horses, servants and insignia, and conferring upon him the title of *Nāsira-d-Dīn wa-ad-Dunyā Muḥammad Shāh*, in the month of *Shābān* of the above mentioned year raised him to the throne, and betook himself to devotion and worship of the Most High, so that in the Friday *Khutbah* the names of both kings used to be mentioned;³ *Sultān Muḥammad* ordered upon a new scale the appointments and salaries of the Amīra, and confirmed the distribution of districts, and having given *Malik Ya'qūb* the title⁴ of *Sikandar Khān* appointed him to attack *Khān-i-Jahān* in *Miwāt*; *Kūkā-Ohān* a *Zamīndār* of *Miwāt*⁵ bound *Khān-i-Jahān* and sent him to *Sikandar Khān* who put him to death,⁶ and having sent his head as a present to the Court of *Muḥammad Shāh* set out⁷ for *Gujrat*. 254

And in the year 790 H. (1388 A.D.) *Muḥammad Shāh* arrived on a hunting expedition at the *Sirmūr* hills, and *Malik Muḥarrir* who was in *Gujrat*, in unison with the Amīra of hundreds put *Sikandar Khān* to death, and the whole of his army being utterly despoiled

¹ MS. (A) *مقتل گردانیده*.

² Having first put to death *Zafar Khān* (*Firights*).

³ *Firights* calls him *Kūkās Ohānān*.

⁴ See *Thomas' Pathān Kings* pp 287 and 305.

⁵ The word *کتاب* must be inserted here though no copy has it.

⁶ MS. (A) omits the words *زمیندار میراث*.

⁷ MS. (A) *بقتل رسانیده*. The first *Khān-i-Jahān* was according to 'Alī originally a Hindū. He was a native of *Telingana* and a man of high position in favour with the *Rāi* of that country. His name was *Katlū*, but on becoming a Muslim he was named *Maqbūl*. 'Alī states that he died in 707 A. H. and when he died all *Dihlī* went into mourning. This *Khān-i-Jahān* was his son *Jānān Khān*.

⁸ MS. (A) *دستگیر*.

came with the *Sipahsalar* to Dilli; Muhammad Shāh, returning from the hill country, with the great carelessness which characterises youth took no thought for avenging Sikandar Khān, but spent his time in enjoyment and luxury, so that the affairs of the kingdom fell into great disorder; and the Sultān's soldiery by reason of their enmity and jealousy against Samān-d-Dīn and Kamāl-d-Dīn, who were the *protégés* of Muhammad Shāh, set themselves up in opposition to them, and assembled in a spacious plain, and stoned and wounded Malik Zahir-d-Dīn Lāhorī whom the Shāhzāda had sent to admonish them. He came in that state before Muhammad Shāh and informed him of what had happened, whereupon the Shāhzāda having collected forces set out to do battle with that party. The army of the Shāhzāda was victorious at first, and bore back the army of the Sultān, so that they took refuge with the Sultān Firūz. The battle raged fiercely for two days and when the Sultān's body servants found themselves in straits, they bore the Sultān, who was little more than a puppet, to the field of battle and displayed him there, and when the troops of Muhammad Shāh and his elephant drivers set eyes upon Sultān Firūz they left fighting and came over to the Sultān. Muhammad Shāh with the small following which remained to him, went towards the Sirmūr hills, and the army of the Sultān, which was near a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry, fell upon the camp of Muhammad Shāh, and entering his private apartments sacked them and swept them away. The Sultān at the instigation of some interested persons, unwillingly deposed Muhammad Shāh from his position as heir apparent, and conferring upon Tughlaq Khān¹ the son of Fath Khān, his grandson, the title of Tughlaq Shāh raised him to the position of heir-apparent. Tughlaq Shāh beheaded Mir Hasan the son-in-law of the Sultān, who was a special favourite of Muhammad Shāh, and having exiled Ghālib Khān the governor of Sāmāna, sent him to the country of Bihār. On the sixteenth of Ramazān in the year 790 H. Sultān Firūz attained deliverance from the tortures of existence, and hastened to the world of permanence, and was buried on the borders of the

¹ So Firūzshāh. Briggs says here, p. 461, "placed his grandson Gheias-ud-Deen upon the throne." The text is *تغلق شاه ولد شاهرخ فلاح خان*.

Tughlaq Shāh the son of the Shāhzāda Fath Khān. This was Ghīyās-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh II.

Iqbal-i-Khāss, over his tomb a lofty dome was erected which is well-known. They devised two chronograms for the date of his death *Wafāt-i-Firūz* and *Naql-i-Firūz Shāh*, the second of these is deficient by one unit.¹ The duration of his reign was thirty-eight years and some months.²

All good fortune is till death and no longer,
In the dust one man is no better than another.
When a drop is thrown into the river
It cannot again be recognized.
The nature of the Heavens is to overthrow,
It is of no use to oppose the decree of Fate.
Who knows with the blood of what hearts
This stirred up dust has been mixed !
Every road, if the wise man is not blinded,
Is the hide of the elk, and shagreen from the wild ass.³

Among the poets of the reign of *Firūz Shāh* and his boon-companions, is *Malik Ahmad*, the son of *Amir Khusrū*, may God have 256
mercy upon him, and although there is no famous anthology of his, still there are some imitations of the writings of the earlier poets which are entered in the writings of some of the learned men; and are well-known. Among them is an imitation of this poem of *Zahir*⁴

زمی زبوده ز رفعت کلاه گرشه تو
کلاه گرشه گردون زوری عیاری⁵

Hail ! thou whose cap of empire snatched in its exaltation the
cap of empire of the heaven, by craftiness.

And it is said that in the first hemistich we should read

[زمی طینچه تهر تو از طریق نفاق]

Hail to thee ! the blow of whose wrath, in thy supreme power

¹ *Wafāt-i-Firūz*. *Wafāt-i-Firūz*. These words give the value 780 while *Naql-i-Firūz Shāh* نقل فیروز شاه give 789.

² *Firihta* says nearly forty years, p. 271, Ro. text.

³ That is to say, it is not really dust but the remains of living animals.

⁴ *Zahiru'd-Din Tahir*, ibn *Muhammad*, a co-temporary of *Jamālud-Din Isfahāni* and *Bakim Khāqāni Shirwāni*, was a native of *Pāryān*.

He died in the year 598. H. and is buried at *Sorkhab* of *Tabriz* which has been called "the Sepulchre of the Poets." His poetry was held in great estimation. (*Majma'ul-Fasahā* I. 330) see also Beale O. B. D. p. 286.

⁵ MS. (A) reads *جباری* for *عیاری* see also footnotes to text.

and in place of *روید* (snatched) in the last hemistich we should read *فکند* (thrown)]: ¹ and another in this verse

این سهل سهل بود که گوگرد سرخ خواست
گوشتان نخواجی خواستی آن را چه کردی

This was extremely easy, that he asked for red sulphur: ²

If he had asked bread from the Khwāja, what could I have done?

which was thus written,

این سهل سهل بود که آب حیات خواست

This would have been very easy had he asked for the water of life.

Another is in this verse,

گرمشک خواند خاک دوت را فلک مزنج
نرخ گیسو بدامن خویدار نشکنده

If the sky calls the dust of your door musk, do not grieve,
For the jewel's worth is not affected by the abuse of the purchaser.

The poet had written,

گر لعل خواند سنگ دوت مشتری مزنج

If Jupiter calls the gravel at your door rabies, do not grieve.

57. And some of his poems also I have seen, but I remember none of them, and since Malik Ahmad was the real son of Amīr Khusrū, and reminded them of his father, the King and his companions and the learned men of the age were greatly pleased with these imitations and thought them very valuable.

¹ The portion between brackets is not found in MS. (A).

The verse would then read as follows:

همی طپانچه قهر تو از طریق نفاذ کلاه گوشه گردون فکند ز عیاری

² *Gūgird-i-Aḥmar* (Sulphur). The red Gūgird is said to be a mineral of exceeding rarity which is only found in a mine in the Valley of the Ante; the ants of that region are the size of goats. It is said that at night a light is emitted from the mine which may be seen for many leagues, but when the mineral is taken out of the mine it does not possess this luminous property. It is an important ingredient in *Al-ikār* (Elixir of life) and just as Quicksilver is called *Abū-arwāḥ* (Father of spirits), they call this *Abū-ajsād* (Father of bodies).

It has various beneficial qualities (*Burhān-i-qāṣi*.)

Another poet was Manlāna Maḡhar Karra,¹ whose descendants are still living in the city of Lakhnauti and have been highly thought of and respected from generations back. There is an anthology of his consisting of fifteen or sixteen thousand verses, but inasmuch as he was more of a Mulla than a poet, his poetry is not so highly esteemed by the learned, although were they to search, they would bring to light many a good thing in the way of rarity (of expression)

Another (poet) is Qāṣi 'Ābid² who wrote this poem—

My friends say, 'Ābid with this fine nature of yours
How is it that you have not written more poems and odes?
To whom shall I address poems and odes, since in our time
No suitable lover and no generous patron has arisen.

This is a translation of the following poem in Arabic—

They say, thou hast given up writing poems, I reply, yes!
perforce;

The door of claims and causes is closed.

The land is empty—there is no benefactor from whom to
hope for favours, nor is there any beauty to love.

And the strange thing is that though no one will buy poetry
Still in spite of this they appropriate and steal it.

SULTĀN TUḠHLAQ SHĀH IBN FATH KHĀN IBN SULTĀN FIRUZ

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and power by the consent of
the Amirs in the year 790 A.H. (1388 A.D.) in accordance with
the will of his grandfather, assuming the title of Qhīyāsu-d-Dīn
Tuḡhlāq Shāh, and despatched several famous Amirs to oppose
Muḡammad Shāh towards the foot of the hills (of Sirmūr). Muḡam-
med Shāh after fighting for a little betook himself to Nagar Kot,
and the army of Tuḡhlāq Shāh on account of the difficulty³ of the
way turned back (to Dīhli) and Abu Bakr Khān son of Zafer Khān
and grandson of Fath Khān, who was his brother's son, being
panic-stricken and terrified, went to his father,⁴ and Malik Ruknu-

¹ In the *Majma' ul Furūḡ* he is called Maḡhar-i-Hindī Qāṣi of Agra (? Karra)
the panegyrist of Firuz Shāh, but no particulars are given. The *Atash Kadda*.

² *Āgur* merely mentions his name as Maḡharī.

³ Neither the *Majma' ul Furūḡ* nor *Atash Kadda-i-Āgur* mention this point.

⁴ MS. (A) صاحب.

⁵ MS. (A) پسر پدر رفت و.

d-Din Chanda Wazir, in concert with other Amirs, made friends with Abu Bakr Khān, and killed Malik (Mubārak) Kabir¹ in Firā-zābād at the door of the rest house of Tughlaq Shāh, and having pursued Tughlaq Shāh and Khān-i-Jahān the Wazir² when they fled, put them to death and hung up their heads³ over the gate of the city; this event occurred in the month of Safar⁴ in the year 791 H. (1389 A.D.); the duration of the reign of Tughlaq Shāh, was five months and eighteen days.⁵

Verses.

[He laid low in the dust that rose of kingdom which the garden
of the king
Had cherished in its breast with endless care.]⁶

ABU BAKR SHĀH IBN ZAFAR KHĀN [IBN FATH KHĀN?⁷
IBN FIRUZ SHĀH.

After the martyrdom of Tughlaq Shāh, by the ill-judged agreement of the Amirs assumed the Government under the above title, and at the commencement of his reign distributed appointments among the Amirs, and raised Ruknu-d-Din Chanda to the dignity of Vazir, and eventually, when he heard that Ruknu-d-Din in concert with certain of the Amirs, was plotting sedition, and entertained ambitious designs upon the kingdom, got rid of him together with his following, taking possession of his elephants and treasure, obtained complete hold over Dihli and increased in power daily. In the meantime the Amirs of hundreds of Sāmāna cut to pieces Malik Sultān Shāh Khughdūl, the Amir of Sāmāna, who had been sent against the Sultān Muḥammad Shāh to the country at the foot of the hills, at the head of the reservoir of Sāmāna and sacked his house, and sending his head to the Shāhzāda Muḥammad Shāh at Nagarkot invited him to come; Muḥammad Shāh accordingly left Nagarkot, and came to Sāmāna by way of Jalandhar by continuous marches, and having gathered together the

¹ MS. (A) omits مبارک. Firihita calls him Amīru-l-Umarā.

² Firihita tells us that this was Malik Firuz 'Alison of Malik Tāju-d-Din.

³ MS. (A) inserts ۱۲.

⁴ MS. (A) در صفر سنه. Firihita says 21st of Safar.

⁵ MS. (A) writes پنجمه بود و هزده روز.

⁶ Not in MS. (A).

⁷ The words in square brackets are not in MS. (A).

paraphernalia of royal magnificence for the second time raised the standard of royalty in the month of Rabi'ul Awwal in the year 791 H. (1389 A.D.), and in the following month of Rabi'ul Akhīr of the same year, set out to capture Dihlī with a force of 50,000, and alighted at the palace of Jahān Numb where he bestowed upon the Amīrs suitable appointments; among others¹ he conferred upon the Governor of Multān the title of Khizr Khān, and Abū Bakr Shāh having raised an army for the assistance of Bahādur Nāshir Khān Zāda of Miwāt, on the (2nd) of Jumādīa-l Awwal² of the aforesaid year engaged in battle on the plains of Firūzbād with Muḥammad Shāh, and gained the day. Muḥammad Shāh, with two thousand cavalry, crossed the river Jamna and entered the Doāb, and sent Humayūn Khān his younger son to Sāmāna, and having obtained thence a great following and the requirements of sovereignty, and taking with him certain Amīrs of Hindustān with fifty thousand cavalry, a second time marched his standards towards Dihlī. As it chanced he became engaged in battle with Abū Bakr Shāh and was again defeated, and Abū Bakr Shāh pursued him part of the way, but considered it an excellent opportunity to return. Muḥammad Shāh arrived at Chaptar,³ which is a town on the banks of the Ganges, and giving over his following to destruction once more attempted to fight. And in the month of Muḥarram of the year 792 H. (1389-90 A.D.) Shāhzāda Humāyūn Khān having called together many Amīrs from the frontier of Sāmāns to reinforce him, laid waste the country round Dihlī, engaged in battle in the neighbourhood⁴ of Pānīpath with 'Imādu-l-Mulk who had been sent by Abū Bakr (Shāh)⁵ with four thousand cavalry to oppose him, and being defeated retreated towards Sāmāna. And in the month of Jamādīa-l Awwal of the aforesaid year Abū Bakr Shāh marched for Chaptar (Chītar) with a strong force, with the object of opposing Muḥammad Shāh, and had encamped at a distance of twenty kroḥ from Dihlī, when Muḥammad Shāh with

¹ MS. (A) از آنجمله.

² The text and MS. (A) both read بتاريخ جميد الاول.

³ MS (A) چپتر. The text reads چپتر Chītar. Firāhts says چپتر Jalasr. Bo text p 275

⁴ MS. (A) در نواحی.

⁵ MS. (A) omits the word شاهی.

four thousand men,¹ passing unobserved round his right flank,² reached Dihli by another route and entered the palace of Hamā-yūn, where the populace both great and small declared in favour of him; Abū Bakr Shāh pardoned him and arrived at Dihli, and having put to death Malik Bahān-d-Dīn Jangī whom Muhammad Shāh had left to guard the gates, without hesitation made for the palace of Hamāyūn, and Muhammad Shāh, being taken off his guard, was not able to oppose him and leaving by way of the door of the *Hauz-i-Mūayy* fled again with all haste to Chapter (Chitar) his original abode and asylum.³ Many of his noted Amīra and of his body servants were put to death, and although Sultan Muhammad Shāh was no longer able to stand against Abū Bakr Shāh, still⁴ the soldiery and people were very ill-disposed towards Abū Bakr Shāh, and in the month of Ramaṣān in the aforesaid year, Mubashir Chap and some of the slaves of Firūz Shāh's party who had been promoted to the rank of Amīr, and for one reason or another bore a grudge against Abū Bakr Shāh, opened a secret correspondence⁵ with Muhammad Shāh, and invited him;⁶ Abū Bakr Shāh when he came to know of this was utterly dumbfounded, and under pretext of asking assistance from Bahādur Nāhir set his face to go to Kotila⁷ of Mīwāt and set out leaving Malik Shāhīn and Imādu-l-Mulk and Malik Bahī and Safdar Khān in Dihli; then Muhammad Shāh in obedience to the invitation of the Amīrs entered Dihli for the third time and ascended the throne of royalty in the palace of Firūzshād with great ceremony; and Mubashir Chap,

¹ Firihita says with 4,000 chosen Cavalry.

² چپ غلہ کرے Firihita says,

و بعد از آنکه نزدیک گشت راه چپ کرد

³ MS. (A) جانب دہلی و پٹنہ فرسید ۲۵ صفر و صفر اسلامی و بعد

⁴ MS (A) عدل ہوا چو

⁵ MS. (A) خطبای

⁶ MS. (A) دستار فرود آمد

⁷ کولہ Kolla. Hindi कोला Kollā, a small fortress. Bahādur Nāhir was

ruler of Mīwāt, see Firihita Briggs, 471. This word Kolla seems to have been made use of by Firūz Shāh to designate certain of his hunting palaces. See Thomas, Pathān Kings, p. 292, note 3, and references there given.

By this Kotila however, Kotila of Mīwāt, we may understand probably Hardwar or a town in its vicinity, which appears in Reame's map G. n. as "Coapala" see Elliott, III 455. n. and 458.

having received the title of Isām Khān, was promoted to the rank of Vazīr, and after some time he left Firūshād and went to the palace of Humāyūn, Jāhān (Hamā),¹ and gave order for the slaves of the Firūz party who had been a source of disturbance in the days of tumult and riot to be put to death without distinction, and many of the free men also, who came from the eastern quarters of Hindustān were taken for slaves by reason of the imperfection of their pronunciation,² and were put to the sword. Abū Bakr Shāh after this misfortune could not recover himself, and remained at the Kotla (of Miwāt) just as he was till Muḥammad Shāh³ by continuous marches came against him, and Bahādar Nāhir Miwātī and Abū Bakr Shāh who had taken refuge with him, after fighting for a long time begged for quarter and had an interview with Sultān Muḥammad Shāh. Bahādar Nāhir received a robe of honour and other marks of favour, but they imprisoned Abū Bakr Shāh in the fort of Mirāth. In that self-same prison he escaped from the prison house of the world. This event took place in the year 793 H. (1390-91 A.D.)⁴ the duration of the reign of Abū Bakr Shāh was a year and a half.

¹ MS. (A) omits *lā*.

² This passage is not intelligible in itself, but Firsihta's account explains it fully. He tells us that many of these slaves claimed to be natives of the country and not foreigners, whereupon Muḥammad Shāh inquired upon them the pronunciation of certain words, and those who failed in their pronunciation of this 'Shibboleth' were treated as foreigners and put to death. He writes,

وہو کہ جس نے یہ لفظ صحیحاً نہ کہہ سکا اسے قتل کر دیا گیا۔
اور جو لوگ کہہ سکے ان کو رہا کر دیا گیا۔

Firsihta Do. text p. 267. - *اور جو لوگ کہہ سکے ان کو رہا کر دیا گیا۔*

Muḥammad Shāh said "whoever among you instead of Khari says Khari, is a native of the country," and since (as the King in fact desired) they were not able to pronounce these words, but followed the pronunciation of people of the West and of Bengal they were put to death.

The word Khari signified brackish as applied to water: natives of Eastern Bengal however use the word Khara in place of Khari, using the word as if it were an adjective agreeing with the masculine word pani, water.

³ *lā* *lā* MS. (A) not in the text.

⁴ There is an error in MS. (A) here which writes, *وہو کہ جس نے یہ لفظ صحیحاً نہ کہہ سکا اسے قتل کر دیا گیا۔*
Thomas, Pothohar Kings, p. 303.

Verec.

He reckoned certain days and then he came to nothing
The time smiled to think that he too had passed away.

Verec.

362

This world is like a corpse upon which there are
thousands of vultures
[One continually tears another with its talons,
The other rends it constantly with its beak]¹
At last, they all take to flight and
All that remains of them all is the corpse.

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH IBN FĪROZ SHĀH.

After the death of his brother's son Abū Bakr, this monarch ascended the throne of Dīhli in the abovementioned year by the consent of the grandees and nobles of the State,² and assumed absolute power there being now no one left to oppose him in the kingdom. And in this same year Masarrāh Sultānī governor of Unjrat revolted, and Zafar Khān ibn Wajihu-l-Mulk was ordered to proceed thither.

In the year 791 H. (1391-92 A.D.) the *ramindars* (land-holders) of the Doāb³ breaking out into rebellion attacked the town of Balārām, and Islām Khān being appointed to proceed against Harsingrāi⁴ defeated him, while the Sultān went as far as Qannauj and Itāwa, and after punishing the infidels of that district and laying waste Itāwa, returned to Chitrā⁵ which was a favourite resort of his, and there built the city of Muhammadābād.

In the year 795 H. (1392-93 A.D.) he appointed Malik Muqarraba-l-Mulk to proceed against the mutineers in the district of

¹ Not in MS. (A.)

² MS. (A) reads:—

سلطان محمد شاه بن فیروز شاه بعد از فوت برادرزاده خود ابوبکر
در سنه مذکور باتفاق اعیان دولت و ارکان سلطنت بر سریر دہلی دم
از استقلال زد.

³ MS. (A) omits مواس.

⁴ Rāj of Itāwa.

⁵ See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, 307 n. 1.

This place appears to be the same as Jalcear judging from Firiehta's account.

For Jalcear see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, VII, 103.

Alāws, who by promises and engagements¹ induced the rebels to come in, and took them to Qanauj, where he put them to death and returned to Muhammadābād. And in the month of Shawwāl in this year, the Sultān was attacked by illness; taking advantage 263. of this Bahādur Nāhir made an incursion upon some of the towns around Dihlī. The Sultān notwithstanding his weakness proceeded to Kotla; Bahādur gave battle once and then fled, and the Sultān victorious and triumphant returned to Muhammadābād, and was engaged in superintending the building of the city when his illness returned.

In the year 796 H. (1393-94 A.D.) he appointed Shāhrāda Humāyūn Khān to oppose Shāikh Khūkhār who had rebelled and gained possession of Lahore, but the Shāhrāda was still in the city when the Sultān² took his departure from the populous city of existence to the deserted regions of annihilation, and was buried in the mausoleum of his father on the banks of the *Hauz-i-Khāss*:³ the duration of his reign was six years and seven months.

Masnawi.

What is the world, but a wayside abode of trouble and evil?
A house of labour and toil, a mansion of pain and affliction?
Here is no truth and no faithfulness; here are no friends and
no friendship;

Hundreds of times have I seen this, and proved it by frequent
experience.⁴

SULTĀN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN SIKANDAR SHĀH IBN-I-MUHAMMAD SHĀH IBN-I-
FIRUZ SHĀH,

Who bore the name of Humāyūn Khān, ascended the imperial
throne in virtue of his being heir apparent, on the nineteenth of

¹ MS. (A) قول و قرار داد.

² He died according to Firishta's account on the 17th of Rabī'ul-Awwal, and was buried beside his father on the banks of the *Hauz-i-Khāss*. Text, p. 278.

³ The *Hauz-i-Khāss* was a reservoir constructed by Firūz Shāh, one of his many public works. It is said in the *Zafarnāma* of Yazdī to be "so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one side to the other. It is filled by rain in the rainy season and the people of Dihlī obtain water from it all the year round. The tomb of Firūz Shāh is by its side." Elliott, III, 441-501.

⁴ See also Thomas Pate's *Kings*, 310 note 1.

⁵ MS. (A) and footnote to Text read: *و کس و کس و کس و کس*.

Rabī'u-l-Awwal in the year 795 H. (1393 A.D.) and after one-month and sixteen days he bid farewell to this hired rest-house, and removed his effects to the permanent mansion.¹

So long as the world has been, thus has it been, and thus will it ever be.

"The issue of affairs will be at last the same for all."

[And during the time that he was *Shāhzāda*, a learned man wrote and composed in his honour an imitation of the *Maqāmātī Ḥarīrī* I have seen a *Maqāmāh* from this work].²

SULTĀN MAHMŪD SHĀH III-I-MUHAMMAD SHĀH,

Who was his youngest son,³ ascended the throne⁴ on the twentieth of Jumādī-l-Awwal⁵ in the aforesaid year relying upon the allegiance of the Amīrs,⁶ with the title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd, and having bestowed upon Muqarrab-l-Mulk the title of Muqarrab Khān, he made him his heir apparent,⁷ and confirmed to the Amīrs their appointments⁸ districts and titles; and with a view to restoring order in the important affairs of State, which had suffered in consequence of the dominance of the perverse infidels, he bestowed the title of Sultānu-sh-Sharq⁹ upon Ḥwāja-i-Jahān, and transferred him from Qannauj to Bihār with full powers and uncontrolled authority, and despatched him thither. He proceeded as far as Jājūgar¹⁰ and took possession of it,

¹ And was buried beside his father and grandfather on the edge of the Haur i Khāṣṣ. He reigned one month and fifteen days (Firights).

² The portion in square brackets is not found in MS. (A).

³ Firights also says *کوچکترین پسران*. the youngest of his sons. Briggs translates this "a youth, the son of."

⁴ MS. (A) omits *سلطنت*.

⁵ Text reads *جُمَادَى الْأُولَى*.

⁶ The text reads here *بر حکم بیعت*, but this is I venture to think wrong.

MS. (A) reads *معت* and taking this together with Firights's reading, we should, I think read *بر حکم بیعت* "relying upon the allegiance."

Firights reads: *جَمَلَةُ الْأَكْبَرِ وَ إِمْرَأَتُ بَاوِي بِيْعَت كَرْدَه مَر دَر رِقْعَه قُرْصَانِ أَوْرَدَنَد*.

⁷ Firights says became *Vakilu-s-Saltanat* and *Amīru-l-Umarā*.

⁸ MS. (A) *ولایات و خطابات*.

⁹ So also Firights. Briggs however converts this into "Mullik-oo-Shark," p. 476.

¹⁰ Firights says *Jannpār جَوْنپَر*.

acquiring a large number of elephants and much valuable property, and from that time the king of Lakhnauti began to send elephants annually as presents to Dihli.

He also rebuilt¹ the greater number of the forts which the infidels had destroyed, in the districts of Karra, Oudh, Sandila, Malata,² Bahraich and Tirhut, and despatched Sārang Khān to the district of Dibālpūr to quell the rising of Shaikhā Khūkhar. And in the month of Zū Qa'dah of the same year Shaikhā Khūkhar³ fought a sharp engagement with Sārang Khān, at a place called Sāmōthala⁴ which is twelve *krohs* from Lahore, but was defeated and retired to the hill country of Jamūn; Sārang Khān thereupon left Lahore in charge of his brother⁵ 'Adil Khān,⁶ and returned towards Dibālpūr.

And in the month of Sha'bān of this year Sultān⁷ Mahmūd leaving Muqarrab Khān as his Viceroy in Dihli, and taking with him Sa'adat Khān, who was commonly known⁸ as 'Abdu-r-Rashid Sultānī, marched in the direction of Biāna and Gwāliār. In obedience to the order of the Sultān a spacious chief mosque⁹ built of stone was erected in the town of Basāwar, and is standing at the present time. and when¹⁰ the Sultān arrived near Gwāliār, Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn Dhārwal, and Malloo Khān¹¹ the brother of Sārang Khān, and Mubārak Khān son of Malik Rājū¹² conspired against Sa'adat Khān, but he, becoming aware of their design, arrested Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Mubārak Khān and had them put to death.¹³

¹ MS. (A) تعمیر فرمود و.

² MS. (A) دلمار Dalmar.

³ MS. (A) supplies کپوگهر. Firighta says "advancing from Ajūdhan."

⁴ Firighta does not give the name of the place.

⁵ MS. (A) reads لاہور را برادر خویش عادل خان.

⁶ MS. (A) repeats the words

محمود مغرب خان را بہ نیابت در شہر گذاشتہ و سعادت خان را
جیدہ الرشید سلطانی —

⁷ MS. (A) اشتہار داشت.

⁸ MS. (A) omits و.

⁹ MS. (A) omits چون

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits خان. Firighta calls this man Malloo Khān.

¹¹ So also Firighta.

¹² Firighta writes بدگشتہ. Badāoni apparently always uses سیاست in the sense of capital punishment.

Malloo Khān fled to Muqarrab Khān in Dihli. The Sultān having returned to the Capital, encamped at some distance from the city, and Muqarrab Khān fearing his displeasure because he had given asylum to Malloo Khān,¹ entrenched himself and prepared to fight² and remained in his fortified position three months, and war arose between Muqarrab Khān and Sa'adat Khān.³

And in the month of Muharram in the year 797 H. (Nov. 1394 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd was induced by the deceitfulness of certain friends of Muqarrab Khān to leave Sa'adat Khān, to enter the fort and come to terms with Muqarrab Khān, who thus obtained the assistance he needed. The following day Muqarrab Khān and Sa'adat Khān met on the field of battle, and Muqarrab Khān being defeated again entered the fort. Sa'adat Khān went to Firūz-shāh,⁴ and acting in concert with some of the Amīra summoned Nugrat Khān son of Fath Khān and grandson of Sultān Firūz Shāh⁵ from Miwāt, and set him upon the throne in the month of Rabi'ul-Awwal of the aforesaid year, with the title of Nāṣir-d-Din Nugrat Shāh. Nugrat Shāh was nothing more than a puppet, for Sa'adat Khān assumed the whole of the authority in state matters, and some slaves of the Firūzi party and some elephant drivers joined with Sultān Nugrat Shāh, and by some clever artificer placed him upon an elephant, and without warning fell upon Sa'adat Khān unawares in full force; Sa'adat Khān was paralysed and helpless, and⁶ of necessity took to flight and came

¹ MS. (A) omits cāh.

² MS. (A) *shāh*.

³ This account is untrustworthy as it throws no light upon the real course of events. Firishṭa writes as follows:—Muqarrab Khān came out to receive the Sultān and to pay him respects, but becoming alarmed at the splendour and array of the royal court, because of his having given asylum to Malloo Khān, fled to the city where he fortified a position and began to fight. The quarrel lasted for some three months, with frequent engagements between the besiegers and the besieged, when recognizing that this was all due to Sa'adat Khān Bārbak, Nāṣir-d-Din Mahmūd Shāh at the instigation of his intimates entered the city upon a favourable opportunity in the month of Muharram 797 H. and came to terms with Muqarrab Khān, who on the following day started from Dihli to fight against Sa'adat Khān, but was defeated and forced to return to the city." (Firishṭa, Bo. text p. 279). Cf. Briggs, p. 480.

⁴ Being compelled by the onset of the rains to decamp (Firishṭa).

⁵ The text reads *نصرت خان بن فتح خان بن سلطان فیروز شاہ*. The above translation is to avoid the ambiguity which a literal rendering involves.

⁶ MS. (A) *shāh*.

o Dihli, where he sought the protection of Muqarrab Khān, and was treacherously¹ put to death by him: then the Amirs of Nusrat Shāh's faction such as Muhammad Muzaffar Vazīr and Shihāb Nāhir and Malik Fazl-llāh Balḥī,² and the slaves of Firūz Shāh's party one and all³ renewed their declaration of allegiance to Sulṭān Nusrat Shāh and divided the appointments afresh.

Sulṭān Mahmūd was known as King in Dihli, while in Firūzshāh Nusrat Shāh enjoyed that title,⁴ and Muqarrab Khān placed the citadel of old Dihli under the command of Bahādur Nāhir Miwātī, and bestowed upon Malloo Khān⁵ the title of Iqbāl Khān,⁶ and day by day battles were fought between these two kings,⁷ who were like the two kings in the game of chess,⁸ Sulṭān Nusrat Shāh retained possession of the country of the Doāb, and Saubhal, Pānīpāth, Rohtak, and Jahjūr,⁹ while a few old ruined forts such as Dihli and Sirī and the rest, remained in the hands of Sulṭān Mahmūd, and from that time forward this proverb became a common expression: The rule of the Lord of the World (Khudāwand-i-'Ālam) is from Dihli to Pālsam.¹⁰ And all over Hindustān there arose various parties each with its own Malik.¹¹

Verse.

Say, either you rule in the city, or let me rule

For the affairs of the state go to ruin between two rulers.

The affairs of the kingdom continued in this state for a space of three years, at one time the Dihli party got the better of the Firūzshāh¹² party and at another time the positions were reversed.

¹ MS. (A) omits *موت*.

² *مختار بقاء*. (Firigha).

³ MS. (A) omits *موت*.

⁴ See Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, 312, note 1, and 313, note 1.

⁵ MS. (A) omits *موت*.

⁶ Firigha states that these two joined neither king waiting to see how affairs would turn out.

⁷ For a space of three years (Firigha).

⁸ That is to say could neither win nor be removed from the encounter.

⁹ Cf. Thomas *Pathān Kings*, 313, notes 1-2.

¹⁰ *Hakim-i-Khudawand-i-'Ālam* at Dihli to Pālsam.

¹¹ See Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, p. 315 n. 1.

¹² MS. (A) *موت*.

Veras.

137. Like the kite which is six months female and six months male.¹

And in the year 798 H. (1395 A.D.) many battles took place between the *Marnad-i-'Alī*,² *Khizr Khān*, the Amīr of Multān, and *Sārang Khān* the ruler of Dipālpūr, and, eventually, owing to the treachery of certain of the slaves of Malik Marwān, who was the tutor of Malik Suleimān the father of *Khizr Khān*, and in consequence of their throwing in their lot with *Sārang Khān* the governor of Dipālpūr,³ Multān passed from the possession of *Khizr Khān* to that of *Sārang Khān*, and his party began to grow weaker and weaker every day.

And in the year 799 H. (1396 A.D.) *Sārang Khān* having overcome⁴ *Ghālib Khān* the governor of Sāmāna, and *Tātār Khān* the Wālī of Pānīpath, gained possession of the country as far as the outskirts of Dīhli.⁵ Sultān Nūrat Shāh sent Malik Ilyās⁶ a slave of the Firūz Shāhī party with elephants and an army to reinforce *Tātār Khān*. He accordingly drove *Sārang Khān* out of Sāmāna and delivered it to *Ghālib Khān*.⁷

And in the month of Muḥarram 800 H. (1397 A.D.) a severe engagement took place between the two parties in the neighbourhood of the village of Kotla; *Sārang Khān* was defeated⁸ and fled towards Multān, and *Tātār Khān* proceeded to the frontier of Tilaundī, and sending Kamāla-d-Dīn Mubīn in pursuit of *Sārang Khān*, returned. And in the month of Rabī'u-l-Awwal in the year already mentioned,⁹ Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad, grandson¹⁰ of the

¹ The *Burhān-i-Qāṭī*.

او شش ماه نر و شش ماه ماده میباشد و بعضی گویند یکسال نر و یکسال ماده است

It is a male for six months and a female for six months, some say one year male and one year female

The *Ḥayāt-i-Haywān* says nothing about this (art. *ققاب* and *ققاب*), but mentions a statement that the *ققاب* 'uqāb eagle or kite has no male, but the females are impregnated by the fox. See also I. K. (Blane) iii, 305.

² See Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, p. 329, n. 1.

³ MS. (A) omits the words *حاکم دیپالپور*.

⁴ MS. (A) omits *و*.

⁵ MS. (A) omits *و*.

⁶ MS. (A) *الیاس* also Firsihta.

⁷ In the beginning of Muḥarram 800 H. (Firsihta).

⁸ MS. (A) reads *مقتل ملتان*.

⁹ MS. (A) reads *مقتل ملتان*.

¹⁰ MS. (A) *نیمه* Firsihta writes *نیمه*.

great-Amir Timūr Gūrgān¹ King of Khurāsān and Māwarā-an-Nahr, had crossed the river Indus.² and was besieging the fortress of Uchh.³ 'Alī Malik, Sārang Khān's lieutenant fought and held the fort for a month, and when Malik Tāju-d-Din Bakhtyār arrived 269. at the fort of Uchh with a thousand cavalry given him by Sārang Khān, Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad left Uchh, and taking Malik Tāju-d-Din Bakhtyār and his thousand sowāra⁴ unawares in their position on the banks of the river Bīāh, attacked them. The greater number of Malik Tāju-d-Din's force fell by the sword, while those who escaped the sword were drowned in the floods of destruction;⁵ and Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad⁶ after gaining this victory pursued them with all speed,⁷ and invested the fortress of Multān⁸ Sārang Khān held out against him for six months engaging him frequently, but at last begged for quarter, and had an interview with the Mīrzā,⁹ who took up his station in Multān pending the arrival of the great Timūr.

¹ MS. (A) گورگانی. Gurgānī. The exact meaning of this title has been much discussed; the most recent opinion is that of Dr. Erdmann, according to whom "Kurkān or Gurgān stands for 'son-in-law' or for a prince who is allied by marriage with some "mighty monarch." In this way, its Mongol sense, it is used, he tells us by Rashīd-d-Dīn. He also tells us that Kurkān or Gurgān represents the Chinese expression Fu-mā and that the Amir Timūr was called Fu-er Fu-mā by the Chinese, because he married the daughter of Chan-ti, the ninth and last Emperor of the Mongol dynasty. Fu-mā in fact means "son-in-law" in Chinese, when applied to princes, and thus is a translation of the Mongol word."

For fuller particulars see note, page 278 of the *Tarikh-i-Rashīdī* by Elian and Ross, from which the above is extracted. In M. Pavet de Courteille's *Turkī Dictionary* we find "گورگانی prince de la race de Timour qui épouse une fille de la race de Djenghis-Khān: prince de race royale qui épouse une fille de roi: prince né de parents issus de Khāns qui épouse la fille d'un Khākan: surnom de Timour; carant, beau, poli." see also *Ain-i-Akbarī* (B) I. 464 n.

² By a bridge of boats (Firishṭa).

³ اوجده (Firishṭa.)

⁴ MS (A) omits the words اختیار هزار سوار.

⁵ Firishṭa says

چنانچه اکثر آن مردم در وقت گویز بقتل رسیدند و بعضی در آب غرق گشتند.

Most of them were put to death as they fled, and some were drowned in the river.

⁶ MS. (A) omits پیر محمد.

⁷ MS. (A) omits تمام

⁸ Firishṭa tells us that Malik Tāju-d-Din escaped with a few men and fled to Multān

⁹ Being compelled by famine (Firishṭa)

And in the month of Shawwāl in the aforesaid year Iqbāl Khān, who is better known as Malico, swore many oaths of allegiance to Sultān Nusrat Shāh, whom he deported to the fortress of Jahānumā,¹ taking him away with elephants and an armed force; and Sultān Mahmūd and Muqarrab Khān and Bahādar Nāhir shut themselves up in old Dihli. On the third day from this Iqbāl Khān made a sudden attack in strong force upon Nusrat Shāh hoping to take him by surprise; Nusrat Shāh fled from Jahānumā and came to Firūzābād,² and leaving there crossed the Jamna and went to join Tātār Khān his Vasīr at Pānīpath. The whole³ of the army and elephants of Nusrat Shāh fell into the hands of the estate Iqbāl Khān, and for two whole months daily battles were fought between Muqarrab Khān and Iqbāl Khān, until by the intervention of certain Amirs peace was established between these two leaders, but after a few days⁴ Iqbāl Khān proceeded against Muqarrab Khān,⁵ and without warning suddenly surrounded him and besieged him; and after giving him assurances of safety raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and getting Sultān Mahmūd into his power made a puppet of him and took the management of the state into his own hands. Then in the month of Zū Qādash of the aforesaid⁶ year Iqbāl Khān wrested Pānīpath by force from the followers of Tātār Khān, and seized all his baggage and his elephants and army. Tātār Khān previously to this expedition of Iqbāl Khān, had left Pānīpath with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihli but found himself quite unequal to the task, and throwing his country⁷ to the winds left Dihli and went to Gujrāt with a large following to join his father.⁸ Iqbāl Khān coming to Dihli bestowed upon Malik Nāsr-i-Mulk, a relation of Tātār Khān who had joined him, the title of ʿAdil Khān, and placed under his control the district of the Dośb.

And in the month of Safar of the year 801 H. (1398 A.D.) Amīr

¹ MS (A) reads قلاں پنا but Firishta reads قلاں نا as in the text.

² MS (A) قلاں.

³ MS. (A) تمامی

⁴ MS (A) پس.

⁵ Firishta says "from motives of worldly wisdom broke his faith."

⁶ MS (A) سنة.

⁷ اؤل Aulal or اؤل aulakā. A Tarkī word signifying "province, villo, pays, fief" according to M. Peret de Courteille.

⁸ His father Zafar Khān (Firishta)

Timūr the Great attacked the town of Tulumba,¹ and taking Multān, put to the sword² the whole of the prisoners of the army of Sārang Khān whom Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad had kept in confinement; proceeding thence by continuous marches he also took the fort of Bhat,³ and having taken prisoner Rāi Jaljīn⁴ Bhatī put him to death together with the garrison and inhabitants of the fort.

Leaving there⁵ and taking Sāmāns, he put to death crowds of fugitives from Dipālpūr and Ajūdhan and Samatī,⁶ who were helplessly fleeing in all directions in terror of their lives, and taking large numbers of them prisoners he took them along with him, and covering great distances he crossed the river Jamna, and entered the Doāb,⁷ and sweeping the greater part of the country

¹ Text تولمبا MS. (A) تولمبا Firights تولمبا. Tulumba (see Hunter Imp Gaz., XIII. 163) is shown in Rennell's map at the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenāb, Jangana being at the junction of the Chināb and Rāvi; (Tick III.).

Firights says "Arrived at a place where the river of Jamū and the Chenāb meet where there was a strong fortress called Tulanbha." Briggs says "to the conflux of the Chanab with the Ravy."

From Tulumba Firights tells us Timur marched to Shāhnawāz where they took all the grain they acquired and burned the remainder. From thence he went to Ajūdhan and Bhatnir. Shāhnawāz is shown in Rennell's map on the Eastern bank of the Rāvi, Long 72° E. Lat 30° 5' N. Ajūdhan is Pāk Pattan, and is about 80 miles S.-W. of Shāhnawāz. Here is the tomb of Shāhī Farīd-d-Dīn Ganjī Shukkar which was visited by Timūr. From Ajūdhan to Bhatnir is about 90 miles. Firights says from Khālīkol to Bhatnir is fifty Kroh. See Elliott III. 415 et seqq. for the description of this campaign translated from the *Malfūzāt-i-Timūrī*. Timūr calls Khālīkol, Khālī Kotālī, and says it is ten kos from Ajūdhan and fifty from Bhatnir.

² MS. (A) کدرانید.

³ MS. (A) بھت Bhatper This should be بھتنیر Bhatnir, see note 1 above. Firights says that Timūr's force accomplished the distance between Ajūdhan (Khālī kol) and Bhatnir in one day. This is a long march but as they were cavalry it is perhaps possible.

⁴ The Bombay text of Firights has راو Rao Khilji, see also Briggs Firights p. 488 footnote. Both MSS. agree with the text in giving Rāi Jaljīn as the name of the governor of the fort. The *Malfūzāt-i-Timūrī* calls him Rāi Dīl Chāin, see Elliott III. 422-423.

⁵ On the 3rd of Rabi'ā-l-Awwal.

⁶ 5th of Rabi'ā-l-Awwal. see Elliott III. 426-428.

⁷ MS. (A) میدان در آب.

with the bitter whirlwind of rapine and pillage, camped on the banks of the river Jamna opposite the town of Lānī¹ not far from Dihlī;² and at this camp he put to the sword about fifty thousand prisoners who had fallen³ into the hands of his soldiery before reaching the river Ganges; and some of the ecclesiastical dignitaries of his army also, who had not the slightest acquaintance with the sword, taking all these Hindustānī Muslims for Hindūs, in their desire for the reward of holy war⁴ sent many of them with their own hands into the next world.

9. Then in the month of Jamādn-l-Awwal 801 H. the great Timūr crossed the Jamna and encamped at Firūzābād⁵ and the next day encamped above the Haṇṣ-i-Khāṣ. Iqbāl Khān having got ready a force of men and elephants, came out against him and engaged his troops, but was defeated in the first engagement, and in spite of all their efforts they were not able to withdraw even a portion of the elephants into the city,⁶ so complete was the rout. And in this defeat⁷ many were killed, and when the glittering soldiers of the army of the night had routed the troops of the day, Iqbāl Khān and Sultān Maḥmūd leaving their families and friends

¹ Lānī, seven miles N. N.-W. of Dihlī. Tiesl. I. 183. *Lauri ville entre deux peuples et munie d'un fort.* Timūr arrived there on the 27th Rabī'ū-l-Awwal. Lānī was situated on a Doāb between the Jamna and the Halis.

² MS. (A) نزيبکي.

³ MS. (A) او قتل بود.

⁴ The reward of the *غزوي* "Ghāzī" or one who fights in the cause of Islām is thus defined "God is sponsor for him who goes forth to fight in the road of God, for his satisfaction and for that of his Prophet." He shall if he be not killed, return to his home with plunder and rewards. And if he die, his reward is Paradise (*Nikhāt*, XVII, 1).

The *جہاد* *jihād* or holy war is a duty enjoined in several passages in the Qur'ān and the Traditions, and its rewards are those of Paradise. (See Hughes Dict. of Islām, Art. *Jihād*).

⁵ Firishṭa states that he dug a deep trench and fastened a number of cows and buffaloes together with raw hide, stationing sharpshooters behind them, and when Iqbāl Khān came out against him with his troops and 120 elephants defeated him with great slaughter and advanced to the Haṇṣ-i-Khāṣ; and see Elliott, III/438, *et seqq.*

The date given by Badāonī is apparently wrong, as the *Majma'at-Timūrī* says that Timūr crossed the Jamna on the 5th Rabī'ū-l-Akḥir. See Elliott, III. 443 and note 1.

⁶ MS. (A) omits *دروغ* and writes *بشهر*.

⁷ Not in MS. (A) which reads *و خلقه مطيع*.

in the bonds of shame and disgrace, took flight.¹ Sultan Mahmūd fled straight to Gujrat, and Iqbāl Khān crossing the Jamna escaped to the town of Baran. On the following day the Great Timūr gave quarter to the inhabitants of Dihli, receiving from them much valuable property and many presents as the price of quarter. In the meantime however, the people of the city killed some of the soldiers, accordingly on the fourth day he ordered all the inhabitants to be made prisoners,² and took them all off towards Transoxiāna; eventually Shaikh Ahmad Kathū³ whose tomb is well known at Sar Khēz⁴ in Gujarāt near to Ahmadābād, went along with the army and had an interview with the Great Timūr, and made apparent to him his condition as a Darvesh, and his surpassing knowledge, moreover he argued with and confuted over and over again⁵ the learned doctors who were with the

¹ On the 7th Rabī'ū-l-Akhir.

² Firsihta حکم بغارت و اسیران دہلی فرمود. See Elliott, III. 447.

³ MS. (A) کثر.

Shaikh Ahmad Khatū was born at Dihli A.H. 787 (A.D. 1328) of noble family, of that city. His name was Nasir-u-d-Din. He was a disciple of Bābā Ishāq Maghrībī, and came to Gujarāt in the reign of Sultan Ahmad Gajarati (A.D. 1411-18). He was buried in Sarkhej near Ahmadābād, (Ain-i-Akbari [Jarrett], III. 371).

Shaikh Ahmad Khatū surnamed Ganjbaksh was surnamed from Khatū a village near Nāgar, the residence of his spiritual guide Bābā Ishāq Maghrībī. After his return from a pilgrimage to the holy places he came back to Gujarāt and settled first at Sarkhej and afterwards at Ahmadābād, in the building of which he was associated with Sultan Ahmad, A.H. 813-20. He died at Sarkhej in 849 A.H., aged 111 years, and his mausoleum with the buildings attached are said to have been begun by Muhammad Shāh I, the son of Ahmad Shāh, and to have been completed by his son and successor Qutb-u-d-Din Shāh. See Bayley, History of Gujarāt, pp. 90-91, notes.

⁴ The text reads سرکج احمد آباد vide Ain-i-Akbari (Blochmann), Text, II. 220.

The text of Badāoni reads سرخیز MS. (A) reads سرکج.

Tieffenthaler, I. 377 speaks of it as follows:—"A trois milles de Guzerate se trouve Sarkes, village ou est le mausolée construit à grands frais par Gars Ahmad Roi du Guzerate" again at page 375 we find "Gars Ahmad, dont le magnifique tombeau porté par des arcades voûtées, a rendu fameux le village de Sarkes, distant de 3 milles de la ville."

Sarkhej was three miles South-East from Asāval in the vicinity of which Ahmadābād was built by Sultan Ahmad, 820 A.H. (1417 A.D.).

⁵ MS. (A) بحثهای الهی کرد.

Transoxiāna force, and begged for the prisoners' lives. The Great Timūr conceived such a strong liking for him that he acceded¹ to his request and liberated all the prisoners.

This signal service of the Shaikh remained ever as a debt upon the people of Hindustān; and a full detail of this circumstance is given at length in the *Maqāmāt* of the Shaikh. A few days after this victory Khizr Khān and Bahādur Nāhir Mīwātī,² who had taken alarm and fled to the hill country of Mīwāt, came in and paid their respects to the Great Timūr; ³ orders were issued to make all of their party prisoners, with the exception of Khizr Khān, who had apparently done some former good service which saved him. After this he raised the banner of return and seized the country at the foot of the Siwālik hills,⁴ and greatly shook that hill country as it were with an earthquake, ere he reached Lāhor.

For the date of this victory they assigned the two words رَکْا (Rakkā, affluence, prosperity) and خَار (Khār,⁵ a thorn); and Shaikhā Khūkhar⁶ also, who had formerly served the Amir and had taken Lāhor by fraud from Sārang Khān, fell into his hands. He accordingly imprisoned him together with his wife and family, and gave orders to sack Lāhor and take the inhabitants prisoners. Then having made over Dipālpur and Multān to Khizr Khān he

1 MS. (A) قبول فرموده.

2 On Friday the 24th of Rabī'ū-l-Ākhir according to the *Malfūzāt-i-Timūri*, which gives a different account of the treatment accorded to them.

3 Badāonī omits to mention the capture of Mirat (20th Rabī'ū-l-Ākhir) and the victories on the Ganges (Jumādīu-l-Awwal 1st to 15th)

4 According to the account in the *Malfūzāt-i-Timūri* this was in response to an embassy sent to Bahādur Nāhir by Timūr at Kūtila.

5 Both of these words give the date. رَکْا = 200 + 600 + 1 = 801

خَار = 600 + 1 + 200 = 801.

6 Timūr captured seven forts in the Siwālik hills, fighting twenty battles in thirty-two days with invariable success. The eighth fort belonged to Shaikhā Khūkhar and was taken about the 15th of Jumādīu-l-Awwal (Elliott III. 457). Malik Shaikhā Khūkhar was brother of Nasrat Khūkhar who was formerly governor of Lāhor on behalf of Salṭān Maḥmūd of Dihlī. He was taken prisoner by Prince Pīr Muḥammad and Rustam and Amīr Jahān Shāh, who had been sent by Timūr with an army to Lāhor for that purpose and to levy a ransom from the city of Lāhor. The *Malfūzāt-i-Timūri* states that Timūr proceeded straight to Jammū whence his route was by Jabhān, Sambast, Barūja to Attock where he crossed the Indus. This was during the days between the 24th of Jumādīu-l-Ākhir and the 3rd of Rajab. See Elliott III. 474-477; see also *Zafar Nāma* of Yazdī, Elliott III. 520-52.

said to him 'I have taken Dihlī and have made a present of it to you.' Leaving Lāhor he proceeded by uninterrupted marches by way of Kābul to his capital Samargand while Khizr Khān went to his own territory (*jāgīr*).

At this time such a famine and pestilence fell upon Dihlī that the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Dihlī. In this interval Sultān Nusrat Shāh, who after his defeat by Iqbāl Khān had gone into the Doāb, seeing that he had an open field, went first to Mīrath and thence to Firāzābād, and fortified the city of Dihlī. 'Adil Khān and the other folk who had escaped from the hands of the Mughuls, coming out of the various holes and corners where they had been hiding, gathered round him; when he had got together this company he nominated Shihāb Khān to proceed to Baran against Iqbāl Khān. Whilst he was on the way, a body of Hindūs attacked Shihāb Khān suddenly by night, and raised him to the dignity of martyrdom. Iqbāl Khān with great energy and promptitude obtained possession of his elephants and army, so that from day to day his power increased, while the affairs of Nusrat Shāh, became more and more entangled. Iqbāl Khān leaving Baran, started in the direction of Dihlī, and Nusrat Shāh leaving Firāzābād made for Mīwāt where he died, and the four quarters of Hindustān came under the dominion of Malīks of the various tribes.³ 272

Then in the year 802 H. (1399 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched against Shams Khān Anḥadī⁵ the ruler of Baiāna, and the hostile forces met in the vicinity of Nāh and Patal; fortune favoured Iqbāl Khān and Shams Khān proceeded to Baiāna. Iqbāl Khān led his army towards Kaithar and exacted contributions of money and services from Rāi Harsingh.⁴ And in this same year Khwāja-i-Jahān was received into the mercy of God in Jaunpūr.

¹ MS. (A) reads here *حواله نموده بوزان میرفت*.

² Firishṭa tells us the names of these various independent rulers. See Briggs I. 498.

³ According to Firishṭa this was in 806 H.

⁴ MS. (A) *راي حرمنگ* Rāi Harsing was Rāi of Itāra. By Kaithar or Katchar is meant Rohilkhand. See Thomas *Pathān Kings*, p. 325, note 3.

Quatrain.

How long wilt thou say "Who has drunk the cup of pleasure?
 How long wilt thou say "Who has gained the palm of fortune?
 What avail all these idle tales, for we must depart,
 What profit in all these empty stories, since death must come.

And Malik Mubārak Qaranqal,¹ having assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh, took his place.

And in Jamādu-l-Awwal² in the year 803 H. (1400 A.D.) Shams Khān of Baiāna and Mubārak Khān son of Bahādur Nāhir had an interview with Iqbāl Khān, who taking them with him fought a battle near Baitālī on the banks of the Blackwater, which is known as the Kālāpānī, with Rāi Sir³ the ruler of that district, and overcame him, and pursued the infidels as far as the confines of Itāwa; and on his arrival at Qanauj, Sultānu-sh-Sharq Mubārak Shāh came up from Jaunpūr and sat down over against him on the other bank of the river Ganges, but inasmuch as neither of them could effect a crossing, they each returned⁴ to their own country without doing anything. As he returned, Iqbāl Khān treacherously put to death Shams Khān and Mubārak Khān.⁵ In this same year Turkbacha Sultānī, the son-in-law of Ghālib Khān of Sāmāna, collected a large army, and on the ninth of Rajab of this year fought a battle with Khizr Khān near Ajūdhan, and being defeated went to the town of Bhūhar, where Ghālib Khān in concert with the other Amirs put him to death.

¹ His adopted son Malik Wāsil.

² All MSS. write this constantly جمادی الاول instead of جمادی الاول.

³ Firsihta (Bo. text) says.

و چون بقصبة بیتالی که کنار نهر گنگ است رسید رای سنیر بمقابلت آمد

Whence he arrived at the township of Baitālī on the banks of the Gungee Rāi Sanir ... came out to oppose him.

Briggs says:—"When he reached the village of Puttyaly on the Ganges the Ray of Serinagar ... opposed him."

The Kālāpānī is the Kālī Naddī or Kālīnī (see Hunter Imp. Gazette. VII. 327) lying between the Jumna and Ganges. Tīmūr calls it the Karāsū (Black water), Elliott, III. 452.

⁴ The text here is wrong; for باز گشتند read باز کشید MS. (A).

⁵ MS (A) only says Shams Khān, but Firsihta's account includes Mubārak Khān so that the text is probably correct.

And in the year 804 H. (1401 A.D.) Sultān Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Shāh arrived at Dihlī from Dhār, and although Iqbāl Khān went out to receive him, and caused him to alight at the Jahān Nūmā¹ palace with all expressions of service and manifestations of respect, still, since Iqbāl Khān was in possession of all the paraphernalia of royalty, Sultān Maḥmūd became very jealous of him and took him with him towards Qanauj. And in this year Malik-gh-Sharq Mubārak Shāh died, and his younger brother Sultān Ibrāhīm succeeded him, and came out to fight with Sultān Maḥmūd and Iqbāl Khān. Sultān Maḥmūd before engaging in conflict left the army of Iqbāl Khān under pretence of a hunting expedition, and had an interview with Sultān Ibrāhīm who treated him with scant ceremony; Sultān Maḥmūd accordingly removed Shāhzāda Fath Khān of Herāt, who was holding Qanauj on behalf of Mubārak Shāh, and took that fortress under his own control. The populace of Qanauj, both people and soldiery, joined Sultān Maḥmūd, and Sultān Ibrāhīm returned to Jaunpūr, while Iqbāl Khān retraced his steps towards Dihlī, so that Sultān Maḥmūd was left in undisputed and contented possession of Qanauj.

And in the year 805 H. (1402 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān made an attack upon the country round the fortress of Gwāliār, which Rāi Harsingh² had taken by treachery from the Muslims during the invasion of Timūr, and wresting it from the possession of Bairām Dev the son of Harsingh,³ took it into his own control. 274.

And in the year 806 H. (1403 A.D.) Tātār Khān the son of Zafar Khān, forgetting his filial duty took his father prisoner by treachery and sent him to Asāwal, assuming to himself the title of Sultān Nāṣir-u-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, and set out at the head of a large army with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihlī. While he was on the way his uncle Shams Khān administered poison to him and removed him, then he released Zafar Khān and the whole army joined him.

¹ MS (A) reads *جہان پناہ* Jahānpanāh. This was the name given to the central portion of the triple citadel of Dihlī connecting old Dihlī with Sirī. It was situated in the midst of the inhabited city, and had thirteen gates; of the other two, Sirī had seven gates, and old Dihlī ten gates. See Elliott, III.

² 449 The palace was called Jahān Nūmā as in the text.

³ Firūhtā calls him *نارسینگ* Narsingh.

⁴ Both MSS. and text read *نارسینگ* Harsingh.

Verse.

A parricide is not fitted to be a king,
And even if he is fitted he will not last for more than a few months.

And in the year 807 H. (1404 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Gyalār and Itāwa, the Rāis of which districts all took refuge within the fortress of Itāwa, and stood siege for ten months; at last they made overtures for peace, sending four elephants and other presents of suitable nature. Iqbāl Khān leaving there came to Qanauj, and fought with Sultān Mahmūd, but was unable to effect his purpose owing to the strength of the fortifications, so returned to Dihli without accomplishing his object.

And in the Muharram of the year 808 H. (1405 A.D.) he marched for Sāmāna, and from thence came to Rūpar,¹ and by stratagem laid hands upon Bahrām Khān Turkbachā, who had been an antagonist of Sārang Khān, and flayed his head. Leaving Rūpar he proceeded towards Multān, intending to fight with Khizr Khān, and at Talanndi taking with him Rāi Kunāl-d-Dīn Mubīn and the other Zamīndārs, on the nineteenth of the month of Jamādīn-l-Awwal in the abovementioned year, he engaged in battle with Khizr Khān in the neighbourhood of Ajūdhan,² on the banks of a tributary (of the Satlaj);³ and since

¹ In the Umballa district, 43 miles North of Ambāla city, Lat. 20° 57' N. Long. 76° 33' E. on the south bank of the Satlaj, (Hunter Imp. Gaz., XII. 82).

² Ajūdhan the ancient name of Pākpatan. Lat. 30° 20' 40" N. Long. 73° 25' 50" E. It is known as Pākpatan, or Ferry of the Pure, from Shaikh Farīd-d-Dīn Ganj Shakkar who is buried there. The saint was called Ganj Shakkar as he was reputed to have the miraculous power of turning into sugar whatever he put into his mouth, even earth and stones. Pilgrims from all parts of India, Afghanistan, and Central Asia flock to this shrine, and during the Muharram festival as many as 60,000 persons have been present. During the afternoon and night of the last day the crowds vie with one another in attempting to gain access to a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine known as the "Gate of Paradise." Whoever can force his way through this opening during the prescribed hours is assured of an entrance into Paradise. For this reason the crush is excessive and many are injured.

See Hunter Imp. Gaz. X. 532-533, also Cunningham (A. G. I.) 214-219.

³ In the text and MSS. we read *ajūdhan dar kindr i-dihinda*, which at first sight seems difficult to understand, until the old maps are consulted. We see in Rennell's map (A.D. 1782) that Ajūdhan was situated (G. g) upon an island surrounded by the Satlaj to the north, and a

ill-fortune attended Iqbāl Khān,¹ he was defeated in the very first engagement, and his horse being wounded could not bear him off the field, so that the soldiers of Khizr Khān pursued him, and cutting off his head sent it to Fathpur, one of the dependencies of Multān. And in the month of Jumaidū-l-Ākhir of this year Sultān Mahmūd came from Qanauj at the invitation of the Amirs of Dihli, and once more sat upon the throne of Dihli, and conferred appointments upon the Amirs, and sent the family of Mubārak Khān to Kol. And in the month of Jumaidū-l-Awwal of the year 809 H. (1406 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd marched with a force towards Qanauj, and Sultān Ibrāhīm came out thence and crossed the Ganges, but they both turned back without fighting.²

Sultān Ibrāhīm went towards Jaunpūr, and Sultān Mahmūd towards Dihli, but seeing that the Amirs of Sultān Mahmūd's army one after the other left for their own districts as they came to them in the march, Sultān Ibrāhīm turned back and besieged Qanauj; Malik Mahmūd Tarnatī, who was holding Qanauj for Sultān Mahmūd, kept Sultān Ibrāhīm engaged in fighting for four months, but when he saw that no reinforcements were arriving from any quarter he was forced to sue for peace, and surrendered Qanauj to Sultān Ibrāhīm.³ Sultān Ibrāhīm passed the rainy season at Qanauj, and then having made over that district to Ikhtiyār Khān the grandson of Malik Daulat Yār of Kanpūr, started to reduce Dihli.

tributary stream which left the main river to the eastward of Ajūdhan, and flowing south-west joined it again some 35 miles lower down. This explains Badāonī's statement. The town of Ajūdhan is generally said to have stood upon the bank of the Satlaj itself. Cunningham (A. G. of India 214) says "The ancient town of Ajūdhan is situated on the high bank of the old Satlaj 25 miles to the south-west of Depalpur and 10 miles from the present course of the river" (1871 A.D.) But from Badāonī's statement it is clear that Ajūdhan stood, not on the banks of the Satlaj itself, but on a southern loop or tributary stream. It is the modern Pākpattan, see note 2.

¹ There is a play on the words اقبال Iqbāl, good fortune and ابداء Iddār, bad fortune.

² According to Firishṭa Ibrāhīm Shāh was induced to return to Jaunpūr by the intelligence that Muẓaffar Shāh of Gujrat had taken prisoner Alp Khān, commonly called Sultān Hoshang, and was now marching on Jaunpūr.

³ MS. (A).

The text has the words کرم کرم which seem to be superfluous. They are not in MS. (A).

And in the year 810 H. (1407 A.D.) Nazrat Khān Karkandās,¹ and Tātār Khān the son of Sāzug Khān, and Malik Marhabā the slave of Iqbāl Khān, turned against Sultān Maḥmūd and joined Sultān Ibrāhīm, and Asad Khān Lodī fortified himself in Sambhal. The following day Sultān Ibrāhīm reduced the fortress of Sambhal and gave it to Tātār Khān: then crossing the Gauges he encamped on the banks of the Jamnā near the fort of Kichā in the vicinity of Dihli, where he learned that Zafar Khān had taken the district of Dhār² and was making his way to Jaunpūr;³ accordingly leaving Malik Marhabā in Baran, he reached Jaunpūr by continuous marches; Sultān Maḥmūd pursued him and having killed Malik Marhabā in battle, and taking Sambhal⁴ without a fight, left there Bāsad Khān after his usual custom. Tātār Khān marched to Qanauj and the Sultān came to Dihli. And in this year Khizr Khān came with a large force and drove Daulat Khān out of Sāmāna.⁵ The Amīra of that district all sought an interview with him, and the whole country as far as to the outskirts of Dihli fell into his hands; only Rohtak and the Doāb remained in the possession of Sultān Maḥmūd.

And in the year 811 H. (1408 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd proceeding to Hissār Firūz took it⁶ from Qiwām Khān to whom Khizr Khān had given it, and having taken possession of it, on arriving at the village of Rata⁷ turned back towards Dihli. Khizr Khān then

¹ Or probably Gargandās "the wolf-slayer" MS. (A) reads كنجور. (?) kunjo, which means a huge elephant.

² In Central India Lat. 23° 36' N. Long. 75° 4' E. see Hunter Imp. Gaz. IV. 248.

³ In Central India, between Lat. 25° 23' 45" and 26° 12' N. Long. 82° 10' and 83° 7' 45" E.

Sultān Ibrāhīm built at Jaunpur the Atala Masjid, using for this purpose the stones of a Hindū temple the votive offering of Jai Chand which he destroyed. See Hunter Imp. Gaz. VII 152.

⁴ In Rohilkund Lat. 28° 35' 5" N. Long. 78° 36' 45" E., 23 miles S. W. of Moradābād and four miles W. of the Set River. See Rennell's map. Tiff. III where he places it 45 miles N. E. of Bareilly. The Sambalaka of Ptolemy. See McCrindle's Ancient India, p. 133. See also Hunter XII. 187.

⁵ Tiff. I 133, about 25 miles S. W. of Hānu and 100 miles to the eastward of Dihli.

⁶ MS. (A) reads ان حصاره Firūzta call the fortress فیروزه Firūza.

⁷ Or راتا Rana MS. (A)

came by way of Rohtak with a large army from Fathābād to oppose Sultān Mahmūd,¹ and laid siege to Dīhli, but was not able to maintain the siege by reason of the severe famine which prevailed in Dīhli, then having taken possession of the Doāb he returned to Fathpūr.²

And in the year 812 H. (1409 A.D.)³ Bīrām Khān Turkbachā,⁴ who after the death of Balrām Khān Turkbachā had become master of Sāmāna, and had been defeated in a battle with Daulat Khān, and again revolting against Khizr Khān had had a second interview with Daulat Khān, now offered his services to Khizr Khān, and received a confirmation of the grant of the districts formerly held by him in fief. And in the year 813 H. (1410 A.D.) Khizr Khān besieged the fortress of Rohtak⁵ for six months, and after reducing it proceeded to Fathpūr.⁶ In this year Sultān Mahmūd made an expedition to Kaithar and arrived at the capital Dīhli.

In the year 814 H. (1411 A.D.) Khizr Khān came to Narnūl⁷ and Mīwāt⁸ and ravaged that country, and blockading Sultān

¹ MS. (A) reads here از قشقا باد برآمده رستم بیچنگ سلطان آمده

دلی و محاصره کرد

² For some inscrutable reason Briggs passes over the events of two years here cf. Firāhta, No text, p. 292, and Briggs, pp. 503-504.

³ The text says 712 H. MS. (A) gives 812 H.

The editor of the text gives a footnote to say that all three MSS. give 712 H.

⁴ MS. (A) inserts بیرام خان before and omits ب after

Firāhta says that Ikhtiyār Khān joined Khizr Khān seeing he was the stronger.

⁵ Held according to Firāhta by Malik Idrīs on behalf of Mahmūd Shāh.

⁶ By way of Sāmāna (Firāhta).

⁷ Which was held by Iqlīm Khān and Rahādar Khān (Firāhta).

⁸ *Must.* For an account of this Province see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. 1X. pp. 418 and seqq. from which the substance of this note is taken.

The Meos, a tribe which gave their name to this province were of obscure origin claiming to be Rājputa, but probably a combination from various stocks, and sources and nearly allied to the Minas. The original Meos probably became converts to Islam at the time of Mahmūd of Ghazni, their customs are a mixture of Hindū and Musulmān observances.

The province of Mīwāt lay south of Dīhli and in Mughul times formed part of the Subah of Agra. Its most famous towns were Nagaur, Bharatpur,

Mahmūd in the fortress of Sirī, which is part of Dihlī,¹ and Ikhtiyār Khān in Firozābād, and fighting several fierce battles, was prevented from maintaining the siege² by reason of the dearth of grain, and returned to Fathpūr by way of Pānīpath.³

And in the year 815 H. (1412 A.D.)⁴ Sultān Mahmūd departed from this world, and the kingdom passed from the family of Firūz Shāh. The duration of his reign, full as it was of turmoil and vicissitudes, was twenty years⁵ and two months, during which Sultān Mahmūd had had only the name of sovereignty

Verse

Who is there in this long-enduring world
Who can say "Mine is the kingdom" save the Almighty?

Verse.

A head which the fates exalt to a lofty position
They later on entangle its neck in a noose.

Tijār and Kewār Bahādur Nāhir (who is frequently mentioned in the text) was the founder of the Khanzāda race, long the rulers of Mīwāt

The province of Mīwāt included part of the British districts of Muttra, Gurgaon, & considerable portion of Ulwar, and some of Bharatpūr

See Pechenthaler Vol. III Map where the province is marked

¹ In the *Malfūzat-i-Timuri* we read that Timur plundered "all the three cities of Dihlī, by name Sirī, Jahānpurāh and old Dihlī"

See Elliott, III p 447, also Thomas *Pathān Kings*, p 313, note 8.

² MS. (A) omits قرار.

³ Panipath. A town of great antiquity. Lat 29° 23' N Long 77° 1' 10" E 53 miles N. of Dihlī It was the scene of decisive battles on three occasions in historical times The famous surgeons, father and son, Shūkh Hasan and Shūkh Binā were natives of Pānīpat, see *Am-i-Akbari* (B) I 643, note to No 94

See Hunter *Imp Gaz.* XI. 44

⁴ In the month of Zu Qa'da (Firishta) Firishta does not state the year though taken in connection with what has gone before he appears to mean 814 H but see n 2. Badāonī however agrees, with the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*. On this point see Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 317, note i

⁵ MS. (A) reads here,

و مدت ملک بان همه تزلزل و انقلاب نوزده سال و دو ماه بود

Firishta has almost the same words but says بیست سال twenty years as in the text So also the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*.

Firishta's statement is not very clear as to the year in which Mahmūd died but as he goes on to say that after his death the Amirs gave in their

Save the blood of kings there is nought in this bowl,
 Save¹ the duet of lovers there is nought in this desert.

¹Of the poets of the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd is Qāzī Zabīr Dihlāvī² who has left a Diwān (anthology) full of *qasīdahs* in enlogy (of Maḥmūd) of which this is one.

Heir to the mighty monarchy, Sultān Maḥmūd,
 Who succeeded his father and grandfather in the sovereignty 278.
 of the world;

He removed Dubaiān³ from the sky to serve as his signet,
 While Taurus complained saying I have but this one eye
 left.⁴

By the first strain of his bow string he has awakened the Lion
 And after that he has stretched him out in sleep with the
 deep-piercing arrow.

The whole world boasts of full satisfaction at the board of thy
 favour,

Save only the lute which complains that its belly is empty.⁵
 Oh thou whose world-conquering sword flashes in the dark-
 ness of infidelity like to the lightning flashing through the
 darkness of night,

Although the lion has made thine enemies intoxicated
 like the eyes of the beloved idols for some time, still at last
 it has overthrown them

¹ Allegiance to Daulat Khān Lodi, who struck the coinage, &c., in Maharrari of 813 H at a tolerably near that he means Zuh-Qa'du 815 H as the date of Maḥmūd's death, and not 814 H as Briggs would have it.

² Misprint in the text MS (A) reads *قازي*

³ Qazī Zabīr Dihlāvī. I can find no mention of this poet.

⁴ *الذئب* The Hyades one of the two clusters of stars included within the constellation Taurus the other being the Pleiades

⁵ Ancient notions were not agreed as to the number of stars included in the Hyades Thales reckoned two only (a and e) the two eyes of the Bull. Smith, Dict. Greek and Rom. Antiq. 150 &c).

⁶ The constellation Taurus is here spoken of as having lost one of his two eyes by which must be meant the two clusters of stars above mentioned, and not a and e of Taurus as reckoned by Thales

⁷ The *qanun* *rubab* or *late*, is a stringed instrument like a guitar but having the body shaped like a hollowed gourd somewhat resembling the body of the mandolin.

It is envy of thy generous hand which throws the ocean into tumult, for if it be not so, the ocean is never so disturbed by the winds of heaven.

The following is also by the same author :

Thou art a monarch before whom the heavens bow in adoration,
Thou art a King in whose reign time itself exults.

Qiblah¹ of the nation, and mainstay of kingdoms and religion, Mahmūd

Whom the assemblies of Sultān have chosen as their Imām.²

The Qāzī of the heavens³ comes out on foot to receive him

9. When the Governor of his unerring judgment sends the summons.

He keeps constant watch⁴ lest sedition should make a night assault,

Thy vigilance stands with a drawn sword in its hand while the people sleep (in safety).

In order that thy enemy may not enjoy the sweet breezes of the garden of thy favour

The heavens have afflicted him with fever and headache in addition to catarrh.⁵

¹ This line should read as in MS. (A).

قِبْلَةُ خَلْقٍ وَ قِيَامِ دَوْلٍ وَ دِينٍ مَسْمُورٍ

A foot-note to the Calcutta text states that the reading there given is the same in all three MSS. of Badāonī and that probably the word قِبْلَةُ has dropped out after the word دِين. This is a quite unnecessary supposition. The reading above given fulfils all requirements. MS. (B) corresponds save that for دَوْل it reads دَوْل an evident copyist's error.

قِبْلَةُ Qiblah. This is the direction in which Muslims are bound to turn during prayer: This is laid down in the Qur'ān, Sura II. "We see thee often turn thy face about in the heavens, but we will surely turn thee to a qiblah thou shalt like. Turn then thy face towards the sacred Mosque, wherever ye be turn your faces towards it" (c. 139). From the Hijra, Mohammed at first directed his followers to turn towards the temple at Jerusalem, but in the second year of the Hijra the Ka'bah at Mekka was fixed as the qiblah. See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, s. v. Qiblah.

² اِمَامِ Imām. In this passage the word is used in the sense of Khalīfah.

³ قَاضِي چَرْخ Qāzī-i-Charkh. The planet Jupiter.

⁴ MS. (A) reads incorrectly مَبْدِئِ رَاسِ

⁵ This couplet is inevitably ridiculous to English ears: the meaning is that in order to deprive him of the pleasures of the perfumed breezes, he has been afflicted with the anosmia which results from a cold in the head.

The heavens have apportioned every arrow of thine to one of the various families,

It were not possible to allot the arrows¹ in any better way than this.

The following is also his :

My love has gone outside, do thou my life also go outside,
For if thou art not outside with my love, thou wilt be outside the pale of love.

Specially that now, in order to uproot the infidels and rebels,²

The royal standards have gone out clothed in good fortune.

Shāh Mahmūd, he who when he sallied forth against the infidels,

Thou would'st say 'Isa has come forth to slay Dajjāl.³

Thy reign has cast addition into the bondage of annihilation.

I said to the heavens, Beware! this is a prisoner⁴ of the Sultān, free him not!

¹ *Siḥām*, called also *qidaḥ*. These are the arrows used by the ancient Arabs for gambling in the manner called *Al-maisar* (forbidden in the Qur'ān, II. 216, v. 92, 93). In this game a camel was bought and slaughtered, and divided into twenty-eight portions which were drawn for with ten arrows called *azlām*. The numbers after the names of the arrows indicate the value of the share drawn, *fazz* (1), *lan'am* (2), *raqib* (3), *nāfs* (4), *hils* (5), *musdal* (6), *mualla* (7).

The remaining three arrows were blanks and gained no share. Their names were *rafīḥ*, *manīḥ*, *waḡd*. The name of each arrow was written upon it and they were all put into a bag called *ribāḥ*, and given into the charge of a trustworthy man known as *al-mujil* or *al-mufiz*, whose duty was to shake the arrows up and draw out one for each in turn. Whoever drew a blank had to pay the cost of the camel, while those who drew a winning arrow received a proportionate share according to the value of the arrow. See *Majma'u-l-Bahrain, Maqāmāh*, XIII, p. 93.

² The complets are here given in the order in which they occur in both MSS. (A) (B).

³ *Dajjāl*. See page 278 n 4. "A name given in the Hadis to certain religious impostors who shall appear in the world; a term equivalent to our use of the word Antichrist. Muhammad is related to have said there would be about thirty." Hughes' *Dict of Islam*, 64. See also Albirūnī *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, pp 195-196.

⁴ MS. (A) *bandī* MS. (B) *bandī*

This is also his :

The month of Dā¹ has arrived, and the air has in consequence become so cold²

That nothing save the icy breeze can move from its place.

The earth is cold and frost bound,³ the air is even colder than the earth,

In very truth the air is chill with the weariness of age.

In the garden the fire of the tulip and Gulnār have died down,

From the cold the (graceful) trees of the garden have become mere sticks.

The water is hard frozen from the cold, and says with petulance,

I will break if anyone places his foot upon my head.

No single bud comes out from its resting place in the heart of the tree, although it wears upon its cypress-like body a cap and mantle.

The bird has ceased its song when it saw the havoc wrought by autumn,

When a general pillage is going on, lamentation is futile.

Seek not for leaves and seed-bearing fruit in the garden, for to-day

The leaves have been scattered by the wind, the seeds remain hidden beneath the earth.

The morning breeze draws every breath like a deep drawn sigh
Seeing that it has cast to the winds so benighted a being as the rose.

So far has the rose gone that should you search the East and the West,

You will not find it save in the assembly of the King of the World.

Shāh Maḥmūd from the splendour of whose assemblies, there is eternal spring in the month of Dāi, and the world is like Paradise.

¹ دای The tenth month of the Persian Shamsī year when the Sun is in Capricorn, corresponding to the commencement of winter.

² MS. (A) omits شد.

³ MS. (A) reads گشت از برف in place of گشت آیین. Text and MS. (B)

He who when he draws up his array, and orders it for battle,
The lines of the enemies at the very sight of him pale with
terror.¹

His heart is the rising place of sacred knowledge,² and he has
knowledge,

Because ³ he fathoms the secrets of Fate with a glance.

Oh thou who in the rules of Government art an example to
vazirs,

The vazirs have issued no order save on the authority of thy
judgment.

If it be not the intention of the wind to write a memorial
of thy virtues ⁴

Why does it scatter the leaves of the rose in the garden, 281.
The sun in comparison with thy (brilliant) judgment looks
like Suhā ⁵

Although Suhā cannot be seen in the bright light of the Sun.
Thou slayest thine enemies, and Time confesses thy excellence;
Thou art the refuge of the people, and the evil doers take
shelter under thy wing.

The cupbearer of thy feast bears a cup of joy in his hand,
The herald of thy fame has the whole world beneath his feet.
The banquet of Truth cannot be spread save in praise of thee
Although the whole feast terminates with the distribution of
sweetmeats.

Hail Khusrū! even should I remain excluded from attendance
upon thee

I shall not take one moment's rest from praising and eulogis-
ing thee.

My duty is thy service, since were I to refrain from that
I have no other occupation save singing thy praises.

¹ An adequate translation of these lines seems impossible. There is a *tuḡnīs-i-lafẓī* or play upon words here which cannot be pre-
served in English. The words *ārd safrā* have two meanings, 1st,
draws up its lines, and 2nd, grows pale, according as *safrā* is taken as two
words or as one.

² MS. (A) and (B) write *دل او مشرق غیب است و قوتی دارد*.

³ MS. (A) write *گر*. Text and MS. (B) *که*.

⁴ MS. (A) reads incorrectly *خواهم بنوشت*.

⁵ Suhā is the name of a dim star in Ursa Major. See Lane s. v. *السها*.

Thou hast led thine army against thy enemies, and I follow thee

Sending early and late the army of benediction to thy assistance.

As long as the nights of the month of Dā are longer than its days,

And until the season of Nauroz comes round unpreceded by winter,

May the garden of thy enjoyment blossom like the season of spring.

May the life of thy enemies be shorter than the days of winter.

This is another of his compositions.

The scent of the rose has arisen, haste my companion to the rose-garden,

Seek for the old wine, and re-call that old love of thine.

82

The branch o' the rose, like the date-palm of 'Īsā, refreshes the soul in the garden

Because the breeze gently shakes it continually like Mariam.¹

Although the tender branch inclines with the wind, from one side to the other

Yet a stream flows, Praise be to God, up to the *Ṣirāt-i-mustaqīm*.²

The branch is full of leaves, why does the nightingale complain in its song?

How is it possible that Moses should have patience when he has *Khizr* for companion?³

¹ "So she conceived him and she retired with him into a remote place. And the labour pains came upon her at the trunk of a palm-tree and she said, 'O that I had died before this, and been forgotten out of mind!' and he called to her from beneath her, 'Grieve not, for thy Lord has placed a stream beneath thy feet; and shake towards thee the trunk of the palm-tree, it will drop upon thee fresh dates fit to gather; so eat and drink and cheer thine eye.'" Qur'ān. Palmer's translation. See Qur'ān. Surā XIX. vv. 20-28

² *Ṣirāt-i-mustaqīm*. The hair-like bridge over the midst of Hell over which the righteous will pass like lightning.

Qur'ān, I. 5, *Ḥajj* not *Ṣirāt*. It is also interpreted to mean the religion of Islām. Qur'ān, III. 44. See also Lane, s. v.

³ This refers to the legend told by Muhammadan commentators on certain verses of the Qur'ān, that when *Khizr* had disappeared in search of the water of immortality, Moses was inspired to search for him and was told that he

The wind draws lines across the stream like the scribe as
he drives his pen,

The eye of the narcissus points to the sky like the eye of the
astronomer as he prepares his tables.

The parrots flaunt in green attire, the ringdove wears white
garments,

The crow is devoid of any such honourable vestments, wear-
ing as it does a black blanket.¹

You would say² that the narcissus has produced a transcript
of these people (*umam*) who sleep below the dust. Look!
it has for each *alif* two *mims*.³

The sumbul and narcissus are copies of the locks and eyes
of the fair ones;

Of these two, one falls prostrate stricken with blackness,
the other comes intoxicated (with love).⁴

would meet him by a rock where two seas met, and where he should lose a
fish which he was directed to take with him. The companion spoken of is
said to have been Joshua, and the servant who guided them (v. 64) was no
less than *Khizr* himself, and when Moses asked if he should follow him said,
"Verily thou canst never have patience with me. How canst thou be patient
in what thou comprehendest no knowledge of." *Khizr* upon being assured
by Moses that he would be patient bade him to follow but not to ask about
anything he might see. They embarked in a ship which *Khizr* scuttled, where-
upon Moses naturally asked the reason and was rebuked. Further on they
met a boy whom *Khizr* killed and again roused Moses' impatience; again
they found a wall which *Khizr* prevented from falling without exacting any
reward for his services, and again Moses became impatient whereupon *Khizr*
said, "This is the parting between me and thee" and explained to Moses the
reason for his action in each case. See Qur'an XVIII. 64 and following verses.

¹ The couplets are arranged in the order in which they come in the MSS.

² The text reads *قولي* with a foot note variant *قولي* MSS. (A) (B)
agree with text.

³ *نرجس* or *نرجس* Nargis. The poet's narcissus. Narcissus poeticus N. O.
Amurillidaceae. This natural order has a single style with three stigmas,
and six stamens of which the anthers burst inwards. The poet here likens the
three divisions of the style to three *alifs* (ا) and the stamens to six *mims*
(م) the anthers forming the head of the letter, and the curved filament its
downward stroke. Thus the single *alif* (ا) and two *mims* (م) form he says
the word *امم* *umam*; the plural of *امة* *ummatun* meaning the followers of
a prophet, or a people of one religion, hence generically a generation of men
as in the saying *قد مضت امة* generations of men have passed away.

⁴ *سنبول* Sumbul. *Nardostachys Jatamansi*. N. O. Valerianaceae. See note 6.

The rose-bud has blossomed by the blast of the breeze of
the garden,

In truth, he who has a resigned heart rejoices even when
misfortune befalls him.

You would say that the black spot which has come in the
heart of the tulip from the cruelty of autumn

Is a Hindū who has fallen¹ into the flames of hell.

She stands there on one foot lifting upwards two eyes²

Beseeching the merciful Lord³ to grant the King eternal life.

83.

He in comparison with whose youthful fortune the heaven is
as an old man bowed with age,⁴

And for instructing his judgment, abstract Wisdom⁵ is as an
intelligent child.

When once the power of growth⁶ has obtained sufficient
intensity from his sharp sword, it splits the fruit-stone, as
his sword does the enemy, into two halves beneath the
earth.

The star of sovereignty,⁷ which has left its orbit to seek thy
auspicious presence,

Will find its proper orbit if it becomes stationary at thy
court.

page 146: see also *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, pp. 405 *et seqq* for a paper on this,
the Indian Spikenard, from which the following is taken " the true nard or
Jatāmānsi which, by the way, has other names in the *Amarcōsh*, the smoothest
of which are *gatilā* and *lōmasā* both derived from words meaning *hair*" The
comparison of the narcissus to the eye is so familiar as to need no reference.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) فروخته.

² The scape of the tulip is here spoken of as bearing two flowers.

³ MS. (A) رب عظیم

⁴ I read here پیرنگونست *pīr-i-nigūnast* for پیرنگونست (MSS. and text)
pīr-i-nakūst which has no intelligible meaning. Probably the author wrote
نگونست *nigūnast*

⁵ عقل کل *'aql-i-kull*. The first or supreme intelligence, a name given to the
Angel Gabriel. In the language of the Sūfīs the *'aql-i-kull* (called also *'aql-i-awwal*) appears to answer to the "Logos" of the Alexandrian School. See
Kashghāf-fī-Istīlāb-i-funūn, II. p. 1028

⁶ قوت نامیده for قوت نامیده.

⁷ رجوع کوكب *Rujū' i kaulab*, called also رجعة *Rijā't*, is the motion of a
star in opposition to the movement in the normal direction which is known by
the term استقامة *Istiqāmat*. See *Kashghāf*, s. v. رجوع

And in truth after Qāzi Zahir no poet arose in Hindūstān whose poetry repaid the trouble of reading. After the death of Sultān Mahmūd the great Amīrs of Hindūstān as for instance Mubārīz Khān and Malik Idrīs who was the ruler of Rohtak, quarrelled with Khizr Khān and were disposed to make common cause with Daulat Khān, Khizr Khān accordingly stood fast in Fathpūr and made no expeditions to any country.

In Muharram of the year 816 H. (1414 A.D.) Daulat Khān having gone towards Kaithar on a hunting expedition and having brought the Rāis of that district into his toils, went to Baitālī, and Mahābat Khān the Wālī of Badāon came thither and joined him. And in this year Sultān Ibrāhīm besieged Qādir Khān the son of Mahmūd Khān in Kālpī, and Daulat Khān being very short handed, ignored him, and omitted to send reinforcements to either of these places; and Khizr Khān in Zū-l-qāda of this year came to the fortress of Firūzābād,¹ the Amīrs of which district came into him, and Malik Idrīs was besieged in Rohtak. Khizr Khān marched by that route to Miwāt and taking with him Jalāl Khān Miwātī the brother's son of Bahādur Nāhir, conveyed him to Sanbal which place he pillaged, and in Zū Hijjah of that same year he encamped before the gates of Dihli with the intention of taking it; Daulat Khān held out for four months, but at last was compelled by the want of agreement with Malik Lonā and the other supporters of Khizr Khān to sue for peace, humbly and earnestly. He had an interview with Khizr Khān who threw him into prison, and delivered him to Qiwām Khān who conveyed him to the fortress of Firūza and slew him. This happened in the year 816 H. (1414 A.D.) on the seventeenth of Rabi'ū-l-Awwal.² 284.

Verse.

Everyone whom the world favours, she at last³ spills his blood,
What can be the condition of that child, whose mother is
his enemy

MANSAB-I-'ĀLĪ KHIZR KHĀN IBN MALIKU-SH-SHARQ⁴ IBN MALIK
SULEIMĀN,

In the year before mentioned after the conquest of Dihli, having

¹ MS (A) reads *حصار فیروزہ آمد*.

² Firishā adds. The duration of his reign was one year and three months.

³ MS. (A) reads *عاقبة* for *آخرش*.

⁴ MS (A). The text reads *ملک اشرف*.

raised the standards of monarchy, became firmly established upon the throne of sovereignty.

This Malik Suleimān had been exalted in his childhood by Malik Naqir-i-Mulk Marwān Firūz Shāhī to the rank of a son, and had been educated accordingly. In real truth he was a Saiyyidzāda of high family, so that on one occasion Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt, the fountain of dignities, Shaikh Jalālu-l-Haqq wau-s-Shara'wau-d-dīn al-Bukhārī *may God sanctify his soul*, came for some important purpose into the house of Malik Marwān Daulat: food was served, and Malik Suleimān brought the ewer and bason to Makhdūm intending to pour water over his august hands. Makhdūm addressing him by the title of Malik Marwān Daulat, said, 'This lad is a Saiyyid Zāda, and it is derogatory to him to allot him such a menial service. From that day forth, it was known that Malik Suleimān was an undoubted Saiyyid; but besides this, the signs of Saiyyidship, and good qualities and praiseworthy traits became manifestly visible in the character of Masnad-i-'Alī Saiyyid Khizr Khān.

Verse.

The Saiyyid was a man in whom were manifested

The virtues of Muḥammad, and the grace of 'Alī the accepted.

The following is an epitome of the career of Malik Marwān Daulat. He was governor of Multān in the time of Firūz Shāh, and after the death of Malik Marwān Daulat, the Government of that district devolved upon his son Malik Shaikh, shortly after whose death it was confirmed to Malik Suleimān. He also bade farewell to this world in that reign, and the country of Multān with its dependencies was conferred upon Saiyyid Khizr Khān on behalf of Sultān Firūz Shāh, up to the date when the aforesaid Saiyyid was advanced to the Sultānate by the Amirs. He however would not assume the title of King; but received the title of Rāyāt-i-A'ala.¹

On the date mentioned he alighted at the palace of Sultān Maḥmūd, and gained over the hearts of great and small by public largesse and unbounded favours, distributing titles, offices, and territories among his personal attendants; in the very first year of his accession he conferred upon Malik Naḥr² (Tufā) the title

¹ See Thomas, *Pothān Kings*, p. 329, and footnote.

² MS. (A) *Ḥāṣ* Tufā.

of Tāju-l-Mulk, and appointed him with a considerable following to the command of the eastern districts of Hindūstān; he accordingly crossed the river Ganges at the ford of Pīrāhā,¹ and entered the country of Kaithar. Rāi Har Singh and the rebels of that district sought refuge in the forests of that country² and lay hid there. Then he gave over Kaithar to rapine and plunder, whereupon Mahābat Khān Hākim of Badāon also came in and had an interview with him, and Rāi Har Singh being reduced to extremities submitted to him, agreeing to the conditions imposed of the payment of tribute and of a yearly offering. Tāju-l-Mulk and Mahābat Khān seized the banks of the river Rāhāb, and on arriving at the ford of Sargdawārī crossed the Ganges, chastised 285 the infidels of Kahwar (which is now known by the name of Shamsābād)³ Kanpila and Raitālī, and passing by the towns of Sakina⁴ and Pādham came to Rāparī;⁵ and Hasan Khān and Malik Hamra his brother, who held the government of Rāparī, and Rāi Sar the governor of Chandawār, together with the infidels of Gwālīar all came and joined hands with him, agreeing to pay tribute, and voluntarily assuming the yoke of obedience. From thence Malik Tāju-l-Mulk came to the township of Jālesar,⁶ which he wrested from the grasp of the infidels of Chandawār, and restored as of old to the control of the Muslims who had held it in days of yore, and gave fresh currency to the Muḥammadan religion. Then having appointed his own agents and

¹ MS. (A) از گذر پیراما.

² MS. (A) در جنگل آنولایت.

³ Shamsābād. Town in Farnkhābād district, N.-W. P. situated on the South bank of the Buri Gangā river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh town (Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, XII, 375).

⁴ Sakina. For this we should perhaps read Sakita (MS. (A) lends countenance to this view).

Sakit lies in the direct route indicated between Kanpila and Rāparī, 12 miles South-East of Etah town. It was here that Bahlol Lodi died on his return to Dihli from an expedition against Gwālīar (*Āin-i-Akbari*).

⁵ Rāparī. Village and ruins 44 miles South-West of Mainpūrī town. Local tradition ascribes the foundation of the ancient city to Rāo Zorārar Singh, also known as Itāpar Sen (Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, XI, 511).

⁶ On the Doab plain, 38 miles East of the Jemna, and of Muttra. (Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, VII, 103).

having seized the right bank of the Black water,¹ inflicted condign punishment upon the infidels of Etāwah, and then returned towards the city.

And in the year 818 H. (1415 A.D.) he gave to Saiyyid Khizr Khān the younger son² of Malik Mabārak, whose countenance betokened royal dignity, the territory of Firūzpūr and Sīhrind, together with the whole of the districts which were in the possession of Bairam Khān Turkbacha, and subjected the supreme control and administration of that tract of country to his will and pleasure, while Malik Sadhū Nādir,³ having assumed the control of the western portion of Hindūstān, was appointed to this office with the rank of Nāib-i-Shāhzāda (i.e., vicerent of the Prince).

And in the aforesaid year the Prince here alluded to having, in concert with Malik⁴ Sadhū Nādira and Zīrak Khān the Amīr of Sēmāna and other Amīrs and Maliks,⁵ set in order the important affairs of that province, and put everything upon a satisfactory footing, returned to Dīlī his capital city.

And in the year 819 H. (1416 A.D.) he appointed Malik Tāju-l-Mulk⁶ with a large army to carry the standards of Khizr Khān⁷ towards Baiāna and Gwālīār; Malik Karīm-l-Mulk, the brother of Shams Khān Auhādī came and had an interview with him. Having cleared those regions of the thorns of infidelity he returned; and in this selfsame year some of the Turkbachas of Bairam Khān's party seized by treachery Malik Sadhū Nādira, who was holding the district of Sīhrind as the Shāhzāda's deputy, raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and took possession of Sīhrind. Khizr Khān thereupon sent Zīrak Khān to put down this rebellion, and he accordingly went thence to the foot of the hills in pursuit of those rebels, but after encountering many difficulties he returned.

¹ The Kālī Nadi or Kālindī, or Kālīnī, rises in the Muzaffarnagar district, and drains the whole eastern portion of the Doāb. The name in the text آب سیاه ab-i-siyāh means *Black water*, and is a translation of the Hindūstani kālī naddi.

² MS. (A) reads wrongly پسر خود for پسر خود.

³ MS. (A). The text reads نادر.

⁴ MS. (A).

⁵ Omit و after ملوک.

⁶ MS. (A) reads تاج الدین Tāj d-Dīn

⁷ MS. (A) روایات اعلیٰ خضر حانی

In this year also Sultān Ahmad, who was the ruler of Gujerāt, laid seige to Nāgor,¹ but upon hearing of the march of Khizr Khān abandoned the siege and withdrew. Khizr Khān came to Chhāin,² and Alyās Khān the governor of Chhāin gave in his allegiance to him. Thence he proceeded to Gwālīār, and although he did not reduce that fortress, still he levied tribute and offerings from it, and thence came to Baiān where Shams Khān Auḥādī gave in his submission. And in the year 820 H. (1417 A.D.) Tūghān the Ra'īs with his band who had been the murderers of Malik Sadhū revolted. Zirak Khān was again appointed (to chastise them), and scattered that gathering in all directions.

And in the year 821 H. (1418 A.D.) Khizr Khān went up against Kaithar, and Har Singh Dev, who has already been mentioned, laid waste the whole of Kaithar, and took to the forest of Anwla, the circumference of which is twenty-four kroḥs. After several engagements he was defeated, and eventually withdrew to the hill country of Kumāon. Tāju-l-Mulk crossed the river Rahab and pursued him as far as the hills, and from there came to Badāon, and taking with him Mahābat Khān, the governor of Badāon, crossed the Ganges by the crossing of Bajlāna: then having dismissed Mahābat Khān, he himself went on to Itāwa, whence he returned to Dīlī laden with spoil. In this same year, ² also, Khizr Khān³ again led an army against Kaithar, and proceeding by way of Kol arrived at Baitālī, where he crossed the Ganges and came to Badāon. On this occasion Mahābat

¹ Nāgor. In Brigg's translation of Firihṭa this appears as Bagore (I. 509). It is Nagaur in Jodhpur State, Rajputānā 48 miles North-West of Nasirābād and 75 North-East of Jodhpūr city.

² The text reads جہان Jāhān but MS (A) reads چہاين Chhāin

In Brigg's (I. 609) we find this place called Jalwur, with a footnote: "I have some doubt as to the true name: it is differently written in my various MSS." In the lithographed edition of Firihṭa the name is written plainly enough جانور Jānūr (Bombay Edn. I, 294), and it is said that without waiting for Khizr Khān to advance, Ahmad withdrew in the direction of Mālwa, and that when Khizr Khān arrived at Jānūr, Alyās Khān who was governor of the new city called 'Arūs-i-Jahān, which was one of the cities built by 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, came to pay his homage. Evidently, then, the city mentioned in our text and this "'Arūs-i-Jahān" are the same.

³ MS. (A) reads here باز بدلی آمد و ہم در سہ ماہی باز which appears to be a copist's error.

Khān Badāonī being afraid of him, shut himself up in the fortress, and opposed Khizr Khān for a space of six months; he was on the point of being defeated, when Qiwām Khān and Ikhtiyār Khān, and certain of the other Mahmūd Shāhī Amīrs who had seceded from Daulat Khān and had espoused the cause of Khizr Khān, meditated treason against Khizr Khān: but Khizr Khān becoming aware of this state of things¹ abandoned (the siege of) Badāon, and returned to Dihli. And in the year 822 H. (1419 A.D.) he put those traitor Amīrs to death on the banks of the Ganges, in vengeance for the treachery of which they had been guilty. In the same year also an obscure person on the confines of Bajwāra,² falsely gave himself out to be Sārang Khān who had been killed some time before, and upon his assuming this name several adventurers flocked to him. Khizr Khān deputed Sultān Shāh Lodi³ to proceed against him. They fought a fierce battle in the neighbourhood of Sihriūd, and Sārang Khān the impostor fled and took to the mountains. Sultān Shāh made Rūpar his head quarters.⁴ In this same year Khizr Khān sent Tāju-l-Mulk to Itāwa. Rai Sipur was holding out in that fort, but sought for quarter, and consented to pay revenue to Tāju-l-Mulk.⁵ Thence he came to Chandwār, and having laid it waste and pillaged it, proceeded by way of Kaithar to Dihli. In this same year Malik Tāju-d-Din died, and the duties of his Vazīrship were entrusted to his older son Malik Sikandar. Tughān Ra'is again raised an insurrection in Sihriūd, and Malik Khairu-d-Din was appointed to oppose him, and returned after having satisfactorily quelled his rebellion.

¹ MS. (A) reads قضیه which is preferable to امور as found in the text.

² Firishta, (I. 295) says نزدیک ماچھیوارہ near Māchīwāra, and in the Ain-i-Albarī we find it stated that Māchīwārah is situated on the banks of the Sutlej (Jarrett, II 310). In Rennell's Map (Trekk. III.) we find Māchīwārah figured between Rūpar and Lūdhiana. It lies 23 miles south of Lūdhiana, and is a very ancient city mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Bajwāra is farther north near Hoshiārpūr. (See Hunter, Imp. Gaz., II. 439)

³ Firishta adds, "called Islām Khān who was the governor of Sarhind."

⁴ This appears to be the meaning of the text. Firishta tells us that Islām Khān pursued "Sārang Khān" with his own forces and those of certain other Maliks, but returned upon finding that he had hidden himself.

⁵ MS. (A) راجپی. Firishta calls him Rai Samur.

And in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.) Khizr Khān proceeded to 289. Miwāt and took Kotla; thence he hastened to Gwālīār, from the Rāi of which place he levied considerable sums and returned to Itāwn. Rāi Sipar had gone to hell, and ¹ his son had tendered his submission. In this interval ² a severe illness attacked Khizr Khān which led to his return towards Dihlī. Having arrived at that city on the seventeenth of Jumādī al-Awwal in the above year, he was received into the mercy of God and passed away from the world.

Verse.

Every evening is followed by the morning.

At last there comes an end to every labour.

The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.³

SULTĀN MUBĀRAK SHĀH IBNI KHIZR KHĀN IBNI MALIK SULIMĀN,
In accordance with his rights as heir-presumptive ascended the throne with the consent of the Amīrs in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.)⁴ and became firmly settled in the administration of his kingdom. In this year Jasrat Khūkar⁵ the son of Shakhā Khūkar raised a rebellion, the reason of which was that he had taken unawares Sultān 'Alī the king of Kashmir, who had started with the intention of conquering Tatta⁶ and had defeated him in one of the mountain passes,⁷ a vast amount of plunder falling into his hands. Emboldened by this victory, he used the royal treasures which he had obtained to further an attempt to seize the kingdom of Dihlī, and having crossed the rivers Biāh and Sutlej with a

و درون آشا MS (A)

¹ MS. (A)

² Firāhta adds, "He was a just and wise king, kind and true to his word, his subjects loved him with a grateful affection so that great and small, master and servant, sat and mourned for him in black raiment till the third day, when they laid aside their mourning garments, and raised his son Mubārak Shāh to the throne"

³ MS. (A) reads correctly اربع for احدى MS. (B) has the same reading as the text.

⁴ MSS (A) and (B) omit کهوکر. Firāhta writes کهکر Khakar and calls him the brother of Shakhā Khakar.

⁵ Thus the text and MS (B) MS. (A) reads simply رقصه تده Raqā-bai Tatta, i. e., for the town of Tatta

⁶ MS (A) درون گهائی کوه شکست The text reads کهانی

large army, and assaulted Talaundi which was in the possession of Rāi Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn,¹ and Rāi Fīrūz fled from before him. Jasrat came to Ludhiāna² and plundered and pillaged along the banks of the river Sutlej as far as the boundaries of Rāpar;³ there he crossed the river and came to Jālandhar.⁴ Zīrak Khān had taken refuge in the fort of Jālandhar. Jasrat descended the bank of the river Sarauti whereupon the question of peace arose; Jasrat by some treachery made Zīrak Khān prisoner. Sultān Mubārak Shāh moved towards Sibrind, upon hearing which Jasrat Shaikhā⁵ released Zīrak Khān who went to Sāmāna and offered his services to Mubārak Shāh who proceeded to Ludhiana. Jasrat having crossed the Ludhiāna river drew up to oppose him, being in possession of the whole of the boats. The army of Mubārak Shāh was unable to cross the river, until after the rising of Canopus⁶ when the river became fordable. The Sultān then crossed the river; Jasrat fled and having

¹ We must read *تلوندي کمال الدين*. This is shown to be the right reading by the collateral passage in Firishṭa which reads (I. p. 297), *و تلوندي که برای کمال تعلق داشت غارت گرد* and laid waste Talaundi which belonged to Rāi Kamāl."

² The text and both MSS. read *کداهنه* Kudāhna, but it is evident that we should read *لدھیانہ* Ludhiāna. We find in Firishṭa (*loc. cit.*), *و حیرت بلود یانہ آمدہ*. "Jasrat having come to Lūdiāna." Talaundi I cannot identify, but there is a place on the North bank of the Sutlej in Rennell's map, called Talloom, this with the affixed genitive feminine termination (Panjābī) *di*, would give Talūmdī or Tulūndī, i. e., the village of Talūm. Talloom lies about 20 miles S. S.-W. of Ludhiāna (see Rennell's map, *Ticff*, III), on the opposite bank of the river.

³ Rāpar in Rennell's map is placed North-East of Ludhiāna about 50 miles distant; but on modern maps it is shown almost due East of Ludhiāna and about 35 miles from it.

⁴ A place of considerable antiquity, the original capital of the Rājput kingdom of Katoch. It is described by Hwen Thsang as having been a town of two miles in circuit in the 7th century A.D.

It is mentioned by Ptolemy by the name of *Kulindrine* or *Sulindrine*, see Cunningham, A. G. I., pp. 135, etc., and Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, VII. 91.

⁵ MS. (A) omits *بن* probably correctly as we have seen from Firishṭa's account.

⁶ Firishṭa tells us they crossed on the 11th Shawwāl (October, 8th A.D. 1421)

crossed the river Chhināb¹ came to Talhar² in the hill tracts. The troops of Mubārak Khān followed him and the greater part of his infantry and cavalry were killed, and all his wealth and treasure was plundered and lost. Rāi Bhīm³ the chief of Jammoo offered his services to Mubārak Shāh and guided his army.⁴ Mubārak Shāh returned thence to Lāhor.

And in the year 825 H. (A.D. 1421) he remained encamped on the bank of the river Rāvi for nearly a month, rebuilt the city of Lāhor which had been laid in ruins during the late invasion, and completely repaired the citadel where it had been breached and levelled; ⁵ then having left there Malik Mahmūd Hasan who bore the title of Malika-sh-Sharq, returned to Dihli. Five months later Jasrat Khākar again came against Lāhor with a large army and encamped at the abode of Shaikh-i-Mashāikh Shaikh Hasan Zinjāni,⁶ may God sanctify him, and every day for a month made repeated efforts to take the city by assault, but eventually failing to attain his object⁷ withdrew to Kalānor⁸ and fought a battle with Rāi Bhīm, and when both sides were in the midst of the fight they agreed to make peace.

29

Malik Sikander Tuhfa who had been despatched from Dihli to reinforce Malik⁹ Mahmūd Hasan crossed the Rāvi by the ford of Pūhi¹⁰ and encamped at Lāhor, and Jasrat feeling that he was not able to cope with the conjoint forces¹¹ crossed the Chhināb

¹ The Chhināb.

² In the Kashmir hill tracts.

³ Firishṭa tells us that Rāi Bhīm offered his services and guided the army to Bīsal, the strongest of Jasrat's strongholds. Jasrat fled from there, his men were killed and he lost all his possessions.

⁴ MS. (A) reads رای سلیم both here and some lines lower down.

⁵ MS. (A) reads شکستگی و پستگی حصار.

⁶ Firishṭa says نزدیک حسین زنجانی فرود آمد.

⁷ MS. (A) بمقصود خود نرسیده.

⁸ Seventeen miles west of Gurdāspur town. Lat. 32° 1' N. Long. 75° 11' 20" E. It was here that Akbar in later times received the news of his father's death and ascended the throne (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., VII. 323).

⁹ MS. (A) omits ملک and reads از گذر پوهی in the next line.

¹⁰ Firishṭa لوی Lū'i. See however note 1 next page.

¹¹ Firishṭa says that Mahmūd Hasan was also joined by the forces of Malik Rajab, Governor of Depālpur and of Jalām Khān Lodi, Governor of Sihriṇḍ.

river and proceeded to the hills of Talwāra,¹ and the army of Mubārak Shāh having put down that rebellion returned to Dihli.

In the year 826 H. (1422 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh proceeded to Kaithar, and Mahābat Khān of Badāon who had revolted against Khizr Khān came in and submitted himself, and was distinguished by special marks of favour. Leaving there² he crossed the Ganges and attacked the country of the Panwārs³ in the neighbourhood of Khor otherwise known as Shamsābād,⁴ and having put the majority of them to the sword ravaged the country; then having left Malik Mabāriz and Zīrak Khān and Kamāl Khān with a large force in the fortress of Kanpila to quell the insurrection of the rebels he returned to Dihli.

And in this year Alp Khān Governor of Dhār⁵ came with the object of chastising the Rāi of Gwāliār and with the intention of

and that Jasrat withdrew, crossed the Chhinab and Kavi, and took refuge in the hills.

¹ This is the reading of the text. Talwāra is possibly the same as Talha mentioned above. Dr. Stein, whom I have consulted, considers that Talwār in the text refers to the village Talwāra on the right bank of the Chināb just opposite to the town of Biāsī (74° 52' Long. 33° 6' Lat.). This is, he says, a common place for crossing the Chināb as the route connecting Ponī with Biāsī and Jammu is shown on the survey map (Atlas of India, Sheet 29), a passing Talwāra. Dr. Stein cannot ascertain whether the hill range rising to the north of Talwāra is designated by that name. Pūhī in the text is probably identical with Ponī. The reading of MS. (A) is در کوتله رفت went to Kotla.

² Firsihta tells us that Mahābat Khān in obedience to the orders of the Sulṭān crossed the Ganges and invaded the territories of the Rāthor tribe.

³ The Rāthors are a clan of the Rājputa, and the Panwārs form another of their clans, regarding whom Abul-Faḥl says "In ancient times the royal dynasty of Hindūstān came from this tribe" Mārwar is mentioned by the same author as the head-quarters of the Rāthor tribe. (See *Āin-i-Akbari* (Jarrett), II. 270 and III. 118).

For a full account of the Panwārs see Sherring (*Hindu Tribes and Castes*, II. p. 83, see also Elliot, (*Races of N.-W. P. of India*).

⁴ On the south bank of the Bari Gangā river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh.

⁵ The text reads دلهی Dihli with a foot-note variant دھار Dhār. MS. (A) reads دھار Dhār. Firsihta says, Sulṭān Hoshang Wālī of Mālwa. The town of Ujjāin and Dhār have at one period or another supplied a capital for the legendary Hindu dynasties of Mālwa. (See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 241 Dhār).

subduing that region; Mubārak Shāh upon receiving intelligence of this proceeded towards Gwāliār; when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Baiāna, Shams Khān Anḥadī¹ the son of Anḥad Khān Anḥadī, Governor of Baiāna, who had put to death by treacherous means his uncle Mubārak Khān, became alarmed and revolted, and after laying waste Baiāna entrenched himself² in the fortress, but eventually submitted.

Mubārak Shāh left that place and marched towards Gwāliār, but Alp Khān proceeding along the banks of the Chambal river³ would not permit the army of Mubārak Shāh to cross: however the soldiers of Mubārak Shāh crossed by another ford, scattered the forces of Alp Khān, and returned triumphant. This engagement led to a peaceful settlement, and Alp Khān sent in many presents and returned towards Dhār, while Mubārak Shāh proceeded to Dihli. 292

And in the year 827 H. (1423 A.D.) he again ordered an expedition towards the hills of Kumāon and Kaithar, on returning whence he laid waste Mīwāt. In this year a severe famine occurred throughout the whole of Hindūstān. In the year 829 H. he again proceeded towards Mīwāt and reduced the fortresses of Indor and Alwar.

¹ MS. (A) The text omits the words Shams Khān Anḥadī. Firishta calls him Amīr Khān, ibn-i-Dē'ūd Khān ibn-i-Shams Khān (see Bombay Edition, p. 298 last line), and says that he had entrenched himself on the heights.

² MS. (A) reads *محصن*. The text reads *حصن*.

³ Firishta writes of this: And Selḥān Hoshang seized the fords of the Chhambal river and opposed his progress, but Mubārak Shāh discovered another ford and crossed rapidly; and certain of the Arms of the advance guard of the Dihli forces pillaged the camp of the Sultan of Mālwa and took many prisoners, but inasmuch as these were Muslims Mubārak Shāh set them free.

⁴ Selḥān Hoshang sued for peace sending in suitable offerings, and withdrew towards Dhār. Mubārak Shāh halted on the banks of the Chhambal levying taxes on the old scale from the landholders of that district, and eventually arrived at Dihli in the month of Rajab 827 H.

The Chhambal or Chhanbal river is a river of Central India and one of the principal tributaries of the Jamna, it rises in Mālwa; about eight or nine miles south-west of Mhow it is joined by the Kali-Sand, Parbatī and Banas, flows past Dholpur into Etāwah and joins the Jamna 40 miles below Etāwah town. The Charmanwālī of Sanskrit writers. (See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* III, 931)

And in the year 830 H. he took Baiāna from Muḥammad Khān Auhādī, and sent the family of Auhādī to the palace known as Jahān Numās,¹ and assigned it to them as a residence. He then gave Baiāna to Malik Maqbil Khān one of his retainers, and Sikri to Malik Khairu-d-Dīn Tuḥfa, while he himself led an army against Gwālīar receiving the submission of the Rāis of that district.

And in the year 831 H. (1427 A.D.) ambassadors arrived in Dihlī from Qādir Khān, governor of Kālpi, bringing tidings that Sharqī² was besieging him. Mubārak Shāh marched to oppose Sharqī; but in the meantime tidings arrived that Sharqī had attacked Bhūngāon³ and was encamped there, intending to proceed to Badāon.⁴ Mubārak Shāh, who had crossed the river Jamna at the ford of Nūh Patal, and had attacked Jaitanli,⁵ on arrival at the township of Atrauli⁶ received intelligence that Mukhtaṣ Khān⁷ the brother of Sharqī had arrived on the borders of Itāwa with an army and many elephants; Mubārak Shāh detailed Maliku-gh-Sharq Mahmūd Husein with ten thousand cavalry to oppose Mukhtaṣ Khān. Mukhtaṣ Khān joined hands with Sharqī who proceeded along the banks of the Black-Water, otherwise known as the Kālīnī,⁸ and arrived in the vicinity of the township of Burhānābād one of the dependencies of Itāwa. Mubārak Shāh marching from Atrauli encamped at the town of

¹ This palace was in Dihlī. Firsihta writes: "Sent his family and relations to Dihlī."

² Salṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī.

³ The text reads *بھون گاون* Bhūn gāw MS. (A) reads *بھوگانور* Bhūlānūr.

In Firsihta we find *افواج شرقیہ بھوگانورا تختہ*. The troops of Sharqī attacked Bhūngāon. Bhongāon is in the Mainpūrī District, 9½ miles east from Mainpūrī at the junction of the Agra and Grand Trunk roads. The town was founded according to tradition, by Rājā Bhīm Sen who was cured of leprosy by bathing in the *jhil* or lake. (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* II, 403.)

⁴ Badāon lies N. of Bhongāon at a distance of about fifty miles.

⁵ Firsihta writes, *جرتولی را کہ از مشاہیر بلاد مواس بود تخت*. Attacked Jaitanli, one of the famous cities of Mawās. I fail to locate this place but it must have been in the Doāb. I can find no mention of it.

⁶ Atrauli, 16 miles from Aligarh town. (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* I, 180).

⁷ Firsihta calls him Mukhlis Khān.

⁸ MS (A). The text reads *Kālī Pānī*. This is the Kālīnī, the Kurā Su of the *Alaḥfuzāt-i-Timūrī* (see note 3 page 300).

Kota,¹ but Sharqī declined battle and withdrew towards Rāprī, and thence, after crossing the Jamna, proceeded to Baiāna and encamped on the bank of the river of Kaithar. Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as Chandwār; a space of four *krohs* lay between the two armies so that the outposts of the forces could see each other. They remained thus confronting each other for twenty days: at last Sharqī came out in force, and from mid-day till nightfall hard fighting went on between the two armies, and the event was not decided on that day; on the following day Sharqī turned back towards his own country,² and Mubārak Shāh, considering that both sides were Muslims, no longer pursued him, but went towards Satgāna,³ and having conquered that country followed the bank of the Chambal river and came down to Baiāna.

Muhammad Khān Anbadī, who on account of having had an (unsatisfactory) interview with Sharqī had taken fright, and had entrenched himself in the fortress, came and sought protection in an interview with Mubārak Shāh.⁴ Mubārak Shāh thereupon retraced his steps to Dillī.

And in the year 832 H. Maliku-sh-Sharq Mahmūd Hasan, who had been left in Baiāna by Mubārak Shāh as his Viceroy, and had put the affairs of that place in order, and had also chastised⁵ those infidels who had made common cause with Muhammad Khān and had raised disturbances, came to Court and received substantial favours, and the fortress of Firoza was confirmed to him. In that same year Malik Rajab Nādūa, governor of Multān died, and Malik Mahmūd Hasan received the title of 'Imādu-l-Mulk (Pillar of the State) and proceeded to Multān.

And in the year 833 H. (1429 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh went to Gwālār by way of Baiāna, and having taken the Rāprī district from the son of Hasan Khān gave it to Malik Hamza, and returned

¹ Firishṭa writes مالى كوتہ *Malīkota*

² Took the road to Jaunpūr (Firishṭa).

³ Went to Gwālār by way of Halghāt. (Firishṭa). MS. (A) سنگانہ *Satgāna*.

⁴ Firishṭa says "Muhammad Khān Anbadī . . . for the reason that he despaired of any help from Sultan Sharqī, asked for quarter and tendered his submission" and was freely pardoned.

⁵ تبيد تبتد MS (A) تبيد تبتد Text

to the city (Dihli). On the way thither Saiyyid Sālim, who had served Khizr Khān for thirty years,¹ and held the fief of Tabarhinda, died. The title of Saiyyid Khān was conferred upon one of his sons, and that of Shujā'u-l-Mulk upon the other.² And Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, one of the servants of the aforesaid Saiyyid Sālim, raised a rebellion in Tabarhinda and took possession of the enormous wealth which had been amassed by Saiyyid Sālim. Mubārak Shāh imprisoned the sons of Saiyyid Sālim and appointed Malik Yūsuf Sarūr and Rāi Hanāū Bhatī³ to oppose him (Fūlād). Fūlād Turkbacha made a night attack upon them and scattered their forces, and much valuable booty fell into his hands. Mubārak Shāh led an army against Tabarhinda, and the Turkbacha slave was besieged there. Mubārak Shāh summoned 'Imādu-l-Mulk from Multān, and sent him with a message to the Turkbacha slave, who, after suing for quarter, came out from the fort and had an interview with 'Imādu-l-Mulk, but did not rely upon his assurances, and returned in alarm to the fort and continued to fight. Mubārak Shāh permitted 'Imādu-l-Mulk to proceed to Multān and himself returned to Dihli. The slave (Fūlād) continued to engage in battle at intervals with the troops of Mubārak Shāh during the six months during which he was absent. At last he sent considerable sums of money⁴ by way of presents to Shaikh 'Alī Mughul who was the ruler of Kābul. Shaikh 'Alī accordingly came to his assistance from Kābul with a vast army, which was reinforced by a large number of men from the borders of the Panjāb. He removed the slave

¹ Firighta written

گویند سید السادات سید سالم مدت سی سال در حضور خضر خان الزمور
امیر بود -

"They relate that Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt Saiyyid Sālim was for a period of thirty years reckoned by Khizr Khān as one of his best Amīra."

² MS. (A) ۱۵ Text ۱۵۱۵. Firighta also adds that the whole of their father's privileges together with all the immense wealth he had amassed were confirmed to these two sons, but that those favours were not sufficient to secure their fidelity to Mubārak Shāh. Badāoni's account does not explain the incident related in the subsequent passage. Firighta does, he says that these two sons of Saiyyid Sālim sent Fūlād to Tabarhinda and incited him to raise a rebellion.

(Fāḷāḥ) together with all his family and relations from Tabarhinda and taking them with himself returned, and having crossed the river Hīāh came to Lāhor. Malika-ah-Sharq Malik Sikander, governor of Lāhor, who used to pay a yearly tribute to Shaikh 'Alī, discharged his obligation and induced him to turn his attentions elsewhere. Accordingly Shaikh 'Alī passing by Lāhor without sacking it¹ made towards Depālpūr, and 'Imādu-l-Mulk came out from Multān to oppose him. Shaikh 'Alī taking the bank of the river Rāvi, proceeded to within a short distance of Tulumba,² and turning aside, from thence came to Khūtpūr.³ ('Imādu-l-Mulk) fought with Shaikh 'Alī but was defeated, and Malik Suleimān Shāh Lodī, who was with the advance guard of the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, fell in this battle;⁴ [and Shaikh 'Alī came to Khayrābād and for a long time daily engagements were fought between him and 'Imādu-l-Mulk].⁵ 295.

And in the year 834 H. (1430 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh sent a vast army to the assistance of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, and appointed Faṭḥ Khān ibn-i-Sultān Muzaḥḥar Khān of Gujrāt to the command of that force. Shaikh 'Alī was not able to stand against them,⁶ so changed front, and retired under cover of night into an entrenchment which he had thrown up around his position; when they surrounded his entrenchment he retreated towards Jhikm, and having crossed the river there lost the greater part of his men by drowning, some were killed and some taken prisoners.⁷ Shaikh 'Alī and Amir Muzaḥḥar proceeded with a certain number of men to the town of Shīwar;⁸ all their baggage and property having

¹ This appears to be the meaning of the Persian.

² Tulumba is on the left bank of the Rāvi 52 miles N.E. of Multān. The old fort was situated a mile to the south of the present town. It has been identified with a town of the Malli conquered by Alexander the Great during his campaign in the Panjāb, and also as the place where he crossed the Rāvi. (See Hunter Imp. Gaz. XIII 163, also Cunningham Anc. Geog. of India, 224.)

³ Firāhta says *خايطپور* *Khayt-pūr*. The text reads somewhat obscurely here. I have supplied the words in brackets to restore the sense in English.

⁴ Which took place according to Firāhta at *Khayrābād* three stages from Multān.

⁵ The words within brackets are not in MS. (A).

⁶ MS. (A) *نہ توانست آورد* Text *نیارود*.

⁷ MS. (A) *کشتند* Text *کشتند*.

⁸ MS. (A) *شیر* or *سینور* Firāhta (text) *شیر*.

been taken, the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk pursued them up to that point. Amir Mazāfir remained entrenched within the fortress while Shaikh 'Alī set his face to go to Kābul. The victorious army abandoned the siege and returned to Dihli. Multān was taken away from 'Imādu-l-Mulk and given to Malik Khairu-d-Dīn Khān which led to great disturbances on the borders of Multān.

And in the year 835 H. (1431 A.D.) Malik Sikander,¹ governor of Lāhor, set out to quell the rebellion which Jasrat Khūkhār had stirred up at the foot of the hills. Jasrat took him² unawares and engaged him in battle; Sikander falling into the hands of Jasrat Khūkhār was taken prisoner near Jālandhar. Jasrat took his prisoner to Lāhor and besieged the city, and Saiyyid Najma-d-Dīn the regent of Sikander, and Malik Khushkhabr³ the slave of Sikander, fought several battles with him. In the meantime Shaikh 'Alī collected an army and again came on to the borders of Multān,⁴ and assaulted Khūtpūr,⁵ taking prisoners the greater portion of the inhabitants of Jhīlam and its vicinity, and seized Talamba, pillaging and despoiling all the inhabitants and making them prisoners; most of them he put to death, and took the rest of them, great and small, to his own country.

In the meantime Fūlād Turkbacha, who has been mentioned above, left Tabarhinda and invaded the territory of Rāi Fīroz⁶ who engaged him in battle and was slain, Fūlād sending his head to Tabarhinda.

In this year also the Sultān again led an army towards Lāhor and Multān; when he arrived in the vicinity of Sāmāna, Jasrat withdrew from in front of Lāhor towards the foot of the hills, and Shaikh 'Alī also retired to his own country. Lāhor and Jālandhar were taken from Shamsu-l-Mulk and given to Nuṣrat Khān Gurgandāz, and Mubārak Shāh gave orders for the family and relations of Shamsu-l-Mulk to be removed⁷ from Lāhor to Dihli, whither he himself returned.

¹ MSS. The text reads wrongly بیلک.

² MS. (A) omits اورا.

³ MS. (A) reads خوشنجر Khushanjar (?).

⁴ At the instigation of Jasrat Khūkhār, according to Firāhta.

⁵ See note 3 page 389. MS. (A) omits را.

⁶ MS. (A) reads تاخت instead of تاخت و as in the text.

⁷ Text برده MS. (A) برده.

And in the year 836 H. (1433 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh once more hastened to Sāmāna¹ to put down the rebellion of Jasrat; when he arrived at Pānīpath he received intelligence of the death of his mother, who was called Maḥdūma-i Jahān (Mistress of the world), and turned back with a small retinue² to Dihlī, and having remained there ten days to perform his mourning for her, again joined his army, and detailed Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk to proceed to Tabakhinda to put down the insurrection of Fūlād. Mubārak Shāh after taking Lāhor and Jālandhar from Nuṣrat Khān gave them to Malik Allahdād Kālū Lodī. When³ he arrived near Jālandhar, Jasrat, having crossed the river Biāh, had engaged Allahdād Kālū⁴ at Bajwāra,⁵ and had defeated him. 297. Malik Allahdād had fled to the hill-country.

In this year the Sultān brought an army into Mīwāt against Jalāl Khān, and from thence despatching a force to operate towards Gwāhār and Itāwa, returned (to Dihlī). In this same year Shaikh 'Alī coming down into the Panjāb again caused disturbances there. Mubārak Shāh accordingly nominated 'Imādu-l-mulk to reinforce the Amīrs of that district. Shaikh 'Alī invaded the country from Shiwar to the banks of the Biāh, and taking great numbers prisoners and plundering, went to Lāhor. Zīrak Khān and the other Amīrs⁶ who were in Lāhor fortified themselves there, and fought repeated engagements with him, till, one night, the inhabitants of Lāhor were careless about their guards and sentries, and Malik Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk and Malik Isma'il under cover of night succeeded in joining Zīrak Khān; then sallying from the fort,⁷ gave battle and were defeated. Shaikh 'Alī pursued them, some of the fugitives were put to death, and some were taken prisoners. The following day Shaikh 'Alī took Lāhor and put to death great and small,⁸ and taking many prisoners

¹ MS. (A) بچانہ ما مانہ.

² جریده. Firāhta says قہا he returned alone.

³ Omit و MS. (A).

⁴ MS. (A) omits کالو. Kālū. ⁵ Bajwāra. A village 1½ miles E. of Hoshiārpur about 25 miles N. E. of Jālandhar.

⁶ MS. (A) دیگر امیرای کہ

⁷ MS. (A) supplies the words از حصار.

⁸ MS. (A) reads خامی و عوام the textual reading is probably incorrect, read خامی و عام

remained there. And after some days, he came to Debālpūr, which Malik Yūsuf Sarūr-i-Mulk was intending to abandon. Malik 'Imādu-l-Mulk¹ on hearing of this despatched his brother Malik Ahmad from Tabarhunda to the fort of Debālpūr with orders to hold it. Shaikh 'Alī becoming aware of this returned from that direction: Sultān Mubārak Shāh proceeded as far as Sāmāna in order to quell these disturbances². From Sāmāna he proceeded to Talaundi and thence to the ford of Pāli, where he crossed the the Biāh and came to Debālpūr. Thence he marched along the banks³ of the Rāvi, and Shaikh 'Alī crossed the Jhīlam and fled,⁴ Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as the fortress of Shīwar and crossed the Rāvi near Tulumba.⁵ Amir Muzaffar Khān, brother's son to Shaikh 'Alī, who was holding the fort with Shaikh 'Alī's troops, fought against the king for a month, and at last sued for quarter, and gave his daughter together with a large amount of money and valuables to the prince. A part of Shaikh 'Alī's forces who were besieged in Lāhor sought quarter from Shāman-i-Mulk and evacuated the fort. As soon as Mubārak Shāh had completed the affair of Shīwar and the conquest of Lāhor, he proceeded with a small retinue to visit the holy shrines of the Shaikhs at Multān, and returning almost immediately came to Debālpūr and remained there for some days. Having regard to Shaikh 'Alī (as a source of danger), he gave the districts of Lāhor and Debālpūr to Maliku-sh-Sharq 'Imādu-l-Mulk, and taking away the districts of Baiāna from 'Imādu-l-Mulk he gave them to Shāman-d-dīn. Marching thence in light order by forced marches, he reached Dihli on the day of the 'Id-i-Qurbān⁶ and

¹ MS (A) omits ملك.

² MS (A) omits و قسما and writes با سامانا for سامانا.

³ MS. (A) reads incorrectly كتاب for کنار.

⁴ The text and both MSS. (A), (B) read كذا و رفت. The و is to be omitted.

⁵ Besieging the fort Shīwar (Firishta).

⁶ The festival of Sacrifice. This is the festival held on the 10th day of Zū-l-hijjah. It is known also as the 'Idu-l-aẓhā, see Qur'ān xxii 38—39. It commemorates the intention of Ibrāhīm to sacrifice his son Isma'il in obedience to the command of God. It is the chief of the Muḥammadan festivals and is called 'Idu-l-kabīr, the great festival, to distinguish it from the 'Idu-l-Fiṣr which is known as 'Idu-l-saghīr which ushers in the month of Shawwāl and celebrates the termination of the fast of Ramazān. (See Hughes Dict of Islām)

conferred the office of *vazir* upon Sarwaru-l-Mulk and gave to Malik Kamālu-l-Mulk,¹ who was the Military Secretary (*Naib-i-Lashkar*), charge of the civil administration in conjunction with Sarwaru-l-Mulk.

There was a hypocritical bond of fellowship between these two,² inasmuch as Sarwaru-l-Mulk had a grievous thorn rankling in his breast on account of the deprivation of Debālpūr, and bore a grudge against Mubārak Shāh: so that at such a juncture, seeing that he had less than ever to hope from him, he entered on a course of secret treachery and deceit. He entered into a conspiracy with the sons of Kāngū Khatri and Kajwī Khatri and Mirān Sadr Naib-i-'Arz, (who for generations had been protégés of the Mubārak Shāhī family, and held several high offices) and also with another party of Muslim vagabonds, to seek an opportunity of destroying Mubārak Shāh.³

And in the year 837 H (1433 A.D.)⁴ Mubārak Shāh built a city on the banks of the river Jamna,⁵ and gave it the name of Mubārakābād (City of Prosperity), though in reality it should have been called Kharābābād (City of Ruin), and was so zealous in building it that he spared no pains in its superintendence. In the meanwhile news of the capture of the fortress of Tabarkhinda reached the court, accompanied by the head of the slave Fulād Taikbacha.⁶ Mubārak Shāh could not contain himself for joy at this intelligence, and proceeded by forced marches to Tabarkhinda⁷ and returned thence speedily to Mubārakābād. In this year tidings arrived that hostilities were going on between Sultān Ibrahim Sharqī and Alp Khan, governor of Kālpī, who had re-

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¹ Firishṭa says *كمال الدين* Kamālu d-dīn.

² MS. (A) omits *این*.

³ Firishṭa names as the accomplices Sidāran, son of Kāngū Khatri and Sadpāl, grandson of Kanjūi Khatri, with Mirān Sadr Naib-i-'arz-i-Mamālik, Qāyī 'Abdus sadr Hājib-i-Khāṣi and others (Firishṭa. Bombay text, I, p. 308).

⁴ MS. (A) *چون*.

⁵ Briggs in his translation of Firishṭa (Vol. I, p. 529) assigns 839 H. as the date of the building of this city, but a reference to the original shows that the historian gives 837 H. as the date.

⁶ The text reads here *با قولا د غلام* but a footnote gives a variant *مرغور* and this reading is confirmed by MS (A) and also by Firishṭa.

⁷ Firishṭa says he returned direct to Mubārakābād.

ceived the title of Hoshang.¹ Mubārak Shāh accordingly sent commands in all directions for forces to be collected and held in readiness to march towards Kālpi, and that they should assemble at the Court. At this juncture Mubārak Shāh persisted in his inviolable custom of visiting the site of the new city in season and out of season. One day when he had ridden out there with a body of attendants without ceremony, and was preparing to say the Friday prayers,² the infidels under Muān Šadr, who had continually lain in wait for him at the instigation of Sarwar-i-Mulk, seeking an opportunity (to slay him),³ with one accord entered the private apartment of Mubarak Shāh on some pretext or another, and Sidh Pāl,⁴ the grandson of the scoundrel Kajwi Khatri, put that auspicious monarch to a martyr's death. This event took place in the year 837 H. The days of his reign were thirteen years three months and sixteen days.

Verse.

Wonder not at the vicissitudes of time, for the heavens
Retain a recollection of thousands of such stories as this.
Set not your affections upon that which passeth away, for the
river Dajla⁵

Will continue to pass by Baghdād, while many Khalifas
come and go.

¹ Firishṭa throughout calls him Hoshang.

² On the 9th Rajab 837 (Firishṭa Bombay text I 503)

³ MS. (A) omits وقت.

⁴ The text is followed here as it agrees closely with the account given by Firishṭa. MS. (A) reads در محل پادشاهی در آمده سده مال..... ساختند.

⁵ دجله Dajla or Dagla, as it may also be pronounced, is the Hiddekel of the Bible (Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 4) חֲדָקָה lit., the swift. The old Persian form is Tigrā, "swift as an arrow," whence is derived Tigris, the modern name of this river. According to Pliny (VI. 27), the river in the upper part of its course where it flowed gently was called Diglito, and lower down, where it is more rapid, on account of its velocity it is called Tigris, for the Medes call an arrow by this name. According to Gosenius, in modern Persian both the river Tigris and an arrow have the common name تیر tir, which in the Zend becomes Tadjer. See Gosenius *Thes.*: also Smith *Dict. G. R. Geog.*

"The Tigris is navigable for light steamers up to Baghdād, but owing to the rapidity of the current, the traffic is all down stream carried on mainly by a primitive style of craft, which is broken up at Baghdād and transported by camels back to Mosul."

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH IBN I FARĪD KHĀN,

The brother's son of Mubārak Shāh ibn i Khizr Khān, whom Mubārak Shāh had adopted as his own son, ascended the throne in succession to Mubārak Shāh in the year¹ 837 H. (1433 A.D.) and Sarwaru-l-Mulk, whose head was filled with treacherous designs, ostensibly owned his allegiance. Muhammad Shāh, in spite of the foregoing circumstances, conferred upon him the title of Khān-i-Jahān and bestowed a *khil'at* upon him, he also appointed Mirān Sadr Mu'īnu-l-mulk, and for a short time winked at the doings of those infidels. Maliku-sh-Sharq Kamālu-l-mulk, who was co-partner with Sarwaru-l-Mulk in the vazīrship, elected to reside outside the city, and gave in his allegiance to Muhammad Shāh. The second day after the accession Sarwaru-l-Mulk made some pretext for arresting² certain of the servants of Mubārak Shāh, and put them to death, and left nothing undone to secure the overthrow of the family of Mubārak Shāh; moreover, he began to divide the country among his own partisans, giving the territory of Baiāna, and Amroha, and Nārnoī, and Kulrām, together with certain districts in the Doāb, to Sidh Pāl and Sidhārān Khatri who were the (actual) murderers of Mubārak Shāh. Rānūn the Black, a slave of Sidh Pāl, arrived in Baiāna with a large following, and attempted to enter the fort; but in the meantime Yūsuf Khān Auhādī arrived from Hindwān,³ and giving him battle defeated him, and sent the greater portion of those infidels to hell. Their women and children fell as prisoners into the hands of the Muslims, and the head of Rānūn the Black was hung up over the gate of the fort. Inasmuch as Sarwaru-l-Mulk and his infidel horde began to commit violence, the Amīrs of Khizr Khān and Mubārak Shāh, who were scattered here and there about the country, in several places shewed symptoms of revolt and set on foot many insurrections. Sarwaru-l-Mulk had the self-same object, namely to damage the kingdom. 20 Malik Allahdād Kālā Lodi, governor of Sambhal and Ahār,⁴

¹ 9th Rajab 837.

² MS. (A) دستگیر ساخت و.

³ The text and both MSS. read *هندون* Hindūn. Firsihta reads Hindwān. Hindūn lies about 20 miles S. of Baiāna, it is situated in the Jeypore State.

⁴ Ahār. In Bulandshahr District, N.-W.P., 20 miles N.E. of Bulandshahr.

and Malik Chaman¹ governor² of Badāon, grandson of Khān-i-Jahān, and Amīr 'Alī Gujrātī, together with some other Amīrs, raised a large following to avenge the death of Mubārak Shāh, and started towards Dihlī. Malikn-ah-Shargh, Kamālu-l-Mulk, and Saiyyid Khān, son of Saiyyid Sālim, who had received the title of *Khān-i-Āzam* from Mubārak Shāh, were appointed by the *durbār* to proceed against those Amīrs, and Malik Yūsnf, the son of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, together with Sidhāran and Kāngū were ordered to accompany Kamālu-l-Mulk. The Dihlī army crossed by the ford of Kicha and came to Baran (Bulandshahr). Malik Allahdād and the other noted Amīrs having arrived at the township of Ahār desired to cross the Ganges without fighting and go where they could safely. But when they saw clearly that Malik Kamālu-l-Mulk was heartily bent upon taking vengeance upon Sarwaru-l-Mulk, they took courage and did not leave their positions. Sarwaru-l-Mulk becoming aware of this sent his lieutenant Malik Hushyār, under pretence of reinforcing Kamālu-l-Mulk, as a spy into their army. Yūsnf Khān and Malik Hushyār, and Sidhāran the infidel, entertaining suspicions regarding Kamālu-l-Mulk left the army and went to Dihlī: and the Amīrs of Sambhal and Badāon joined Kamālu-l-Mulk and came in great force to the ford of Kicha. Sarwaru-l-Mulk was engaged in strengthening his fort. The following day the loyal Amīrs having crossed the Jamna encamped in the Bāgh-i-Jud³ while the traitors and infidels sallied out from the fort and engaged them in battle, but suffered defeat in the very first onset and retreated to the fort, but before they could enter it a large number were put to death and most of the remainder were taken prisoners.

The day following this victory the Mubārak Shāhi Amīrs encamped near the fort of Sini, and the greater part of the Amīrs who were inside the fort, came out and joined them. Fighting went on between the two parties for three months.

At the latter part of this year Zirak Khān, Governor of Sāmāna

¹ MS. (A) writes ملک حمین Malik Hamīn; by Firishṭa, and in Elliott's translation of the *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* (IV 82) he is called Malik Chaman.

² The word in the original is *مؤقت* Muqāt, i.e., holder of a *قطر* qūṭ. Firishṭa calls him *حاکم بداون* Hākīm-i-Badāon.

³ MS. (A)

died, and the country was confirmed to his son Muhammad Khān. Muhammad Shāh, although outwardly he held friendly relations with Sarwaru-l-Mulk, still in his inmost heart was in union with his father's Amīra. Sarwaru-l-Mulk became aware of this, and accordingly began to plot treachery against him also, and was only waiting his opportunity.

On the eighth of Muharram in the year 838 H. (1434 A.D.) Sarwaru-l-Mulk and the sons of the perfidious Mīrān Šadr suddenly broke into the tent of the king with the intention of doing him a grievous injury, but at this moment Muhammad Shāh became aware of their design; and with all despatch sent messengers to Kamālu-l-Mulk, while the attendants who were near the person of Muhammad Shāh were on their guard, and killed the traitor Sarwaru-l-Mulk, and seizing the sons of Mīrān Šadr executed them in presence of the *darbār*. The traitorous infidels blockaded themselves in their own houses. Kamālu-l-Mulk, accompanied by all the Amīra, entered the fort by the Uarwāza-i-Baghdād (Baghdād gate). The raṣṣān Sidh Pāl set fire to his house and property, and after performing the *jaubar*¹ which is a well-known custom expressed by that word in the Hindī language, went himself into battle and became food for the flames of the pitiless sword,² and his impure soul went to hell.³ Sidharan Kāngū and the rest of the Khatrī confederation, were one and all taken prisoners, and were impaled near the *ḥazira*⁴ (mausoleum)

¹ جوار Jauhar or Jāhar جوار is a Hindī word derived from the words جوار جوار, and جوار here signifying taking one's own life. The custom of the Rājputs when reduced to the last extremity in warfare was in older times to perform a rite of self-sacrifice known by this name: as for instance on the occasion of the siege and capture of Chitor by Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn: "Huge piles of timber were raised up and set on fire. The women approached in funeral procession and threw themselves into the flames. The men arrayed themselves in saffron-coloured garments and rushed out of the fortress sword in hand; most of them were cut to pieces" The evident object of the rite was to protect the persons of the women from the indignities to which they would be submitted if they were to fall alive into the hands of the enemy. MSS. omit جوار.

² The word جوار Jauhar, here used for "Soul," has the primary meaning of "essence." It is a Persian word and is used here as a play upon the Hindī word *jauhar* used above (Note 1).

⁴ حجرة Hazira. The literal meaning of this word is an enclosure, here

of Mubārak Shāh, and Malik Hushyār and Mubārak Kotwāl were executed along with them. The following day Kamālū-l-Mulk and the other noted Amīrs renewed their fealty to Muhammad Shāh; Kamālū-l-Mulk obtained the rank of *vaṣīr* and Malik Chaman of Badāon received the title of *Ghāzī-l-Mulk*, and was reinstated in his former position as governor of Badāon, Amroha being also added to his province; Malik Allahdād Lodī would not accept any title, the title of *Daryā Khān* however he accepted for his brother. Thus after settling the important affairs, Muhammad Shāh gave durability to his rule, and conducted his Government in tranquillity.

And in the year 840 H. (1436 A.D.) he turned his attention towards Multān, and halted for some days at Mubārakpūr to give time for the Amīrs of the various districts to join him. When the Muhammad Shāhi's troops were all assembled at Mubārakpūr he marched thence towards Multān, and after visiting the shrines of the holy men at that place¹ came to Dihli. And in the aforesaid year, marching towards Sāmāna he despatched a force to proceed against Shaikhā Khūkhar.² Accordingly they laid waste his country and returned.³ In the year 841 H. (1437 A.D.) tidings arrived that the tribe of Langūhs had raised an insurrection in Multān, and in the meantime Sultān Ibrāhīm Shargī obtained possession of certain divisions of Dihli, and the Rāi of Gwālīar and the other Rāis refused to pay the customary tribute. Muhammad Shāh affected to be indifferent to this, and disturbances sprung up in all directions, and everyone was hankering after something. The Khānzādas of Mīwāt, who are the ancestors of Hasan Khān of Mīwāt, invited Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī from Mālwa to assume the imperial power of Dihli.

And in the year 844 H. (1440 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd arrived at Dihli, and Muhammad Shāh drew up his forces and sent out his son Saiyyid 'Alān-d-Dīn to engage him in battle, giving the command of the force to Malik Buhlūl Lodī. Sultān Mahmūd also

it means a tomb enclosed within walls or a palisade. Firishṭa writes "were put to death with great tortures". بعقوبت تمام بقتل رسیدند.

¹ MS. (A) omits انبیا.

² MS (A). بر سر شینا.

³ MS (A) تا ولایت اورا خواب کرد؟ مراجعت نمودند.

appointed his two sons Ghiāsu-d-Dīn and Qadr Khān¹ to oppose them. A fierce battle resulting they at last agreed to make peace, and Sultān Mahmūd taking advantage of that, and alleging as an excuse that he had seen in a dream that the kingdom of Multān was being ruined, marched in light order under cover of night towards Mūlwa. Malik Bahlūl pursued him and seized a portion of his baggage and valuable equipment. Sultān Muḥammad was so pleased at the energy displayed by Bahlūl Lodi that he called him his son,² and bestowed upon him the country of Lāhor and Detālpūr.

And in the year 845 H. (1441 A.D.) he marched to Sāmāna, and having despatched Bahlūl to chastise Jasrat Khūkhar, returned to Dihlī. Jasrat concluded a peace with Malik Bahlūl and held out to him the pleasing prospect of becoming Sultān of Dihlī,³ till at last Bahlūl began to collect Afghāns from all directions and took forcible possession of a large number of *paiganas*, then without any ostensible reason he picked a quarrel with Muḥammad Shāh and revolted against him, leading an army against Dihlī. He held Sultān Muḥammad for a considerable time closely besieged, but could not accomplish his purpose, and returned without effecting anything. In the meantime Muḥammad Shāh was afflicted with a grievous disorder, and the Amīrs who were at a distance of twenty *krohs* from Dihlī revolted against him, and sending for his son 'Alāu-d-Dīn who held a *jūegīr* in Badāun, and had left there on a hunting expedition at the foot of the hills, made him⁴ hereditary. And in the year 847 H.⁵ he passed away, the duration of his reign was fourteen⁷ years and some months, or thereabouts.

¹ The text reads *مادن خان* Madan Khān MS (A) reads *قدن خان* Qadar Khān. Firishṭa says *قدور خان* Qadr Khān. So also *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

² MS (A) *اور پسر خوانده* See Elliott IV 85.

³ Firishṭa says Incited him to aspire to the kingdom of Dihlī. MS. (A). instead of *میشور* writes *مسرور*.

⁴ *روز بروز سستی پذیرفته* Firishṭa says *نزدحت صعب مبداء شد* becoming day by day weaker. MS. (A) *اورا*.

⁵ Firishṭa says that he died in 849 H. which is probably correct, see n. 7.

⁷ As he came to the throne in 837 he had reigned only some ten years, not fourteen as here stated. Both MSS. (A) and (B) however read *چهارده*.

The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* according to Elliott IV. 86, says ten years and some months. With regard to this see Thomas, *Pulhān Kings* p. 335 and note 1.

Come and cast one look upon their dust, and take warning.
For the dust is the resting-place of trusted emperors.

5. SULTĀN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN IBN I MUḤAMMAD SHĀH IBN I MUBĀRAK
SHĀH¹ IBN I KHĪZR KHĀN.

In accordance with the testamentary disposition of his father succeeded to the throne, and Malik Buhlūl with the other Amī gave in their allegiance to him, and seeing that the indolence¹ Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn was even greater than that of his father, still more violent ambition to secure the throne began to work upon the excited fancy of Buhlūl.

In the year 850 H. (1445 A.D.) Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn made an excursion towards Baiāna; while on the road he heard a false rumour that the King of Jaunpūr was on his way to attack Dihli, and without attempting to ascertain its truth returned in hot haste to Dihli. In the year 851 H. (1447 A.D.) he went to

where it is said that Firishṭa "makes a less venial mistake in insisting upon a twelve years' reign in spite of his own expressed figures of from "839 to 849" A. H. Briggs, pp. 882—239." This is not Firishṭa's error but is the fault of his translator. Firishṭa says clearly that Muḥammad succeeded to the throne on the very day on which Mubārak Shāh was assassinated (Bo text, p. 209) that is, "on the 9th Rajab 837" (Bo. text, p. 209), so that while his date as regards the death of Muḥammad Shāh may be wrong, his calculation based upon the dates he gives is correct. I am not aware of any direct evidence that Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn ascended the throne in 847 H. The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, if Elliot's translation (Elliot, IV, p. 80) is to be trusted, says, "Upon the death of Muḥammad Shāh the amīrs and nobles assembled, and raised his son to the throne under the style of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn' and in a footnote on the same page referring to the conflict of testimony between Badāoni and Firishṭa as to the date of Muḥammad Shāh's death, he says. "Firishṭa seems correct in making it 849," and with this opinion I am inclined to agree. The mistake appears to have arisen from accepting the date given by Briggs in his translation of Firishṭa, instead of confirming it from Firishṭa himself, who gives 17th Jamādī I 824 as the date of Khīẓr Khān's death and Mubārak Shāh's accession, and states (Bo. text 309) that Mubārak Shāh reigned thirteen years three months and sixteen days. This would bring us to 837 H. not to 830 H. Therefore, unless there is evidence to show that 'Alāu-d-Dīn came to the throne in 847 H. we are justified in accepting Firishṭa's plain and coincident statement that Muḥammad Shāh reigned twelve years and some months, dying in 849 H.

¹ MS. (A) omits *صبارک شاه* and writes *فرید خان* Farīd Khān. See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, 335, footnote.

Badāon and elected to take up his abode there, and after making preparations for remaining there¹ returned to his capital Dihli.

And in the year 852 H. (1448 A.D.) having made his two brothers-in-law *Shahm-i-Shahr* (City Constable) and *Mir-i-Kūh* (Superintendent of Roads) he returned to Badāon. A disturbance arose between those two brothers, and at last both were put to death by the people of Dihli. Husāin Khān who was *Umdat-i-Mulk* (a Privy Councillor), and loyal to the Sultān, but from time to time spoke the direct truth to the Sultān in connection with the administration of State affairs, had for this very reason, fallen out of favour with the Sultān, and had been deposed from his office. Hamid Khān, *Vazir-i-mamlukat*, (vazir of the State) who had fled to Dihli fearing punishment at the hands of the Sultān, and dreading an attempt upon his life,² joined with Husain Khān in inviting Malik Buhlūl and in raising him to the throne. He accordingly took advantage of the absence of the Sultān to proceed to Sirhind³ and having assumed to himself the title of Sultān read the *Khutbah*, and coming a second time with⁴ his whole army seized upon Dihli. Leaving his viceroy there he proceeded towards Dibālpūr, where he set about raising an army, and wrote a letter couched in hypocritical terms to Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn saying, "I am your obedient servant, and am undertaking all this marching backwards and forwards solely out of loyalty to your person." The Sultān in reply, wrote as follows: "The deceased King, Sultān Muhammad Shāh, called you by the name of Son. There is neither fruit nor profit for me in sovereignty; living in solitary contentment at Badāon I resign the empire of Dihli⁵ to you. Sultān Buhlūl leaving Dibālpūr ascended the throne of Dihli⁶

¹ MS. (A) *طرح اقامت انداخته*. The text reads *طرح عبارت* در آنجا طرح عبارت. having laid the foundations of a palace, but there seems no authority for such a statement.

² Firishṭa gives a full account of this, and says that the Sultān was instigated to this attempt by Quṭb Khān and Rāi Pertāb, the latter of whom had a blood-feud against Hamid Khān (see Firishṭa, Bombay text I. p. 315).

³ MS. (A).

⁴ His eldest son Khwāja Bāyazīd. At this time, according to Firishṭa, the *Khutbah* used to be read in the joint names of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Sultān Buhlūl, who upon first marching against Dihli had written to 'Alāu-d-Dīn alleging as his excuse that he was marching to oppose Hamid Khān.

⁵ MS. (A) *سلطنت دهلي*

⁶ MS. (A) *جلوس نمود*

without fighting or opposition; and Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn by the orders of Sultān Bahlūl was invested with the sovereignty of Badāon and the districts appertaining to it, towards the river Ganges as far as Khairābād and the foot of the hills, and used to read the Khutbah in his own name in those districts, till at last after some time, in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) he bade farewell to this world.¹ The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.

Verses.

This is the sum and total of the world's conduct.

It has never proved faithful to any man.

SULTĀN BUHLŪL [IBN I KĀLA]² LODĪ.

Who in the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh had obtained the title of Khān-i-Khānān,³ in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) in concert with Hamīd Khān Vazīr (who, after the execution of Husain Khān at the hands of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, had gained possession of the family and relations of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn in Dihlī, and had brought the key of the fortress and had given it to Sultān Bahlūl) ascended the throne of sovereignty, and by degrees contrived to secure the imprisonment of Hamīd Khān,⁴ and in the same year, proceeded to Multān to set that province in order.⁵

And in the year 856 H. (1452 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī at the instigation of certain of the Amirs of the party of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, came with a large army and laid siege to Dihlī,

¹ According to Firishta 'Alāu-d-Dīn died in Badāon in the year 883 H. (1478 A.D.) having reigned in Badāon some twenty-eight years.

Badāonī's statement is wrong in this particular. In 855 H. according to Firishta, 'Alāu-d-Dīn retired into obscurity, leaving the kingdom of Dihlī to Bahlūl Lodī, and reigned in Badāon for twenty-eight years, dying in 883 H. (Bo. text 816.) See n. 4 page 405.

² MS. (B) omits the words in brackets.

³ MS. (A) writes خطاب خانى یافته بود.

⁴ A long account of the way in which Hamīd Khān was taken prisoner is given by Firishta.

⁵ Firishta gives an account of the circumstances attending the birth of Bahlūl Lodī, telling us that the mother of Bahlūl Lodī, when close upon her confinement of him, was killed by the falling of her house upon her; she was taken out lifeless, and to save the child the mother was instantly submitted to the Cæsarean operation and the child removed; as it shewed signs of life it was carefully tended and grew up. (Bo. text p. 817).

and after severe fighting gained possession of it,¹ and Fath Khān Harawī² who was one of the most trusted Amirs of Sultān Mahmūd was killed. Sultān Mahmūd³ not being able to bear up against this went to Jaunpūr; and the following year came into the same neighbourhood, proceeding from Jaunpūr to Itāwa, and concluded peace upon the following terms, namely, that so much of the kingdom of Dihlī as was under the sway of Mubārak Shāh should belong to Sultān Bahlūl, while that portion which was under the rule of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī should revert to Sultān Mahmūd;⁴ and having promised that after the rainy season he would give Shamsābād to Sultān Bahlūl,⁵ which was held by Jūnā Khān as the deputy of Sultān Mahmūd, each of them went to his own country.

Sultān Bahlūl at the expiration of the appointed time marched against Shamsābād, took possession of it, and gave it to Rāi Kiran, ruler of Bhūnganw. Sultān Mahmūd being displeased at this, proceeded again⁶ to the borders of Shamsābād and fought with Sultān Bahlūl.⁷ In the meantime Sultān Mahmūd quitted this existence for the house of eternity, and Muhammad Shāh, the son of Sultān Mahmūd, was nominated to the kingdom of Jaunpūr in the room of his father, and having arranged peace upon the terms formerly agreed upon between Sultān Mahmūd and Sultān⁸

¹ MS. (A) has here a different reading (note 7) افتاد. The text seems right agreeing with MS. (B).

² Harawī, of Herāt.

³ MS. (A) reads here ... و کشته شدن او سلطان. Sultān Mahmūd was not able to bear the fall of Fath Khān and his being killed.

⁴ MS. (A) محمد. Muhammad. Firishṭa says that another term of the agreement was that Bahlūl was to return the seven elephants taken in battle from Fath Khān, and should receive Shamsābād in place of Jūnā Khān (Bo. text p. 322).

⁵ MS. (A) omits by. Firishṭa tells us that Jūnā Khān refused to quit Shamsābād when called upon to do so by Bahlūl Lodī, who consequently marched against him and drove him out, giving Shamsābād into the charge of Rāi Kiran, and conquering all that country. (Bo. text p. 322).

⁶ MS. (A) در.

⁷ In this engagement Qutb Khān Lodī was taken prisoner in consequence of his horse stumbling and throwing him, and was sent by Mahmūd to Jaunpūr where he was imprisoned.

⁸ Firishṭa says that Bibi Rachi, the mother of Muhammad Shāh Sharqī

Bahlūl proceeded to Jaunpūr, and, inasmuch as Qutb Khān, the cousin of Sultān Bahlūl had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Muḥammad Shāh,¹ Sultān Bahlūl, in defiance of the existing treaty, again brought up his army against Muḥammad Shāh, who also leaving Jaunpūr came to Shamsābād and took it from the Hīndūs by force,² and on the borders of Rāprī confronted Sultān Bahlūl. Muḥammad Shāh was defeated and retreated towards Qanauj. Sultān Bahlūl pursued him.³ And in the aforesaid year Sultān Husain Sharqī, ibn-i-Sultān Maḥmūd revolted against his brother Muḥammad Shāh, and seized the throne of Jaunpūr with the assistance of the Amīra, and detailed ⁴ a large army to proceed against Muḥammad Shāh, whom they finally put to death on the banks of the Ganges in the vicinity of Rāj Gar. Sultān Husain made peace with Sultān Bahlūl, and sending for Qutb Khān Lodī who was still in prison, from Jaunpūr, presented him with a horse and a robe of honour and sent him to Sultān Bahlūl⁵ and returned from Qanauj to Jaunpūr⁶.

intervened, and arranged peace upon these terms, that Muḥammad Shāh should retain his father's kingdom, while Bahlūl should be in undisturbed possession of all that he already held.

¹ See preceding page n. 4.

² There is a rather important difference here in the account given by Firishṭa (Bo. text p. 323) who writes: "When Sultān Bahlūl arrived near Dīhlī Shams Khātūn, the sister of Qutb Khān Lodī sent him a message, saying, "So long as Qutb Khān remains in the prison of Muḥammad Shāh Sharqī food and sleep is unlawful for thee O King." Accordingly Bahlūl broke the truce, and came to Dīhlī, whence he returned towards Jaunpūr. On his arrival at Shamsābād he took it out of the hands of Rāi Kīran, and gave it to Jūnān Khān who had arrived before him, and Muḥammad Shāh Sharqī also had come out to meet him, consequently the two Kings encamped near Sarsatī facing one another at close quarters, and engaged each other early and late." From this it appears that Shamsābād was taken by Bahlūl from Rāi Kīran, whereas Badāonī makes it seem as though Muḥammad's forces re-conquered it. Firishṭa's account is undoubtedly the correct one as subsequent events show.

³ MS. (A) تعاقب او کرد.

⁴ MS. (A) نامزد کرد.

⁵ The account of the circumstances given by Firishṭa show that Husain Khān started with his army under pretence of opposing Bahlūl but changed direction to Qanauj. When Bahlūl heard of this he had despatched a few of his Amīra to meet Husain Khān, and himself took prisoner, Jalāl Khān, brother of Husain Khān who was also coming out after his brother, and kept him as a hostage for Qutb Khān, for whom he was eventually exchanged (Bo. text, p. 323).

⁶ MS (A) از قزاق بجانب جونپور. The text and MS. (B) are wrong here.

despatched Jalāl Khān, the brother of Husain Khān, whom he held in confinement as hostage for Qutb Khān, to Sultān Husain after conferring honours upon him. And after some years¹ Sultān Husain coming to the borders of Chandwār, fought a battle with Sultān Buhlūl, and having concluded a peace for three years again returned to his own country. At this juncture Ahmad Khān Jilwāni, the ruler of Baiāns read the *Khutbah* in the name² of Husain Khān; and Sultān Husain, upon the expiration of the period for which peace had been concluded, proceeded towards Dihli with 10,000 cavalry and a thousand elephants. They met near a place called Bhatwāra, and Sultān Husain having agreed to peace encamped at Itāwa. Sultān Buhlūl came to Dihli. The fact of these two kings being thus within a seven days' journey is not without its ridiculous side.

Verse.

Who has ever seen a scabbard which can contain two swords !

Who has ever seen the thrones of two Jamshids in one place !

And in this year Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, whose daughter [Malika-i-Jahān]³ was married to Sultān Husain, passed away in Badāon, as has been already related,⁴ and left his kingdom to Sultān Buhlūl and Sultān Husain.

Verse.

Even supposing that thou hast attained to that which thou desirest,

Even supposing that thou hast been all that thou shouldest be,

Has not everything which has attained perfection, suffered afterwards from loss ?

Does not the azure heaven taken away again all that it has bestowed ?

And Sultān Husain came from Itāwa to Badāon to perform the

¹ A peace had been arranged for a term of four years (Firishṭa).

² Both MSS. (A) (B) omit *فلي*.

³ The name is omitted in MS. (A).

⁴ See note 1 page 402. 'Alāu-d-Dīn really died in 883 H. according to Firishṭa. In the former place our author says he died in 855 H. but here he corrects the mistake.

duties of mourning for him,¹ and having taken those districts from the sons of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, took possession of them himself, and thence went² to Sambal, and having taken prisoner Tātār Khān,³ the Governor of that place, sent him to Sāran,⁴ and with a large army and the number of elephants already mentioned, arrived at Dihlī in the month of Zū Hījjah, in the year 880 H.⁵ and encamped on the banks of the Jamna near the ford of Kichā.⁶ Sultān Bahlūl coming from Sihrind summoned⁷ Husain Khān, the son of Khān-i-Jahān from the vicinity⁸ of Mirath, and despatched him to oppose Sultān Husain,⁹ while he himself held Dihlī against him. And on this occasion also, owing to the exertions of Qutb Khān, Sultān Husain agreed to peace, taking into his own possession the whole of the country on the further side of the Ganges;¹⁰ then relinquishing this side of the river to Sultān Bahlūl he returned. Sultān Bahlūl¹¹ seized his opportunity, and when Sultān Husain marched, crossed the river Jamna and captured some baggage and other property¹² which Sultān Husain, relying upon the truce, had left on the camping-ground: a certain proportion of the treasury also which was laden on elephants and horses, fell into the hands of Sultān Bahlūl, and as many as forty¹³ noted Amirs of Sultān Husain's force, were taken prisoners, among others for instance, Qāzī Samā'u-d-Dīn, entitled Qutlugh Khān the Vazir, who was the most learned of the doctors of his time.

1 MS. (A) reads *بتعزیت او* *ba-ta'ziyat-i-ū* which agrees with the words of Firishṭa (Bo. text, p. 325) and is far preferable to the reading of the text and MS. (B) *بتقريب او* *batagrib-i-ū*, i.e., on his account.

2 MS. (A) *رفت*. 3 Firishṭa calls him *مبارک خان* *Mubārak Khān*.

4 Thus also both MSS. (A) and (B). The text has a footnote variant *بشاران* *ba Shārān*.

5 There is a serious discrepancy here in the dates. Firishṭa says in 883 H. (Bo. text, p. 325) and this must be correct.

6 MS. (A) reads *گذر گنجینه* *Guzr-i-Ganjīna*, but the text is right. Firishṭa reads *کچه* *kachha*.

7 MSS. (A) and (B) omit *طلبیده*.

8 MSS. (A) and (B) read *جانب* for *ولایت* (Text).

9 Firishṭa says *بضبط عیرک*, to take Mirak.

10 MS. (A) reads *گرفته*. That is to say eastward of the Ganges.

11 MS. (A) omits *و*. 12 MS. (A) *اشیای که* MS (B) *اشیای را که*.

13 Firishṭa says "thirty or forty."

Sultān Bahlūl made over Qutlugh Khān in chains to Qutb Khān Lodi, and himself giving chase went as far as Shamsābād¹ in the Doāb, which was held by Sultān Husain, and seizing it, appointed commissioners² of his own over³ that country; this occurrence took place in the year 884 H. (1479 A.D.)⁴ the chronogram for that year was *Nawā-i-Kharābī* (Tidings of ruin).⁵

And Sultān Husain seeing that he was being very closely pursued, determined to make a stand at Rāprī, and once more peace was agreed to between them upon the old conditions, namely, that each should rest contented with the countries of which he was in possession, and should retire. Upon the conclusion of this peace Sultān Husain remained at Rāprī, and Sultān Bahlūl at a place called Dhopāmaū⁶; and after a time Sultān Husain again collecting an army came up against Sultān Bahlūl, and a fierce engagement took place in the vicinity of Sonbār.⁶ Sultān Husain again suffered defeat, a great deal of treasure and valuables beyond computation falling into the hands of the Lodi party, and was a means of increasing their influence and power. Sultān Bahlūl left Dhopāmaū⁷ for Dihli to mourn⁷ for Khān-i-Jahān who had died in Dihli, [and having conferred the title of Khān-i-Jahān upon his son, again returned to attack Sultān Husain, and reaching Rāprī fought a battle in which he gained a victory];⁸ and when Sultān Husain took refuge in flight a number of his family and

¹ Firishṭa enumerates *Khanpal* (Kanpila?) *Baitālī*, *Shamsābād*, *Sakī*, *Mārharā* and *Jāleer*, as the townships seized on this occasion by Bahlūl.

² شایداران *Shayḍarān*. Officers appointed to collect revenue from provinces.

³ بران MSS. (A) (B). The text reads بدان.

⁴ Firishṭa includes this among the events of 883 H. See note 17.

⁵ Our author here shows that he is wrong, as the total of the letters given amounts to 883 not 884. Thus نرید خرابی 50 + 6 + 10 + 4 + 600 + 200 + 1 + 2 + 10 = 883.

⁶ This passage is differently worded in the text. In both MSS. (A) and (B) it runs thus:—

و بعد از صلح سلطان حسین برابری و سلطان بھلول در موضع دھوپامو قرار گرفت و بعد از مدتی سلطان حسین باز جمعیت نموده بر سر سلطان بھلول آمد و در سواد موضع سونہار مبارک شہت افتاد.

⁷ The text reads incorrectly بتقریب instead of بتعزیت MS. (A).

⁸ MS (A) omits the portion in brackets.

children were drowned in the Jamna. Sultān Husain continued his march towards Gwāliār, and was still on the way when the rebel tribes of Hatkānt,¹ who are a clan of the Bhadaunis, attacked his camp; Rāi Girat Singh, the Governor of Gwāliār came to the assistance of the Sultān offering his services, and having presented

11. him with money and property, horses, camels, and elephants, with tents for himself and his troops, sent an army to accompany him, proceeding himself with the Sultān² as far as Kālpī; Sultān Buhlūl pursued him, and the two Kings³ met in the neighbourhood of Kālpī and a considerable time was spent in hostilities. In the meantime Rāi Tilūk⁴ Chand, the Governor of the country of Baksar,⁵ came and offered his services to Sultān Husain,⁶ and enabled him to cross the Ganges at a place which was fordable. Sultān Husain not being able to stand against him withdrew to Thatta,⁷ and the Rāja of Thatta came to receive him, and having presented him with several *laks* of *tankahs* in cash, and other valuables,⁸ together with several elephants, escorted him to Jaunpūr.

Sultān Buhlūl made an attempt to conquer Jaunpūr, accordingly

¹ MS. (A) omits the word *متردان* leaving a hiatus, and writes *مترکات* *Hatkāt* which is correct, see n. 2.

Hatkānt is said by Abūl Fazl to be the chief town of Bhadāwar a district E. E. of Agra. Its inhabitants are called Bhadaunis. They were known as daring robbers and though so near the capital managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant, when they submitted. *Ain-i-Akbari* (B) I. 488. Elliot. *Races of N. W. P.*, vol. I, p. 25.

² We should probably read here *مشارعی* *Mushār'at* for *مطابعت* *Mutabi'at* see Firishṭa.

³ MS. (A) reads *میان*.

⁴ Both MSS. Also Firishṭa who calls him Rāi Tilok Chand, Governor of Khatra (P Katohr.)

⁵ Baksar is situated on the left bank of the Ganges 34 miles S. E. of Unāo town, and has an interest in connection with the massacre of 1857 at Cawnpore (see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, I, 450) MS (A) reads *یکسر* *Yaksar*.

⁶ Firishṭa says *پهلوان بھلول آمدہ*. Offered his services to Sultān Buhlūl; from our author's subsequent words it would appear that it was Sultān Buhlūl, and not Sultān Husain.

⁷ MSS. (A) and (B) read *پٹنہ* *Patna* instead of *پٹنہ* *Patna*. Firishṭa has *پٹنہ* *Thatta*, and this seems to be the proper reading.

⁸ MS (A) *حزنی*.

Sultān Husain leaving Jaunpūr went by way of Bahraich towards Qanauj, and engaged¹ Sultān Bahlūl for some time on the banks of the Rahab, and met with the defeat which had become a second nature to him. On this occasion his whole retinue and regalia fell into the hands of the Lodīs, while his chief wife *Mulika-i-Jahān*, *Bibi Khūnzā*,² who was the daughter of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and the grand daughter of *Khizr Khān*, was taken prisoner;³ Sultān Bahlūl treated that lady with the utmost respect and regard, and when he again attempted to conquer Jaunpūr, *Bibi Khūnzā* by some artifice effected her escape and joined her husband. Jaunpūr fell into the hands⁴ of Sultān Bahlūl. He gave it to *Mubārak Khān Lūhānī*, and himself proceeded to Badāon. Sultān Husain took the opportunity to march against Jaunpūr in full force: the Amīrs of Sultān Bahlūl evacuated it, and went to *Qutb Khān Lodi* who was in *Mahjauli*,⁵ and approached Sultān Husain with expressions of fealty, and by pretending to take his part kept him at bay till reinforcements arrived from Sultān Bahlūl. Sultān Bahlūl sent his own son *Mubārak Shāh* to the assistance of these Amīrs, while he himself also set out⁶ for Jaunpūr, following his son; Sultān Husain not being able to stand against him went to *Bihār*. In the meantime tidings of the death of *Qutb Khān* reached Sultān Bahlūl at the camp of *Haldī*,⁷ and having performed the requirements of mourning for him, he proceeded to Jaunpūr, and after placing his son *Barbak Shāh* upon the throne of the *Sharqī* dynasty,⁸ returned, and came to the *Kālpī* country, which he gave to *A'zam Humāyūn*, another nephew, who had the

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¹ MS. (B) reads *مقابلہ* *muqābala*, i.e., met him.

² MS. (A) reads *خوت را* *Khātrā* MS. (B) *خوترا* *Khuttrā*. *Firishta* reads *خوترا* *Khānsa*.

³ MS. (A) *گرفتار گشت*.

⁴ Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit *در*.

⁵ MS. (A) reads *مجهولي* *Majhauḷi*. *Firishta* *مجهولي* *Mahjauli*. A village in the Gorakhpur District on the banks of the Gaudak. There are two villages forming one: *Majhauḷi*, which is *Hindā*, on the north bank, and *Sā'impār*, which is *Muhammādan*, on the South. See *Hunter Imp. Gaz.* IX. 213.

⁶ MSS. (A) and (B) read *روانہ شد*.

⁷ *Firishta* says: When Sultān Bahlūl arrived at the township of *Haldī*, he heard of the death of *Qutb Khān*.

⁸ *Firishta* says: "expelled Sultān Husain *Sharqī*, again conquered Jaunpūr, and placed his own son *Barbak Shāh* upon the throne of the *Sharqī* Kings."

name of Bāyazīd,¹ and having arrived at Dholpūr² levied several *mans* of gold as tribute from the Rāi of that place; then passing by Bāi went to Ilāhpūr,³ one of the dependencies of the fortress of Rantaubhūr, and having laid waste that country came to Dihli and remained there. Some time after this he hastened to Hissār Firoza, where he remained a few days and then returned to Dihli. Once more he went to Gwāliār, where Rāja Mān the Governor of Gwāliār sent an offering of eighty laks of *tankas* of that period; accordingly Buhlūl confirmed him at Gwāliār, and proceeded to Itāwa, and was making his way back to Dihli when he was taken ill in the neighbourhood of a township of the dependencies of Sakit.⁴ And in the year 894 H (1488 A. D.) he died, the duration of his reign was thirty-eight years,⁵ eight months and eight days.⁶

Verse.

Whether it be Afīāsiyāb or his son Zāl,
He will meet with chastisement at the hand of Fate.
To a cup whose measure the wine-bearer has appointed
It is impossible to add a single drop, however much you may
strive.

¹ MS (A) writes *پسر دیگر* another son. Firsihta says *خواجه* 'his grandson *Khāja A'zam Humāyūn* son of *Khwāja Bāyazīd*.' (Bo. Text, p. 327). This is correct. Bāyazīd was the eldest son of Buhlūl.

² Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit *خود*.

³ The text and MS. (B) read *Palhanpūr*. MS. (A) reads *بالہندپور* be *Ilhanpūr*: Firsihta's text however reads clearly (p. 327) *بجانب الہ پور* *ba janīb-i-Ilāhpūr*. Briggs (p. 560) says Rattunpoor!

⁴ Text and MS (B) have *سکیت* *Sakpat*. MS. (A) reads *سکلب* *Salīb*. In Firsihta we read (Bo. text 327) that "Buhlūl took Itāwa from Sakit Singh and set out to return to Dihli but fell ill on the way" Later on we read that "he died near Bhindāuli one of the dependencies of Sakit." Sakit is in the Etah District of the N.-W. Provinces, and it is here according to Hunter (*Imp. Gaz.* XI. 146), that Buhlūl Lodī died. Abūl Fazl states (*Āin-i-Akbarī* text I. 532) that he died near the township of Saketh, but places Bhindāwah in the Sarkār of Sahār in the Agra Subah, while he places Saketh in the Sarkār of Qannauj (see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Jarrott) (II. 309 n. 3). Sakit was probably the head quarters of the Sakit Singh whom Firsihta mentions.

⁵ MS (A) reads *ہفت* after *سال*.

⁶ Firsihta says seven days.

Whether it be a king or a *Khas*-seller¹

Fate brings to his hearing the summons of death.

The date of his death.²

In eight hundred and ninety and four

The world conquering Khedive, Bahlūl left the world;

With his sword he seized-provinces, but for all his bright
sword and burnished dagger,

He was not able to repel death.³

SULTĀN SIKANDAR IBN I SULTĀN BUHLŪL,⁴

Who was known by the name of Nizām Khān, upon hearing the tidings of his father's decease, came in haste⁵ from Dihlī to the township of Jalālī, entered the camp⁶ and despatched the corpse of his father to Dihlī. On Friday, the seventeenth of the year above mentioned, he ascended the throne in the palace of Sultān Firūz, which is situated on the banks of the Black water, with the concurrence of Khān-i-Jahān ibn i Khān-i-Jabān, and Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī,⁷ and all the Amīrs, and was addressed by the title⁸ of Sultān Sikandar. It is said that at the time of leaving Dihlī, he went to Shaikh Samā'n-d-Dīn Kanbū,⁹ the spiritual guide of Shaikh Jamālī,¹⁰ who was one of the greatest among the Ulamā Shaikhs of his time, on pretence of taking an

¹ *Khas-farūgh*. *Khas* is a fragrant grass (*Andropogon muricatus*) from which screens are made and wetted with water for the purpose of cooling rooms by the air which blows through them: commonly known as "*Khas Khas tatties*" in India.

² MS. (A) reads تاریخ وفات. This is omitted in the text.

Prior to his death Sultān Bahlūl had made a partition of his dominions, assigning Jaunpur to Shāhzāda Bārbak Shāh, and Karra Mānikpūr to Shāhzāda Alam Khān, Bahraich to his sister's son Shaikh Muḥammad Farmalī, who was known as Kālā Bhār, and Lakhnao and Kālpī to A'zam Hamayūn ibn i Khwāja Dāyazīd Khān. (Firishta Bo. text 327).

³ These same verses are found in Firishta.

⁴ MS. (A) has no further words. MS. (B) adds لودی *Loḍī*. The text adds *Kālā*.

⁵ Neither MS. (A) nor (B) has تمام as in the text.

⁶ MS. (B) باردوی برسد.

⁷ MS. (B) خاندان دہلی *Khān-i-Khānān Dihlī*, it omits *Farmalī*.

⁸ MS. (A) omits خطاب. ⁹ MS. (A) کینو *Kīnē*. ¹⁰ MS. (A).

omen,¹ for this reason that he feared lest the Shaikh might favour the claims of the other brothers,² so making his customary daily walk a pretext, he enquired the meaning of the expression *As'adak Allāh*³ from the Shaikh.

14. When he answered, It means *may God Most High make you fortunate*, he besought him saying, Kindly let this expression fall three several times from your auspicious lips; the Shaikh did so,⁴ then he arose and said I have gained my request, then

1 *تَفَاضُل* *tafā'ul*. Taking *فَال* *fāl* or omen from the words of a book. Sortilege, in the manner of the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, or the oracle of *Proconeste*. Among *Muhammadans* it is a not infrequent custom, before embarking upon any important undertaking, to consult the *Qur'ān*, or the works of *Hāfiẓ* in this way. The word *فَال* *fāl* properly means a good omen, as opposed to *فِیْرَات* *fiyarat* a bad omen, this distinction is however not strictly observed. The prophet *Muhammad* directed his followers not to put faith in a bad omen; but rather to take a good one; on being asked the meaning of a good omen he said "a good word which any of you may hear: such as if a person in search of anything be addressed thus, O Finder!" (*Mishkātul-Maʿādh* Mathew ii. 381) see also Lane s. v. *فَال*; also Lane's *Modern Egyptians* 259, where a full account of one of the methods of sortilege by the *Zāirgah* is given.

² MS. (B) reads *برادر دیگر* another brother. *Firishta* gives a detailed account of the circumstances attending the accession of *Sikandar*; he says that most of the *Lodī Amīrs* favoured *A'zam Humāyūn*, and before *Bahlūl's* death practically forced him to summon *Sikandar* from *Dihlī*, intending to make a prisoner of him. This plot came to the ears of 'Umr *Khān Shīrwānī* who was a friend of *Sikandar*, and he consequently agreed with the mother of *Sikandar*, who was in the camp at the time, to warn *Sikandar* of his danger. *Sikandar* accordingly made excuses from day to day, and eventually delayed coming so long that *Bahlūl* died. The *Amīrs* then held a consultation, most of them favouring *Bārbak Shāh* the eldest surviving son, but some leaning to *A'zam Humāyūn*: *Zobā*, the mother of *Sikandar*, spoke from behind a curtain in favour of her son, but was rudely repulsed by one 'Isā *Khān* a cousin of *Bahlūl*, who said, "the son of a gold worker's daughter is not fit to be king." Thereupon *Khān-i-Khānān Fārmālī* rebuked him, and words ensued which led to a quarrel. *Khān-i-Khānān* took his party of *Amīrs* with him, and removed *Bahlūl's* corpse to *Jalālī*, summoning *Sikandar* from *Dihlī* where they placed him on the throne in the palace of *Saljān Firūz* on the banks of the *Hāh*, as *Buljān Sikandar*. He then sending his father's body to *Dihlī*, marched against 'Isā *Khān* and defeated him, but pardoned him (*Firishta* Bo. text 338-339).

³ *As'adak Allāh*, i. e., May God prosper thee. MS. (A) reads *صرف وای ساخته معنی*.

⁴ MS. (A) omits the words *سه بار* and reads *و بعد*.

he besought the Shaikh to assist him, and set out to go to the army, and after that his rule was firmly established,¹ he left Dihli, and marched towards² Rāprī and Itāwa to conquer the country, and spent seven months there. He also sent Isma'il Khān Lūhānī³ with overtures of peace to King Bārbak Shāh at Jaunpūr, while he proceeded in person against⁴ 'Isā Khān Governor of Patiālī; ⁵ and ⁷ 'Isā Khān confronted and fought with him and was wounded, and after tendering his submission succumbed to his wounds. Rāi Ganesh,⁸ the Rāja of Patiālī who was friendly to Bārbak Shāh, came in and had an interview with the Sultān who⁹ confirmed him in the Government of Patiālī.¹⁰ Bārbak Shāh coming from Jaunpūr to Qanauj, the parties met and an engagement took place between them.¹¹ Mubārak Khān Lūhānī,¹² who was with the army of Bārbak Shāh, was taken prisoner in this battle,¹³ Bārbak Shāh fled to Badāon, Sultān Sikandar besieged¹⁴ that fortress, and Bārbak Shāh, being reduced to extremities sought an interview with the Sultān, who reassured and encouraged him, and took him along with him to Jaunpūr, restoring him to his former position upon the throne of the Sharqī kings, except that he divided certain parganas of these territories¹⁵ among his own Amīra, detailing armies for each place and appointing trusted officers of his own following to assist Bār-

جانبہ (B) MS. 2

1 MS. (B) wrongly استقراء.

3 The text and MS. (B) read نوحانی Nūhānī, MS. (A) نوخانی Nūkhānī.

4 MS. (A) در جونیپور. 5 MS. (A) بر میسی خان. 6 MS. (B) پتیالی.

7 MS. (A) omits 8.

8 MS. (B) reads رای کیش Rāi Kishan. MS. (A) reads رای کنیس Rāi Kaniś.

9 MS. (F) The text reads رای گنیش Rāi Ganesh. Firishita reads رای کیلن Rāi Kilan.

10 MS. (A) omits سلطان reading. مقرر گشت و در وجه او.

11 MS. (B) پتیالی Patialī.

12 MS. (A) reads طرفین در میان طرفین instead of طرفین را.

13 Text نوخانی.

14 Firishita (Bo. text 381) says that it was Kālā Bhār (Shaikh Muhammad Farmali, nephew of Sultān Bahlūl and cousin of Sikandar and Bārbak) who was taken prisoner, and in return for his kind reception by Sikandar joined him against Bārbak Shāh, who lost heart and fled to Badāon.

15 MS. (A) میامرا کرد.

16 In Bihar (Firishita).

bak Shāh.¹ Then he took Kalpi from A'zam Khān² Humāyūn the son of Khwāja Bāyazīd. From thence he came to Jahtara,³ and from that place to Gwāliār, sending Khwāja Muḥammad Farmal⁴ with a special robe of honour on an embassy to⁵ Rāja Mān,⁶ who in turn sent his brother's son to pay his respects to the Sultān and to offer his submission. This nephew of his accordingly accompanied the Sultān as far as Baiāna. Sultān Sharq⁷ the Governor of Baiāna, the son of Sultān Aḥmad Jilwānī the First, came and visited him, and was desirous of handing over the key of the fort⁸ to the agents of the Sultān; however he changed his mind, and on arrival at Baiāna strengthened the defences of the fort. The Sultān proceeded to Agra where Haibat Khān Jilwānī, a subordinate of Sultān Sharf⁹ fortified himself in the fort of Agra. The Sultān left certain of his Amīra in Agra and¹⁰ proceeded to Baiāna¹¹ and in the year 897 H. (1491 A. D.) Sultān Sharq¹² fell into straits and sued for quarter, surrendering the fortress of Baiāna to the Sultān; that province was then conferred upon Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī. In the same year the tribe of Bachgotis¹³ in the Jaunpūr territory had assembled to the number

¹ Firishta says, leaving trusted officers of his own following in his service though Badāoni's words would convey the idea that these officers were left to control Bārbak Shāh's actions. MS. (A) omits *بر* before *گماشت* and *را* after *معتددان* and *کالپی*.

² MS. (A) omits *خان* giving it to Maḥmūd Lodī (Firishta).

³ Briggs (p. 568) says Bhrayea, but the original text of Firishta says *جهترة* Jahtara. I fail to locate this.

⁴ MS. (A) *نزد*.

⁵ Governor of Gwāliār (Firishta).

Briggs has Mān Singh. Firishta reads Mān merely.

⁶ Firishta reads thus *سلطان شرف*. Sultān Sharf. Badāoni (text and both MSS.) reads *شرق* Sharq.

⁷ MS. (B) reads *فتح* instead of *قلعه*.

⁸ The text reads *سلطان الشرق*. Sultān-sh-Sharq. MSS. (A) (B) read *سلطان شرق* Sultān Sharq.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) *متخصص شد*.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) *گذاشت و*.

¹¹ Where he besieged Sultān Sharq who after a while capitulated (Firishta 331).

¹² *شرق* Sharq (text and MSS.).

¹³ A tribe of Rājputa said to be descended from the Mainpūrī Chauhāns.

of a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry,¹ and were raising a disturbance. The Sultan proceeded thither and Bārbak Shāh came in and offered his allegiance. Leaving there, he proceeded to occupy himself with a hunting expedition to the borders of Awadh (Oudh), and again returned to Jannpūr, and arrived at the fortress of Janhār,² and engaged in battle with the Amirs of Sultan Husain Sharqī who held it, and having defeated them, without waiting to completely invest the fortress came to Patna;³ and having come to Āril,⁴ which is near Ilāhābās (otherwise called Prayāg),⁵ laid waste that district,⁶ and proceeding by way of Karra and Mānikpūr hastened to Dalman',⁷ and from thence came⁸ to Shamsābād, and remaining there six months went to Sambal [whence he again returned to Shamsābād].⁹

And after the rainy season in the year 900 H. (1494 A. D.) 3 he set out with the object of chastising the rebels of Patna, and great slaughter took place and many prisoners were taken; from thence he proceeded to Jannpūr.¹⁰ In this expedition very many

notorious for their turbulence, originally Muḥammadans, see Elliot, *Races of N. W. P.*, I. 47.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) پیادہ و سوار.

² Text چنار Janhār MS (A) reads حنار. (?) MS. (B) چنار. Chinār Firishta چنار Chinār.

³ Firishta says, came to Kāṭaubā (?) which is one of the dependencies of Patna. MS. (A) reads رفت.

⁴ A footnote variant is given in the text بارکل *ba Arkal*.

Firishta reads اريل Aril (or Aryal); he says جانب اريل رفت.

Aril is mentioned by Abūl Fazl (*Ain-i-Akbari* (B) I. 425.) "he held Jhosi and Aril (Jalālabās) as jāgīr."

⁵ The text reads پیاک Payāk. MS. (A) reads بیاک Bayāk, MS. (B) بیاک Baysk. Regarding the derivation of Prayāg the ancient name of Allahabad, see Cunningham (*A. G. I.* 391.)

⁶ MS. (B) خواب کردہ رفت.

⁷ Dalman' lay opposite to Karra on the other side of the Ganges, see Rennell's Map; see also, *Ain-i-Akbari*, (J.) II. 167 n 2. Firishta (Bo. text) reads Dalpār, p. 332.

⁸ MS. (B) رسید.

⁹ Not in MSS. (A) and (B). The text has a footnote saying that these words occur in only one copy. They are however in exact accord with Firishta's statement, and are probably copied from his work.

¹⁰ MS. (A) آمد.

horses were lost, hardly one in ten remaining alive;¹ the *zemindārs* of Patna and others wrote and informed Sultān Husain Sharqi of the loss of the horses, and of the scarcity of supplies in Sultān Sikandar's army, and invited him (to advance). Sultān Husain collected an army, and marched from Behār with a hundred elephants against Sultān² Sikandar, who for his part crossed the Ganges by the ford of Kantit³ and came to Chenār⁴ and from thence to Banāras. Sultān Husain had arrived within seventeen *krohs* of Banāras when Sultān Sikandar marched against him rapidly.⁵ In the midst of his march Sālbāhan the Rāja of Patna, who was a trusty *zemindār*, left Sultān Husain and joined Sultān Sikandar.

Sultān Husain drew up in line of battle, but suffered defeat and retired towards Patna.⁶ Sultān Sikandar left the camp, and pursued him.⁷ with a hundred thousand light cavalry; while thus engaged he learned that Sultān Husain had gone to Bihār. After nine days Sultān Sikandar arrived,⁸ and joining his camp set out for Bihār. Sultān Husain, leaving his deputy⁹ in Bihār, could not remain there, but proceeded to Khul Gānw one of the dependencies of Lakhnauti, and Bihār fell into the hands of Sikandar's troops.¹⁰ Thence the Sultān proceeded to Tirhut and conquered it.

And in the year 901 H. (1495 A. D.) Khān-i-Jahān Lodī died, and Ahmad Khān his eldest son¹¹ was styled A'zam Khān Humāyūn. The Sultān returned from Tirhut, and went to pay a visit to the tomb of Qutbu-l-Mashāikh-i-l-'Izām,¹² Shaikh Sharfu-d-Dīn Muniri,¹³ may God sanctify his resting-place, and came to

¹ MS. (A) نمائند.

² MSS. (A) and (B).

³ The text and MS. (B) read مکدر گشت *mukaddar gaht*, i.e., became disturbed; but the proper reading is بگدر کنتیت *bugurr-i-Kantit*. MS. (A) or بگدر کنتیت *bugurr-i-Kantit* (Firishta). Kantat is on the E. W. bank of the Ganges, in the Sarkar of Allahabad, see *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) II. 89: 158.

⁴ Text چنار Janhūr.

⁵ Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit تمام.

⁶ MS. (A) reads پنه Panna. Text reads پنه Patta. MS. (B) reads گرفت.

⁷ MS. (B) نمود و در راه.

⁸ MS. (B) omits آمده.

⁹ Malik Kandhū (Firishta).

¹⁰ MS. (A) آمد.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads احمد پسر او بختاب اعظم مایونی مخاطب شد.

¹² MSS. (A) (B) in Bihār (Firishta).

¹³ He was the son of Yahyn-b-Irāil the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Ganj-i-Shakar. His burial place is in Bihār, see *Ain-i-Akbari* (J.) III. 370.

Daryeshpur. From thence he set out on an expedition against Sal- 317.
tān 'Alāu-d-Dīn king of Bangāla, and in the vicinity of Bihār, the
son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, whose name was Dāniāl, in obedience
to his father's orders came out to overthrow Sultān (Sikandar), and
prepared to oppose him, but they retraced their steps, each one
contenting himself with his own territories¹ and consenting to make
peace. In this year great scarcity and dearth occurred in the
camp of the Sultān; orders were promulgated² remitting the cus-
tomary tribute of grain in all provinces, in fact they were entirely
abolished. From thence he came to the township of Sāran, and
divided that district among his own followers in perpetuity,³ and
came by way of Mahligarh⁴ to Jaunpūr, and having spent six
months there proceeded to Panna.⁵ And in the year 904 H.
(1498 A.D.) he invaded the territory of Panna,⁶ as far as
Bāndhūgarh⁷ which is a famous fortress plundering and taking
prisoners, but being unable to take the fortress on account of its
strength, went to Jaunpūr where he remained. In the meanwhile
a quarrel had arisen among some of his Amīrs during a game of
chaugān⁸ and at last it ended in an open fight,⁹ and the Sultān

MS. (A) مادی گانه.

MS. (A) برولیات.

MS. (A) تقسیم ندره مادی گانه.

MS. (B) تقسیم ندره مادی گانه.

MS. (A) Panna; text and MS. (B) Panna. Firishita text says Panna. Briggs in his translation says Panna (p. 578), and this must be correct to judge from what follows.

MS. (A) reads Wilāyat-i-Panna.

MS. (A) reads Bāndhūgarh but Bāndhūgarh is the right reading. Regarding the position of this fortress we find Abul Fazl states (*Āin-i-Akbarī* (J.) II, 167) that Bāndhū lies south of Allahabad. The translator appends a footnote (9) in which he identifies it with Banda. Banda, however, lies to the west and not to the south of Allahabad. Bāndhūgarh was one of the two chief fortresses of the province of Bāndhū (which corresponds nearly to the state of Rewa) and lies south of Rewa (Rewa) distant about 60 miles, and S. S. E. from Panna, distant about 91 miles (Keith Johnson). In Rennell's Map (Tief III, 1) it is very plainly marked, though the distances and bearings differ slightly from the above, see Rennell's Map N.p. Nq. The other fortress lay south of Bāndhūgarh and was called Mandla Garh.

MS. (A) Chaugān. Called in Arabic ساقو ساقو. The modern name of this game is Polo. For a full account of the game, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B.) I, 297, 298.

MS. (A) Firishita gives a detailed description of the events, and states that within

becoming suspicious¹ of the Amirs, gave orders that some armed and trusty guards² should attend him every night, which was accordingly done. The majority of the disaffected and disappointed Amirs urged Fath Khān the son of Sultān Bahlūl to seize the empire. He in his simplicity communicated³ this secret to his mother, and also to Shaikh Tāhir, and a party who were among the confidants of the Sultān, at the same time giving them⁴ a memorandum containing the names of those confederate Amirs. The party above mentioned diverted him from that insane idea with friendly admonition. To prove their own innocence of complicity in that treasonable design, they took that memorandum to Sultān Sikandar,⁵ who devised some specious pretext for scattering in different directions all those Amirs⁶ who had shewn partiality for the Prince⁷ Fath Khān.

And in the year 905 H. (1499 A.D.) he proceeded to Sambal and resided there for four years employed in affairs of State and used to spend his time⁸ either in luxurious living, or in hunting expeditions.

And in the year 906 H. (1500 A.D.) Asghar the Governor of Dihli began to commit malpractices. The Sultān accordingly sent orders from Sambal to Khawās Khān the Governor of Māchhiwāra,⁹ to seize Asghar and send him (into his presence); but Asghar anticipating this had gone humbly to Sambal where he suffered imprisonment, and Khawās Khān received the Governorship of Dihli. In this year also¹⁰ Khān-i-Khānān Fārmālī the Governor of Baiṇa died, and the Government of that place was for some time entrusted to Ahmad and Suleiman the two sons (or grandsons) of Khān-i-Khānān.¹¹ After a time they

four days the fight was renewed, in consequence of which the Sultān began to believe it was due to some preconcerted plan against his own person.

1. MSS. (A) (B) بر نشان بد عظه شد. Both MSS. (A) (B) omit از.

2. MSS. (A) (B) ظاهر ساخت و. MSS. (B) نموده و.

3. MS. (B) omits مکنده and reads نموده. MS. (A) agrees with the text.

4. MSS. (A) (B) reads امرار. MS. (B) reads پادشاه.

5. Both MSS. omit او. MS. (A) reads بالعیش both MSS. read و سیر.

6. MS. (A) reads صاحب واره. Firishta writes ماحیوارا Māchhuwāra.

7. MS. (B) درین سال.

8. The text here reads بر عماد و سلطان پسران خانخانان both MSS. have the same reading but Firishta reads پسران پسران خانخانان.

entered the Sultān's service at Sambal, and the Government of the fortress (of Baiāna) was made over to Khawāṣa Khān, while Safdar Khān¹ was appointed to the charge of Āgra, which was one of the dependences of Baiāna. Khawāṣa Khān with the assistance of Ālam Khān² Governor of Mīwāt, and Khānī Khānān Lūhānī, proceeded to attempt the capture of Dholpūr.³ The Rājā of that place came out to oppose them, and heavy fighting ensued in which many Muslims attained martyrdom. The Sultān leaving Sambal came with all haste to Dholpūr, and Rājā Manik Deo,⁴ Rājā of Dholpūr, not being able to hold out, evacuated the fort and went to Gwālīār. They plundered and pillaged⁵ the district around Dholpūr. The Sultān having remained a month in those parts left to reduce Gwālīār, and leaving Ādam Lodi there, crossed the river Chambal, and encamped for two months on the banks of the river Mendakī.⁶

By reason of the⁷ badness of the climate of that place sickness⁸ broke out among⁹ the population and a pestilence arose. The Rājā of Gwālīār also came and made overtures of peace,⁹ and delivered up Sa'id Khān, and Bābū Khān, and Rājā Ganesh,¹⁰ who had deserted from the army of the Sultān and had taken refuge in that fort, and also sent his eldest son¹¹ to do homage to the

¹ Briggs calls him Saḍr Khān, but the original reads Safdar Khān.

² MS. (A) reads *خانِ اَلام* Khān-i-Ālam.

³ Native State in Rājputāna. The town of Dholpūr, capital of the State lies 34 miles south of Āgra and 87 miles north-west of Gwālīār, see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 273.

⁴ Firishṭa calls him *پادشاه* *Padshah* Deo.

⁵ MS. (B) reads *لُطْفَت* for *لُطْفَت* here and in several other places.

⁶ Firishṭa calls this river "the Asi otherwise known as Medakī," and says that in consequence of the badness of the water sickness broke out among the troops terminating in a pestilence. Mendakī means, frog-haunted.

There is no river which I can definitely identify as this river, but the Asi in Keith Johnson (India) E. f. flowing west of Gwālīār, would answer to the Asi in position. Rennell's Map gives no name to this river.

⁷ MS. (A) omits *و* and also *لُطْفَت*.

⁸ MS. (B) reads *لُطْفَت*.

⁹ MS. (B) reads *لُطْفَت* *musallāh* (armed) for *لُطْفَت* *ba fultā*.

¹⁰ Supply *لُطْفَت* MS. (A).

¹¹ Vikramajit (Firishṭa).

Sultān, who sent him back after bestowing upon him a horse and robe of honour, returning himself to Agra. At the time of his return he restored the fort of Dholpūr¹ also to Bināyik Deo,² and having spent³ the rainy season in Agra, after the rising of Canopus⁴ in the year 910 H (1504 A.D.), marched to reduce the fortress of Mandrāyal,⁵ which he took without fighting from the Rāja of Mandrāyal, who sued for peace; he also destroyed all the idol-temples and churches⁶ of the place, and, as he returned, rebuilt and the fortress of Dholpūr, then came to Agra and gave his Amir permission to proceed to their several *maḥals*⁷ [And in this year Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpūr,⁸ *may God sanctify his holy resting place*, who was one of the chief of the great *maliks* and had even laid claim to be the Mahdī, in answer to the call of Him who has the true claim to us all answered. Here am I, while returning from Makkah the sacred city towards Hindustān, at the town of Farah⁹ whither he was invited *Qasī* Hasan Zanger of Qandahār, God's mercy be on him, whom, as well as the Mir himself I had the honour of visiting, wrote the following chronogram

¹ MS (E) writes *دھولپور* and reads *دھ* for *دھ*

² MS (E) reads *دھولپور دھولپور*

³ MSS. (A) (B) *دھولپور*.

⁴ In the month of Ramazān (Firdaws)

⁵ Mandrāyal. This is not marked in Rennel's map, but Tal. Genthaler (I. 174) mentions it under the name of Mandrāyay or 'Madrāy' and says that it lies upon the side of a round hill distant 20 miles from the western base of the Ohmabā, and twelve miles S. S. E. of Cutch (Kerach) see Keith Johnston's Atlas, India D. 1. Mandler, see also *Āin-i-Akbarī* (J) II. 190, Mandhār.

⁶ *دھولپور دھولپور* So also Firdaws

⁷ The version in square brackets is not in either MS. (A) or MS. (B).

⁸ Mir Sayyid Muhammad was the son of Mir Sayyid Khwās of Jaunpūr, and was the first to give definite form in India to the doctrine of the advent of the Mahdī, alleged to have been promised by the prophet Muhammad. He gained many adherents after he had declared that he was the promised Mahdī, among them was Sultan Mahmūd I. at whose request it was that he proceeded on the pilgrimage to Makkah from which he was returning at the time of his death, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B) I. Biog. p. V.

The Shī'ahs believe that the Mahdī has already appeared, the Sunnis still look for his appearance. Hughes, *Deeds of Islam*

⁹ Farah, in Baluchistan (*Āin-i-Akbarī* (B) I. Biog. p. V.)

He said, Go and enquire from the Shaikh ¹

Shaikh Mubārak also invented a chronogram in the words Mazā Mahdī. The Mahdī has departed] ²

On the third of the month of Safar in the year 911 H (6th July, 1505 A.D.) so violent an earthquake occurred over the whole 520. of Hindūstān ³ that the hills began to tremble, while strong and lofty buildings ⁴ fell to atoms, and the earth in places was cleft and rents appeared, ⁵ while they assert that villages and trees left their places, and men supposed that the day of resurrection had arrived. ⁷ We learn from the Wāqī'āt-i-Bābarī, ⁸ and other histories, that this earthquake was not confined to Hindūstān, but that on the same day in Persia also a similar earthquake occurred, and the word Qāzī, ⁹ was invented as a chronogram to record the date of it.

Rubā'ī.

In nine hundred and eleven the city of Agra became the goal of several successive earthquakes.

گستا که بر او زی شیخ کن استفسار ¹ *Qustā ka birau zi Shāikh kun istifṣār*. The value of the letters of the word شیخ is $800 + 10 + 600 = 910$.

² Mazā Mahdī. These words as written in the text only total 100, but if we write more accurately, مضی مهدی they will be 910.

³ A footnote to the text states that this portion (here included in square brackets) only occurs in one MS. Firishta also has no reference to this event.

⁴ Firishta only says in Agra.

⁵ MS. (A) چنانکه کوه ها به لرزه در آمد و عمارت های عالی.

⁶ MS. (A) دشواریها *dushwārīhā* Difficulties and dangers.

⁷ MS. (B) قیامت واقع شد.

⁸ Regarding this work, see Elliott IV, 218. The commentaries of Bāber, originally written in Tūrki were translated into Persian in Akbar's reign, see Mīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, 105, and an English translation was made by Dr. Leyden and Mr. Erskine. At page 170 of that translation is found the account of the earthquake referred to by our author. Bāber says "there were thirty-three shocks that same day, and for the space of a month the earth shook two or three times every day and night." The date is not given, but the account follows closely upon that of the death of his mother, which he states occurred in the month of Muharram, and we may from the account reckon about 40 days afterwards so that it must have been early in the month of Safar.

⁹ Qāzī. 100 + 1 + 800 + 10 = 911

And whereas her buildings were excessively lofty, that which had been their highest points became the lowest.¹

From the time of Adam to the present time no such earthquake has ever been known.

And in the year 912 H. (1506 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus, he marched against the fortress of Ūntgarh,² and laid siege to it, and many of his men joyfully embraced martyrdom, after that he took the fort and gave the infidels as food to the sword; those who escaped the sword fed the flames of the fire of *jūhar* with their wives and children. He then cast down the idol temples, and built there a lofty mosque.

In the year 913 H. (1507 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus he proceeded with the object of reducing the fortress of Narwar.³ Whilst en route he fell in with the elephants and cavalry and infantry of Jalāl Khān Lodī,⁴ whom he had sent on in advance to clear the way,⁵ and whom he had appointed to reduce Narwar. Becoming suspicious of him, he set about overthrowing him, and made some pretext for dispersing his forces, and taking him prisoner sent him to the fortress of Sakkar;⁶ he then took Narwar, the garrison having capitulated. And in the year 914 H. (1508 A.D.) he constructed other forts round Narwar to increase its strength, and bestowing

¹ Firishta gives this rubā'ī with slight variation omitting چوں *chūn* in the second line.

² Firishta reads اودیت نگر *Udītnagar*. MS. (A) ادونت گر *Adicantgar*. MS. (B) اونت گڑھ *Ūntgarh*. This fortress lay just South of Mandler (p. 420 n. 5) and is shown in the map as Deogarh, see *Amr-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 380 n. 1. Firishta states that the Sultān regarded Udītnagar as the key to Gwāliār which he wished to reduce (p. 338).

³ Firishta Bo. text, p. 339, says this was after the rains of 913 H. in the year 914 H., but from the detail he gives of the various operations it is doubtful if he can be correct. Narwar was a dependency of Mālwa (Firishta). It lay about half way between Gwāliār and Dhār, see Tich. I, 175 for a description and map of the fortress: see also *Amr-i-Akbarī* (J.) II, 190, on the right bank of the river Sind, 44 miles south of Gwāliār city, see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* X, 227.

⁴ Who upon the death of his father Mahmūd Khān had become governor of Kālpī.

⁵ Firishta says Jalāl Khān was ordered to go on in advance and invest the fort of Narwar.

⁶ Firishta says Hanwantgarh.

a hundred and twenty horses¹ and fifteen elephants, with a robe of honour and a sum of money upon Prince Jalāl Khān, allowed him, together with Na'mat Khātūn,² wife³ of Qutb Khān Lodi, who had come⁴ to have an interview with the Sultān, to proceed to Kalpi, and gave that district as a *jāeqir* to Prince Jalāl Khān. And in the year 915 H. (1509 A.D.) he marched from Lahāyar,⁵ and came to Hatkānth,⁶ established posts in different places and proceeded to his capital Āgra. The date of this was (fixed by the following words) *Lahu alhukmu wa ila'hi tarja'un*? That is to say, *His is the decree and to him do ye return.*

Muhammad Khān, the grandson of Sultān Nāsirn-d-Dīn of Mālwa, fearing his grandfather, came for safety to the Sultān, and was allotted the *jāeqir* of Chanderi, while Prince Jalāl Khān was directed to⁸ give him every assistance as an ally; and in this year orders were issued for the erection of palaces and rest-houses, and for the laying out of gardens⁹ at intervals along the whole route from Āgra to Uholpūr, so that when he came back from his hunting expeditions he might rest and refresh himself¹⁰ there. In this year Muhammad Khān of Nāgor, influenced by the fact that certain of his relations¹¹ had sought and obtained an interview with the Sultān, evinced great respect for the Sultān, reading the Khutbah in Nāgor in his name without raising any objection,¹² so that in this way a new territory¹³ came¹⁴ into the possession of the Sultān.

¹ MS. (A) راجی اسب MS. (B) راجی اسب. MS. (A) کردند MS. (B) کرد.

² The wife of Qutb Khān Lodi, foster mother of Jalāl Khān (Firishṭa).

³ Text and MS. (A) کوچ MS. (B) کوچ. ⁴ MS. (B) کردند.

⁵ Gwālār (Firishṭa). Lahār is placed in Rennell's map about 50 miles S.-E. of Gwālār, see Hunter Imp. Gaz. VIII. 100.

⁶ See p. 408 n. 1. MS. (A) هاتکانت Hatkānt. MS. (B) هاتکان Hatkān. Firishṭa هاتکانت Hatkānt.

⁷ The text has ول MS. (A) (B) have ال which is correct. The date is 915 H.

⁸ MS. (A) omits و.

⁹ MS. (A) باغ باغ

¹⁰ MS. (B) فرمایند.

¹¹ Firishṭa explains this: he says that certain relations of Mohammed Khān, namely, 'Alī Khān and Abū Bakr who had conspired to kill him, had been overcome by him, and took refuge in the court of Sulṭān Sikandar and that Muhammad Khān fearing the consequences adopted the means described in order to conciliate the Sulṭān.

¹² Text بی جنگ و جدال MS. (A) بی جنگ و جدال.

¹³ MS. (B) omits ولایتی.

¹⁴ MSS. (A) (B) آمد.

In this year also Suloimān, the son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmah was dismissed from the service of the Sultān, on the grounds that he had been appointed¹ to perform a service at Ūtghar,² and in the direction of Sūpar, and had refused: the *pargana* of Indrī Karnāl³ was given him as *Madad-i-ma'āsh* (rent-free land), with orders to go and remain there.

In this year⁴ Bahjat Khān of Mālwa transferred Chanderī to Sultān Sikandar on account of the weakness⁵ of Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwa, and read the *Khutbah* in his name in those districts. Accordingly proclamations conveying tidings of this victory were written to all parts of the Kingdom; and Muḥammad Khān, the grandson of Sultān Nāṣira-d-Dīn of Mālwa,⁶ was taken prisoner, and Chanderī was (nominally)⁷ placed under his authority, but Amirs were appointed to supervise him so that they might be aware of all his movements, control his actions, and administer⁸ his *jāegir*, then the Sultān proceeded on a hunting excursion towards Baiāna, and paid his respects to the various learned and holy men of those districts, who were at that time famous for their miracles and wonder-working,⁹ especially¹⁰ Saiyyid N'amatu-llāh and Shaiḫ 'Abdallāh Husainī,¹¹ who was

¹ MS. (A) قمرودہ شدہ بود.

² Firsihta says Hanwantgarh, Bo. text, p. 341, and tells us that Suleimān was summarily dismissed with permission to remove all that he could by day-break, and all of his property that remained was to be looted by the populace (فارت عام دھند).

³ Firsihta says باری Bāreri MS. (B) reads کربل. For the meaning of *madad-i-ma'āsh* called also *sūyārghāl*, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B) p. 268. *Sūyārghāl* is a Turkī word meaning gifts (of land). (Paret de Courtoille).

⁴ MS. (B) reads درین چند سال.

⁵ MS. (A) omits ضعف.

Firsihta reads: Bahjat Khān, Governor of Chanderī, whose ancestors for generations had been the faithful subjects of the Sultāns of Mālwa, on account of the weakness of Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwa, and the decadence of his kingdom, sought an interview with Sultān Sikandar, and agreed to the *Khutbah* being read in his name in Chanderī, see Briggs, p. 588, and Bo text, p. 341.

⁶ MS. (A) omits مالوری. MS. (B) writes محمد خان Muḥammad Khān, as also does Firsihta. The text reads محمود خان Mahmūd Khān.

⁷ Firsihta reads قاضی.

⁸ MS. (A) omits و. MS. (B) reads درجایگیر.

⁹ See Lane s. v. کرامۃ. also Hughes, *Dict. of Islām art.* Miracles. The full expression is خوارق العادة *Khawāriq-i-ʿādat*.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) خصیصا.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B).

ie of those famous for revelations and miracle-working,¹ with whom he used to consort frequently. Shāhzāda Daulat Khān, governor of the fortress of Rantāubhūr, in the service of Sultān Ishaḡūd of Mālwa, availing himself of the intermediary aid of Ali Khān of Nāgor, who was in charge of the provinces of Sīwī Siyūpūr,² came and had an interview with the Sultān, and agreed to give up to him the key of the fortress. It so happened that the Ali Khān who has been spoken of above, once more practised his hypocrisy, and came out from the fort to oppose him. The Sultān pretended not to notice this, and treated Daulat Khān as though he were his own son, bestowing upon him a special robe of honour, with several horses and elephants, and proceeded towards the fort of Thānkar,³ and from thence proceeding by way of the township of Bārī,⁴ he returned thence to Āgrā. Here he was seized with an illness, and took the journey to the ⁶ next world on Sunday the seventeenth⁵ of Zūl Q'adah 923 H. (Jan. 1518 A.D.). The words *Jannātu-l-Birdaus nazalā*. (The gardens of Paradise came down) furnish the date⁷ of his death, the duration of his reign was twenty-eight years and five months.

Verse.

Sikandar, the emperor of the seven kingdoms continued not
No one continues, seeing that Sikandar himself did not
continue

Sultān Sikandar used to associate frequently with poets and 323.
was himself also a man of taste, and would occasionally compose

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read *که از اهل کشف و کرامات بود* and this reading is preferable to that of the text.

² The text reads *سیوی سوبار* *Sai Sūbar* with a footnote variant *سیوی سوبار* *Sai o Siyāpūr*. Firāhta reads *سیوپور* *Siyūpūr*. (f Sibi) see *Ain-i-Akbarī* (I.) II. 323 n. 1.

³ Firāhta writes *تھنکار* *Thānkar*.

⁴ In the *Sarkār* of Āgrā. See Tiell I. 166.

⁵ MS. (A) reads *بیانات آخرت*.

⁶ Firāhta says. Sunday, the seventh of Zūl Q'adah, and adds that he died from suffocation, owing to the impaction of a morsel of food in the air passages, not of quinsy as Briggs translates it. See Ho. text 343, and Briggs I. 585.

⁷ MS. (B) reads *تاریخ شد* and omits *مدت*. The letters *جنات الفردوس* make up the total 923.

verses after the ancient Hindustānī¹ models, under the pseudonym of Gulruh, accordingly he felt great pleasure in the companionship of Shaikh Jamāl.² The following verses are the product of the genius of the Sultān, and are written with the utmost regard to poetical form.

Ode.³

That cypress whose robe is the jasmine, whose body the rose,
Is a spirit incarnate whose garment the body provides
What profits the Khatani musk? all the kingdoms of Chīn
Are conquered, and bound in the chains of her clustering curls.
In the eye of her eyelashes' needle the thread of my soul
I'll fasten and swiftly repair every rent in her robe.
Could Gulruh essay to discover the charms of her teeth,
He would say they are water-white pearls of the ocean of speech.⁴

One of the poets of the reign of Sultān Sikandar was the Brahman [Dānkar⁵] who, they say,⁶ in spite of being an infidel, used to give instruction in books of science.⁷ The following *maṭla*, (opening couplet) was spoken [and is a most auspicious *maṭla*⁸] by him in the metre of Mas'ūd Beg,

Had not thy glance been the dagger, my heart had not bled
to-day;

Had not thy look been the serpent⁹ I never had lost my way.

Also among the great and learned men of the time of Sultān Sikandar were Shaikh 'Abdu-llāh Tulumbi¹⁰ in Dihli, and Shaikh 'Azīzu-llāh Tulumbi¹¹ in Samblhal, both of whom came

¹ MSS. (A) (B) هندوستانیہ.

² MS. (B) جمال ازین. MS. (A) جمال الدین Text جمالی ازین.

³ MSS. (A) (B) غزل Text ابیات.

⁴ The verses are here given in the order in which they come in MSS. (A) and (B). Both MSS. read گلرخ چو کند and MS (A) reads تا خاک or تا چاک Text.

⁵ MS (A) دکنکر Dānkar?

⁶ MS. (A) کہ میگویند.

⁷ MSS (A) (B) کتبہ علمی omit رسمی. ⁸ MS. (A) reads صعود و مطلع.

⁹ ابتر Abtar. A noxious serpent which no one sees without fleeing from it see Lane s. v. بتر.

¹⁰ MS (B) omits طالبی.

¹¹ MS (A) بودہ اند.

to Hindustān at the time of the ruin of Multān, and introduced the systematic study of the intellectual sciences into that country. Before their time, with the exception of the *Shurh-i-Shamsiyah*, and the *Shah-i-Sahāif*¹ there were no books current in Hindustān which treated of logic and metaphysics. I heard also from my masters,² that more than forty expert and profoundly learned men have arisen from among the disciples of *Shaiikh* 'Abdu-llāh, for example, Miyān Lādan, Jamāl Khān of Dihli, Miyān *Shaiikh* of Gwālbār,³ Mirān Saiyyid Jalal of Badāon, and others. They say also that Sulṭān Sikandar, during the instruction of the aforesaid *Shaiikh* 'Abdu-llāh, used to come⁴ and seat himself quietly in a corner unseen by the rest, fearing lest he should interrupt the lesson of the other students, and when the lesson was ended they used to exchange the customary salutation of *Salām 'alaikum*⁵ and mix freely with each other.

And *Shaiikh* 'Azizu-llah of Tulumba, who was a man of great probity and recitude, had such an abundant genius and marvellous power of recollection,⁶ that no matter how difficult or minute the subject matter of a book which a student of intelligence might be reading, he would give his lesson in it without previously reading it; and that time after time when they came up for examination, and propounded the most inscrutable problems, the learned *Shaiikh* would explain them on the instant while giving his lesson.

¹ The former of these two works was most probably the famous commentary by Qutbu-d-Dīn Mahmūd bin Muḥammad Rāzī, on the *Shamsiyah*, a famous treatise on Logic composed by Najmu-d-Dīn 'Umar bin 'Alī Qazwīnī, who died A. H. 693 (1293 A. D.) see Hājī Khālifah No. 7667. *El-Sahāif* is *el-kalām, folia de metaphysica*. The *Shurh-i-Sahāif* must be the commentary mentioned by Hājī Khālifah and by him ascribed to Samarqandī. There was another commentary by Bihishtī. See H. K. 7718.

² MS. (A) *و از اساتذ شایسته*

³ MS. (A) has a hiatus between the first and last letters of this name.

⁴ Text and MS. (B) *می آمد*. MS. (A) *می آید*. ⁵ MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ 'Recollection' does not quite convey the full meaning of the word in the original which is *استحضار* *Istihzār*, this means literally, making present, remembering. It seems to be used here for the power of calling up at will any impression. It is not memory, or rather retentiveness, but implies the power of recalling impressions by purely mental forces after the removal of the stimulus. MSS. (A) (B) read *استحضاری قریب داشته*.

One of his pupils was¹ Mijān Hālim Sanbalī, who is commonly said to have read the *Commentary on the Miftāh*² more than thirty times in the course of his life, and the *Mufaṣṣal*³ more than forty times, from the first letter of the *Bism'illah* to the last of the word *Tammāt*⁴.

Another is *Shaykh*-i-Hadiyāh Jannpūrī, the author of many worthy compositions and excellent books, who wrote a commentary extending over several volumes upon the *Hidāyah-i-Fiqh*,⁵ while there is no need of mentioning his commentary on the *Kāfiyah*:⁶ in addition to these he wrote notes upon the *Tafsīr-i-*

¹ MSS. (A) (B) *مذہب*.

² The text and MS. (B) agree in this reading. MS. (A) reads *شرح مفتاح* *Sharḥ-i-miftāḥ*, the two commentaries on the *Miftāḥ*.

Miftāḥ-i-'ulūm (clavis doctrinarum), see Hājī Khalīfah 12576. This book was written by Sirāj-d-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf bin Abī Muḥammad bin Alī as Sikkākī who died 626 A.H. (1228 A.D.)

The book was divided into three parts, of which the first treated of grammatical inflection, the second of syntax, and the third of arrangement and composition of sentences. (علمی المعانی والبیان) *Ilm-i-ma'ānī wal bayān*. (Regarding *Ilm-i-bayān*, etc., see Garoin de Tassy *Rhetorique des langues de l'orient Musulmān*, pp. 1-5.)

A commentary on all three parts was written by Manlā Hasmān-d-Dīn al Muwazzinī, and this is probably the commentary alluded to in the text. Other commentaries were written on the third part, of which Hājī Khalīfah mentions three as worthy of special notice.

³ *Mufaṣṣal* (commentarius longior). By this book is meant the commentary written by Sa'dn-d-Dīn at-Taftazānī (who died 792 A. H.) on the book called *Talkhīṣ-i-Miftāḥ*. It was called by the name of *Mufaṣṣal* or long commentary because after its completion in A. H. 748 its author wrote a second commentary, an abbreviation of the first, and gave it the name of *Mukhtaṣar* or shorter commentary. (See H. K. II. p. 404).

⁴ All works written by Muslims commence with *بسم الله* *Bism'illāh*. In the name of God. The word *تتمت* *tammāt*, stands for *تمت الكتاب* *tammāt-il kitāb*, the book is finished, and forms the last word, answering to our word 'Fins.' MSS. (A) and (B) write only *بسم*.

⁵ *Hidāyah-i-Fiqh*. (see Hājī Khalīfah 14366)

⁶ *Kāfiyah*. The famous grammar known by this name is *Al-Kāfiyat fī-l-nahw* (liber sufficiens) whose author was *Shaykh* Jamāl-d-Dīn abī 'Umar Usmān bin 'Umr, commonly known as *Ibn-i-hujjāh* (ob: 646 A. H.) For a full account of the work and its various commentaries see H. K. 9707.

*Madārik*¹ and other works, which are read up to the present day.² Sultān Sikandar also collected together learned men³ from all parts of the country to instruct him,⁴ placing on one side *Shaiḡh* 'Abdu-llah, and *Shaiḡh* 'Azizu-llah, and on the other *Shaiḡhu-l-Nadizab* and his son *Shaiḡh*⁵ Bhakār, to discuss 321 difficult points. Eventually it became clearly evident that the former pair of worthies were superior in oratory, while the two latter were the better writers. The death of *Shaiḡh* 'Abdu-llah occurred in the year 922 H; the following chronogram was invented to commemorate it: *Ūlāika lahum ul-darajatu-l-ulā*.⁶

And among the poets of the time of Sikandar, was the afore-said *Shaiḡh* Jamāl Kanlawī of Dihli, to whom Sultān Sikandar was in the habit of submitting verses which he had written, for his opinion.

Speaking generally, he had many excellent points, he was a man who had travelled much, and had been honoured with the fellowship of our master the saintly Jāmi,⁷ may God sanctify his resting place, and had gained many advantages from⁸ him and won his approbation,⁹ and was moreover in the habit of submitting¹⁰ his poems to that revered master: The following verses are by him:

Verse.

I wear a garment woven of the dust of thy street
And 't' that too sent to the skirt with my tears.

Verse.¹²

Love's speech is swift, whole centuries of words.
Friend speaks to friend swift as the eye can close

¹ *Tafsir-i-Madārik* Explanation of the sources from which are sought the ordinances of the law. See Lane s. v. ^{مذرك}.

² MS. (A) omits ^{لنا} ابن زيات.

³ MSS. (A) (B) write ^{علماء}.

⁴ MS. (A) ^{شوردریس} خدیویش.

⁵ Both MSS. (A) (B) write ^{کلیج}.

⁶ The text reads wrongly here ^{اولک لهم درجات العلی}. MSS. (A) (B) are correct. The quotation may be found in the Qar'ān (XX. 77). The value of the letters is 922.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit ^{الله}.

⁸ MS. (A) omits ^{من}.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) ^{در یافت}.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) ^{در یافت}.

¹² MS. (B) omits ^ه.

The following ode also,¹ which he translated and set to music in his native Hindī, is marvellously inspiring, and is well known.²

My heart's desire is fixed on thy abode
Oh thou that art long absent from my sight;
By day and night the thought of thee alone
My constant partner is, ask then thy thought
Should'st thou desire, to bring thee news of me.

He also wrote a *Tazkiyah* (Book of Menloirs) to recount the assemblies of some of the *Shaikh*s of Hindūstān, called the *Siyarū l-'Arifīn* (Biographies of the Saints) which is not entirely free from defects and discrepancies. It commences from the venerable *Khawāja*³ Mu'inn-i-Haqq waq-d-Dīn Ajmīnī, and finishes with his own spiritual guide *Shāikh* Samāu-d-Dīn⁴ Kaubawī of Dihlī, in addition to which it contains other matter both⁵ prose and poetry. His *diwān* is made up of eight or nine thousand couplets.

SULTĀN IBRAHĪM BIN SULTĀN SIKANDAR LODĪ,

Ascended the throne in Āgra in the year 923 H. with the concurrence of the Amīr, and *Shahzāda* Jalāl *Khān* ibn-i-Sultān Sikandar⁶ [was appointed to the rule of Jaunpūr and was styled by the title of Sultān, while *Khān*-i-Jahān Lūhānī⁷ governor of Rāprī came to Āgra] and blamed the Amīr greatly for associating (Jalāl *Khān*) in the government⁸ of the kingdom; and after that he had pointed out to them the foolishness⁹ of this procedure orders were issued to the Amīr of the eastern districts to seize Jalāl *Khān* and bring him to the Court. He however went from Jaunpūr to Kalpi and collected a large following, and after establishing the *Khutbah* and *sikka* in his own name, assumed the title of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn. A'zam Hūmāyūn Shirwānī sided with him for a time, but eventually came and had an audience of Sultān Ibrāhīm. Sultān Ibrāhīm

¹ (A) omits اوهم.

² MS. (A) omits موعود.

³ MS. (A) آجیمیری.

⁴ MS. (A) مسم دارد.

⁵ From this point there is a very long omission in MS. (B).

⁶ The portion included in square brackets is repeated twice in MS. (A).

⁷ MS. (A) نوحانی Nūhānī.

⁸ MS. (A) رسد رسد.

⁹ MS. (A) قسح.

sent to the fortress of Hānsā certain of his brothers who were imprisoned, for instance Shāhizāda Ima'īl Khān, and Husain Khān, and others,¹ and appointed for each of them food and clothing and two ² servants from the private establishment. Then he proceeded in person with the object of conquering³ the Eastern districts, and came to Bhūn Gānw, and having settled the disturbances in Mawān⁴ came to Qanauj. There he nominated a large number of Amirs to proceed against Jalāl Khān, who with thirty thousand cavalry and a certain number of elephants had gone off in the direction of Āgra. Malik Ādam Kākar was sent by the Sultān to defend Āgra, and certain other Amirs arrived to support him. They succeeded in persuading Jalāl Khān, by making pleasing overtures and using attractive arguments, to surrender his paraphernalia of royalty and kingly splendour to the Sultān, in order that they might prefer his application for pardon of his past offences and obtain for him the Kalpī district as a jūegīr. Jalāl Khān instantly agreed, and made over his royal canopy, his kettle-drums, *etcetera* to Malik Ādam with instructions to convey them to the Sultān in the neighbourhood of Itāwa.

¹ It will be remembered that Āzam Hamāyūn was the eldest son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, Ima'īl and Husain were respectively the fourth and fifth sons, Jalāl being the second son, and Ibrāhīm the third.

² Text reads دو دو MS. (A) more correctly reads دو.

³ MS. (A) بختیر.

⁴ The text reads here : و آن مواسا را پاک کرده *wa ān Mawāsāh rā pāk kurda* while MS. (A) reads موالا *Mawālā* for موالسا *Mawāsā*. Neither reading is intelligible.

Firāhta reads here :

چنانچه زمیندار چرتولی من توابع پرگنه گول که از مواس مشهور بود با عسکر خان
پسر سکندر خان مور جنگ کرده او را بشهادت رسانیده بنابر این ملک قاسم
حاکم سنبل بر سر وی رفته آن شخص را بقتل آورد و آن فتنه ناگهانی را
تسکین داد در قنوج به افراسات پادشاه رسید.

Jai Chand, a Zemindār of Chartūlī, a dependency of the pargana of Kol which was better known as Mawān, had fought against 'Umr Khān the son of Sikandar Khān Sūr and had slain him. Accordingly Malik Qāsun Hākim of Banbhal proceeded against him and put that rebel to death, and having quelled that sudden rebellion came and joined the king at Qanauj.

On the strength of Firāhta's statement the above translation is given, and I would suggest that the text should read و آن مشهور مواس را.

The Saltān would not agree to his proposal of peace, and despatched a large army to oppose Jalāl Khān, who fled in consternation and took refuge¹ with the Rāja of Gwālīār, and the Amīrs of Sikandar's party, who had heretofore been a source of weakness to the administration of the empire, one and all owed allegiance to the Saltān. The Saltān experienced² a revulsion of feeling with regard to Miyan Bhoh, who was the chief of the Amīrs of Sikandar, and had been his *vazīr* and privy counsellor, accordingly he cast him into chains and sent him to Malik Ādam; however, he treated his son with kindness and advanced him to the high offices formerly held by his father. Miyan Bhoh died in prison, and Āzam Humāyūn Shurwān, the Governor of Kara, was sent with thirty thousand cavalry and three³ hundred elephants to attempt the reduction of Gwālīār. Jalāl Khān fled from Gwālīār and went to Malwa to Saltān Mahmūd of Mālwa. After the arrival of the Saltān's troops Rāi Vikramājī the son of Rār Mān Singh,⁴ who, after the decease⁵ of his father, held the government of Gwālīār, was not able to cope with them, and could not properly defend the fortress. The fortress of Badalgah, which lies below⁶ the fortress of Gwālīār,⁷ a very lofty structure, was taken from Rār Mān Singh⁸ and fell into the hands of the Muslims,⁹ and a brazen animal,¹⁰ which was worshipped by the Hindūs also fell into their

¹ MS. (A) omits *پرو*.

² MS. (A) *بهره شد* Firigha calls him *بهره* Bhāra.

³ The text reads *سی صد و سی* *sih sad* three hundred. MS. (A) reads *سی صد و سی* *sih sad* thirty hundred. Firigha (Bo. text p. 349) reads also *سی صد و سی* *sih sad*.

⁴ MS. (A) *مرد*.

⁵ MS. (A) *درگذشتن* Text reads *گشتن* Firigha says he died.

⁶ MS. (B) continues here.

⁷ This fortress of Badalgah is to be distinguished from another fort of the same name mentioned in subsequent page (text page 429) see *Āin-i-Akbari*, I. (B) p. 350 n. 1. Firigha says it had been built by Mān Singh and was a lofty fortified building (Bo. text p. 350).

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) omit *رای*.

⁹ MS. (A) omits *ال*.

¹⁰ The text reads *سُورَتِ رُتْنِ* *Sūrat-e rū'ti* a brazen image: but both MSS. (A) (B) read *سُورَتِ رُتْنِ* *Sūrat-e rū'ti* a brazen animal. So also Firigha, who says that it was ultimately erected at the Baghdād gate of Dihlī, and goes on to say that "that cow remained at that gateway till the reign of Akbar" (p. 350).

hands, and was sent by them to Āgra, whence it was sent by Sultān Ibrāhīm to Dihli, and was put up over the city gate. This image 328. was removed to Fathpūr in the year 992 H., ten years before the composition of this history,¹ where it was seen by the author of this work. It was converted into gongs, and bells, and implements of all kinds.

In those days Sultān Ibrāhīm becoming distrustful of the old Amīrs, imprisoned the greater number of them,² and expelled (others) in different directions; and inasmuch as Jalāl Khān could not get on with Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwa, he fled from Mālwa and came to the country of Kara Kanka,³ where he fell into the hands of a tribe of the Gonds,⁴ who took him prisoner and sent him as a present⁵ to the Sultān who ordered him to be taken to Hānsī and imprisoned with his brothers. While on the way thither he drank of the draught of martyrdom.

The draught of sovereignty and glory is so sweet

That for its sake kings will shed the blood of their brethren:
Shed not the blood of the afflicted in heart for the sake of
kingdom,

For they will pour the selfsame draught into the cup for
thee.⁶

After some time, in accordance with the orders of Sultān Ibrāhīm, Ā'zam Humāyūn Shihwānī, together with his son Fath Khān, abandoned the siege of Gwālīār Fort which he was within an ace of taking, and came to Āgra, where both were made prisoners. Islām Khān the son of Ā'zam [Khān]⁷ Humāyūn, gathered together⁸ a following in Karra by means of his father's

¹ MS. (B) agreeing with the text. MS. (A) reads از تاریخ این جمع.

² MS. (B) reads گردانیده.

³ Text and both MSS. (A) (B). Firishṭa (Bo text 351) reads برآید کدبه شتانت, fled to the Raja of Kadba (f) It would seem we should read Garha-Katanka which is the name of country bounded on the North by Panna, and on the south by the Dakhan, see Elliot VI 30

⁴ For an account of the Gonds, see Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, II 134 et seqq., see also Hunter *Imp Gaz*, article *Central Provinces*.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read مقید ساختند نزد.

⁶ Firishṭa also has those same lines

⁷ MS (A).

⁸ MS (A) رسانید.

wealth, and, having brought over to his side the Amirs of that district, fought a battle with Ahmad Khān¹ the governor of Kerra, and defeated him. Sultān Ibrāhīm accordingly despatched Ahmad Khān, the brother of Āzam Humāyūn Lodi, in command of a vast army,² to oppose the Amirs who had fled from his camp and had joined Islām Khān. With him also he sent³ other Khāns of eminence, such as Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, and others of similar rank. Near the township of Bāngarmau, in the neighbourhood of Qanauj,⁴ Iqbāl Khān, the chief cavalry commander under Āzam Humāyūn, with five thousand cavalry and some splendid elephants, broke out of ambuscade and attacked the forces of the Sultān, and after throwing them all into confusion⁵ withdrew (into ambush). The Sultān by way of precaution despatched⁶ a further force to their assistance, but the enemy, who had about forty thousand cavalry, well armed, and five hundred elephants, shewed a firm front against them, until Naṣir Khān Lubān, with other generals arrived from the direction of Bihār and engaged the enemy on both sides. A fierce conflict ensued between the two armies, such a conflict as baffles description, and after a severe struggle⁷ the rebels were defeated. Islām Khān was killed and Sa'id Khān Lodi was taken prisoner, thus the rebellion was quenched.

Versa.

Do not inflict ingratitude upon a benefactor and generous friend,

Like the cloud, which receives bounty from the ocean, and rains a storm of arrows upon its breast.⁸

As far as you are able, make the requital of favours your habit and custom,

Like the river, which gives to the clouds an ocean in return for one drop of its rain.

And withal that he had gained so important a victory, yet was not the heart of the Sultān favourably disposed towards the

¹ MS. (A) omits نام.

² MS. (A) reads سردار لشکر انبوه گوده.

³ MS. (A) نامزد ساخته.

⁴ MS. (A) wrongly inserts و before اقبال.

⁵ Firsihta says, "after killing some and wounding many."

⁶ MS. (A) فرستاده و.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) کشش و کوشش.

⁸ This couplet is also given by Firsihta.

Amirs : and they also being aware of this, raised in all directions the banners of antagonism. In the meanwhile, many of the eminent Amirs of royal descent, as for example Ā'zam Humāyūn Shirwānī, and Miyyān Bhob, the Vazir of Sultān Sikandar, departed from this world in the confinement of the prison-house.¹

This is that same journeying place, this interminable desert
In which the army of Salm and Tūr was lost; ²
This is the selfsame stage, this world of ruin
Which witnessed the palace of Afrāsiyāb.³

Miyyān Husain ⁴ Farmalī was assassinated in Chanderī, at the instigation of the Sultān, by certain ruffianly Shaikh Zādas of that place, and Daryā Khān Lūhanī, governor of Bihār, and Khān-i-Jahān Lodī being alarmed,⁵ became disaffected. After a short time Daryā Khān died, and his son Bahādur Khān turned rebel and occupied the place of his father. The revolted Amirs made common cause with him, so that he collected a force of nearly a hundred thousand cavalry in the vicinity of Bihār, and gained possession of that country,⁶ assuming the title of Sultān Muḥammad,⁷ establishing the *Khutbah* and *sikka* in his own name. His army penetrated as far as the country of Sambal, and brought it within the area of their control.⁸ The *Khutbah* was read in his name in Bihār and the territories adjacent, for some time. It so happened that the son of Daulat Khān Lodī, whose name was Khān-i-Khānān ⁹ came from Lāhor to Āgra to visit the Sultān, but being suspicious of his intentions fled from his court, and went to his father. Daulat Khān, seeing no hope of obtaining release from the (wrath of the) Sultān, sent that same son of his ¹⁰ to Kābul. He accordingly did homage to the supreme King, Zahir-

¹ MS. (A) reads در قید.

² MS. (A) reads مرحله. MS. (B) مرحله. For the story of Salm and Tūr two of the sons of Faridūn, see *Shah-nāma* (Atkinson) page 49 et seq., also *Shah-nāma* (Turner Macan) pp. 58 to 83.

³ MS. (A) reads که دید است.

⁴ MS. (A). ⁵ MS. (B) خراسان.

⁶ MS. (A) omits و. Firsihta adds as far as Sambal.

⁷ Footnote variant محمود? Maḥmūd. Firsihta reads Muḥammad.

⁸ MS. (A) تسخیر و ضبط. MS. (B) تسخیر و ضبط. Text نصرت و ضبط.

⁹ Firsihta says غازی خان Ghāzī Khān. ¹⁰ MS. (B) پسر خود را.

d-Dīn Bābar, and induced him to advance against Hindūstān. Eventually Khān-i-Khānān laid a complaint¹ against his father before the supreme King Bābar, and poisoned his mind against him, and led to discord between them, as will be related if the Most High God so will it. Khān-i-Khānān was living up to the date of the rebellion of Sher Shāh, but at last died in prison. Sultān Muḥammad departed to the world of permanence from Bihār, and the Amīrs on all sides rebelled against Sultān Ibrāhīm, and great damage was inflicted upon the kingdom. The pillars of the empire began to totter,² and the standard of the fortune of King Bābar floated high.

The following is a brief epitome of the matter: Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān his son, together with the other noble Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm, sent 'Alam Khān Lodi to Kābul, bearing despatches to Zahiru-d-Dīn Bābar Pādīshāh, inviting him to attempt the conquest of Hindūstān. Accordingly Bābar Pādīshāh appointed a number of his own Amīrs to accompany 'Alam Khān, with orders to advance and conquer that country. Having conquered Siālkōt and Lāhor with its dependencies, they represented the condition of affairs (to Bābar) and the following *qiṭ'ah* was written to commemorate the date of the conquest of Hindūstān.

Versé.

Zahiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Bābar,
In fortune Sikandar, in force a Bahrām,
By his fortune conquered the country of Hind,

The date of this was *Faṭḥ badaulat*.³ (Victory by fortune).

Bābar Pādīshāh marching continuously, arrived at the banks of the river Indus, and drew up the whole force, composed of ten thousand [veteran] cavalry⁴ in that camp after passing the troops in review. In the interval, Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān had turned back with thirty thousand veteran⁵ cavalry composed of Afghāns and other tribes, and had occupied the town of Kalānūr, and prepared to engage Bābar's Amīrs at

¹ MS. (B) writes شکایت after از پدر خود instead of before it as in the text. MS. (A) reads معاتب for شکایت.

² MSS. (A) (B) افتاد.

³ فتح بدولت *Faṭḥ ba daulat*. These letters give the date 930 H.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) omit مورد کاری.

⁵ MS. (B) omits سوار.

Lāhor, while Amīr Khusrū, who had strengthened the fortress of Siālkoṭ, evacuated it as soon as Ghāzī Khān arrived, and took refuge in flight to the camp. Some days afterwards Bābar arrived at Siālkoṭ where he encamped [and after laying waste the township of Siālkoṭ founded Dholpur.]¹ 'Ālam Khān proceeded to Dihlī by order of Bābar, and encountering Sultān Ibrāhīm, made² a night attack upon the army of the Sultān; and Jalāl Khān with certain other Amīrs arrived in the course of that night and joined 'Ālam Khān. Sultān Ibrāhīm did 332. not stir from his tent till dawn. The followers³ of 'Ālam Khān, fancying they had secured an easy victory, were scattered in all directions, only a small number remained⁴ with 'Ālam Khān. Sultān Ibrāhīm, urging an elephant forward, attacked the enemy's centre, who could not withstand⁵ his attack. The faithless 'Ālam Khān passing through⁶ the Doāb came to Sihrind, and thence fled for refuge to the fortress of Gungūna,⁷ one of the dependencies of Malot,⁸ at the foot of the hills. Dilāwar Khān Lūhānī separated from him, and joined the service of Bābar Padishāh, and became one of his faithful adherents. 'Ālam Khān also after some time came and had an interview with Bābar, who, in accordance with his former custom, gave him an honourable reception, and as he was halting at the time of the interview he distinguished him with a robe of honour and other marks of favour; and when he pitched camp in the neighbourhood of Kalānūr, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā and other Amīrs⁹ came from Lāhor and joined him. Thence he proceeded to the fortress of Malot in which Ghāzī Khān [and Daulat Khān were, and besieged it, and Ghāzī Khān and Khān-i-Khānān]¹⁰ determined upon flight

¹ Not in either MS. (A) or (B) a footnote to the text states that this passage occurs in one MS. only.

² MSS. (A) (B) آورد.

³ The text reads rightly عالم خانیان. MS. A reads خان.

⁴ MS. (A) ماندند.

⁵ MS. (B) پای ثابت.

⁶ MS. (B) omits گذشته.

⁷ The text and both MSS. read Gungūna. S = Erskine's Bābar, p. 300. "The fort of Kinkūteh."

⁸ In Pind Dādan Khān tahsīl Jhām, District Panjāb, see Hunter Imp. Gaz., IX. 263.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) دیگر امرا.

¹⁰ Not in text. cf. MSS. (A) (B) which read MS. (A)

و دو تنخان دران بودند و فتنه میخواست نمود

and left the fort. Daulāt Khān hastened to tender his submission, and his faults were¹ pardoned as on former occasions; and on the day of public audience when they brought him into the presence with two swords tied round his neck, orders were given that he was not to be brought in in that (humiliating) manner. On the contrary, Bābar sent him a respectful summons, and bidding him be seated² gave him a place near himself.³

That is (true) generosity to shew kindness to the wrongdoer,
For the generous cannot but shew kindness to a friend.

133. However, he distributed his effects among the soldiery,⁴ and the fortress of Malot, which apparently means Malot itself, fell into the hands of Bābar Pādīshāh. Some few days after this occurrence Daulat Khān, who had been imprisoned by Bābar, died in prison⁵ and Bābar proceeded to the Siwālik hills in pursuit of Ghāzī Khān, and encamped⁶ at the foot of the Dūn,⁷ which is a very high hill, Ghāzī Khān was not to be found. Bābar accordingly returned stage by stage to the frontiers of Sindh, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Ghaghar;⁸ thence he came to the borders of⁹ Sāmāna and Sanām, and gave orders to Amīr Kittah Beg to¹⁰ proceed to within a short distance of the camp of Sultān Ibrāhīm, who, after the defeat of 'Ālam Khān, had stood fast¹¹ near Dihli,

MS. (B) goes on *چامره نمودند و غازی خان و خانجانات ازین قلعه فرار دادند*

¹ MS. (A) reads *گناهان او*.

² MS. (A) *جای دادند*. MS. (B) *نشستن فرمود و*.

³ Compare the account of this given by Bābar himself, see Elliot IV. 246. Firishṭa's account (Bo. text p. 378) tallies with that given by our author.

⁴ I. MS. (A) the word *بسیاریان* precedes *قسمت* in the text it follows it.

⁵ Firishṭa does not mention the death of Daulat Khān, and tells us that Bābar took possession of Ghāzī Khān's library of valuable books, of which he kept some for himself and gave the rest away.

⁶ MS. (A) *نزول فرمود*.

⁷ The text reads *دامن کوه تا دون* with a footnote variant *هندون*. MSS (A) (B) read *دامن کوه دون*, see *Tūz al-Bābari*, Elliot IV. 247. "Marching thence and passing the small hills of Abkand by Milwat we reached Dūn. In the language of Hindustan they call a Julga (or dale) Dūn"

⁸ MS (A) *کهری*.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) *بعدود* omit *در*.

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits *که*.

¹¹ MSS (A) (B) *متمکن بود*.

and bring intelligence of the position and strength of his army; and at this camp Babar the Afghān who had been in revolt came and had an interview (with Bābar). From this camp also Shāh-zāda Muḥammad Hamāyūn Mirzā, together with Khwāja Kalān Beg and other notable Amīra, were despatched against Hamīd Khān the *Khāṣṣ-i-Khūl* (Chief of Cavalry) of Sultān Ibrāhīm, who was advancing at the head of a force from Hiṣṣār Firoza to give them battle. They proceeded by forced marches, and a severe engagement took place. Hamīd Khān was defeated, many of his men being either killed or taken prisoners.¹ The *sarkār* of Hiṣṣār Firoza with a revenue of two crores,² was given as a reward to the Shāh-zāda, and Bābar Pādishāh encamped on the bank of the Jamna, two marches from Shāhābād, and detailed Khwāja Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, and Sultān Junaid Mīrzā³ Birlās to oppose Dā'ūd Khān and a body of Amīra of the army of Sultān Ibrāhīm, who had crossed the Jamna with five or six thousand cavalry. Accordingly they also crossed the Jamna and gave the Afghāns a second drubbing, killing them and taking them prisoners, while the remnant of the sword took refuge in the camp of Sultān Ibrāhīm.

Marching thence, having drawn up his right and left wings and centre,⁴ King Bābar reviewed them in person. Eight hundred gun-carriages⁵ had been prepared in one day. Ustā⁶ 'Alī Qalī the Artillerist, acting upon my orders, had followed the custom of the Turkish artillery, and bound together the gun-carriages with chains and raw-hide thongs, twisting them into the form of a whip-lash.⁷ And in the interval between each pair of gun-carriages six or seven shelter parapets⁸ were placed, so that on the d. of

¹ MS (B) اسیر.

² MS. (A) دو کروڑ, see however *Ain-i-Akbari* II. (J.) 233. ³ MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ برانغار *barānghār*, right wing. جوارنگار *jawānghār*, left wing, called also جوارنگول *jawāngūl*. غول *ghūl* or قولي *qūlī*, means the centre of an army. (See Pavet de Courteille *Dict. Turc-oriental*), see also Erakine's *Bābar*, p. 227.

⁵ Text writes عرابه. MS. (A) writes this word ارابه.

⁶ Ustād 'Alī Qalī (Erakine's *Bābar*, p. 302).

⁷ ار قشقی P. de C. does not give this word. ار قشقی the end of a whip, i. e., the lash. See Erakine's *Bābar*, p. 304.

⁸ The text reads توبره پر خاک *tūbra-i-purkhāk*. MS. (A) omits the words پر خاک *purkhāk*, while MS. (B) writes پرخاک تفنگ *purkhāk-i-tufāng*. All these readings appear to be incorrect. For توبره *tūbra*, we should read توره

the battle the riflemen might be able to fire in safety from the shelter of the guns and parapets. He had determined : to march, and encamp with the city of Pānīpath in the rear of his army, and to use the line of gun-carriages as a front line of defence for his troops,³ while the cavalry and infantry should come into action from behind the gun-carriages with ⁸ arrow and musketry fire, while the remainder of the cavalry should advance on both sides, and keep up a constant attack,⁴ and in case of necessity should retire to the cover afforded by the gun-carriages.⁵ Accordingly on Thursday the last day of Jumaidu-l-Ākhir⁶ 932 H., he encamped in the vicinity of the city of Pānīpath, at a distance of six *krohs* from the camp of Sultān Ibrāhīm, whose force was composed of a hundred thousand cavalry and a thousand elephants, while the army of Bābar Pādīshāh⁷ comprised fifteen thousand cavalry and infantry on a rough estimate.⁸ The troops under Bābar used to make daily sallies from unexpected quarters, and attack the Afghān army, bringing in several heads : in spite of which Sultān Ibrāhīm and his men did not dare to make a single attempt at any counter attack during all this time.⁹ At last one night Mahdī Khwāja, Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā and certain other Āmīrs, with five or six¹⁰ thousand men made a night attack¹¹ upon Sultān Ibrāhīm's army, and after killing a large

tāra, with the meaning *palisades* or *abattis*, see Pavet de Courteille *Dict. Turk-oriental* s. v. *تورا* *تورة* pièces de bois et de fer qu'on relie ensemble avec des chaînes et des crochets, et derrière lesquelles s'abritent les soldats. See also Erskine's Bābar, p. 304 n. 2. See also *Pers: Lat Lexicon* s v *تورا*, also Elliott IV. 251. n. 4. This seems to be undoubtedly the correct reading, the word

توبرة *tūbra* having been written by our author in mistake for *تورة*, the words *پر خاک* having been subsequently added. Sacks full of gunpowder would form a not very comfortable shelter for riflemen.

1 MS. (B) قرار او. 2 MS. (A) پیش سپاہ. 3 MS. (B) تورو تنگ.

4 The text reads *بمدافع و مجادله* with a footnote to say that this is the reading of all three MSS., but that probably the verbal noun of action should have been written. MS. (A) gives this verbal noun *مدافعة*. So that clearly this MS. was not one of the three from which the text was edited.

5 MS. (B) omits *عربة* i writes *بار تعقب*.

6 April 12, 1526. 7 MS. (B) بادشاه. 8 MS. (B) تخمیناً.

9 MS. (A) writes *ظاهر* for *واقع*. MS. (B) writes wrongly *ظاہر نشد* *جراحی* for *جراتی*.

10 MSS. (A) (B) پنج شش.

11 MS. (A) شبیهگون.

number of them returned in safety. In spite of the consternation into which this threw them, the enemy were not put upon their guard,¹ and on Friday the eighth of the honoured month *Rajab*² in the aforesaid year, *Sultān Ibrāhīm* with a large army, strong as the brazen rampart of *Sikandar*,³ clad in iron armour came out to the fight.

Bābar Padishāh also, having arrayed his army with all the pomp and circumstance of war, and shewing a firm unbroken front, gave orders detailing from the left wing *Amir Qarā Qārchi* and *Amir Shaikh 'Alī*, with certain other *Amirs*, and from the right wing, *Wali Qizil* and *Bāba Qushqah*, with the whole force of *Mughūls*, to form two parties and attack the enemy in the rear, while the *Amirs* of the right and left wings in a body, and from the picked troops,⁴ *Amir Muhammad Gokultāsh*, and *Amir Yūnas 'Alī*, and *Amir Shāh Mansūr Birlās*, with other famous *Amirs*, should lead the front attack: and since the *Afghāns* [were specially observant of the right wing, *Amir 'Abdu-l-'aziz*, who was with the reserve, was ordered by king *Bābar* to reinforce the right wing],⁵ and when he got within bowshot of the enemy,⁶ the bodies of the enemies took to themselves wings, and the bird of the soul of many of them took flight from the cage of the body, while the wings of others⁷ were clipped by the shears of the two-edged sword.

Verse.

So vast was the river of blood which flowed on that battle field

That the feet of the warriors could not stand against its flow;
The breeze which blew from that battle field at morning time
Brought to the nostrils the odour of the heart's blood.

The slain lay in heaps,⁸ while those who escaped death by the sword became the portion for kites and ravens. A period of two

¹ MS. (A) writes *پراگند شد* MS. (B) agrees with the text.

² *المُرَجَّب* *Al-murajjab*. So called because in the Time of Ignorance it was held in special honour, inasmuch as war or fighting during this month was held to be unlawful, see Lane s.v. *مُرَجَّب*.

³ MS. (A) omits *اسکندر*.

⁴ MS. (B) *فوج*.

⁵ Omitted from MS (B).

⁶ The text is wrong here: we should read *دوشنبه تیر* *dar shanba-i-tir* on the authority of MSS. (A) (B).

⁷ MS (B) supplies *بعضی* after *پروبال*.

⁸ We should read *واژ کشته پشته شد*.

qarns¹ has elapsed since this event up to the time of the composition of this *Muntakhab*, but up to the present, the noise of conflict and shouts of combatants proceeding from that field of battle reach the ears of travellers at night.

In the year 997 H. (1588 A.D.) the writer of these pages² was proceeding one day at early morning³ from the city of Lāhor towards Fatḥpūr, and had to cross that plain, when these terrifying noises reached his ears, and the people who were with him imagined that some enemy was upon them. I also witnessed with my own eyes what I had heard related. Submitting this divine mystery to the Almighty we went on our way.

Sultān Ibrāhīm together with a party of attendants was taken in an unknown desert and put to the sword, his head⁴ was brought into the presence of Bābar Pādishāh, and⁵ about five or six thousand who formed Sultān Ibrāhīm's retinue were put to death in the one spot.

Verse.

It is plainly evident⁶ to thee that this dark world is a snare of calamity,

Thou knowest⁷ now that the world is full of guile, and desperately deceitful.

That man from fear of whom no one would enter the water

He himself is drowned in the ocean, an ocean without bounds.⁸

Bābar Pādishāh after gaining this⁹ signal victory departed thence, and reached Dihli¹⁰ on the same day and encamped there. He then caused the *Khutba* to be read in his name,¹¹ despatching Shāhzād Muhammad Humāyūn Mirzā and all the Amirs to Agra, with orders to make forced marches, and to seize the treasure¹² belonging to Ibrāhīm, which was of untold value, and divide it among the soldiery.¹³

¹ The قرن *qarn* is an uncertain period of time, here it probably means a space of forty years.

² MSS. (A) (B) أوراق را.

³ MS. (A) وقت مسجری.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) سرش را.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) supply و.

⁶ MS. (F) reads روز شب.

⁷ MS. (B) reads حیرتی.

⁸ Read here با پهنا for نا پهنا. A footnote to the text states that نا پهنا is the reading of all three MSS.

⁹ MS. (A) این چنین فتح. ¹⁰ MS. (B) به دهلی. ¹¹ MS. (B) omits بنام.

¹² MS. (A) (B) خزانه and omit گه. ¹³ MSS. (A) (B) موردند.

Verse.

He who sacrifices his life upon the field of battle
Sacrifice thy gold to him by way of generosity.

However brave-hearted a man may be

He cannot be eager to fight when he is without food.¹

This event took place in the year 932 H. (1525 A.D.), and the Hindūs invented this date *Shahīd shudān-i-Ibrāhīm*² (the martyrdom of Ibrāhīm) to commemorate it. From that time the empire once more passed from the Afghān Lodī family, and rested on the descendants of Amīr Timūr Sāhibqirān. The duration of the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm was nine years.

ZAHĪRU-D-DĪN MUHAMMAD BĀBAR PĀDIŠAHĀH GHĀZĪ.

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After this ascended³ the throne⁴ of sovereignty, and by his justice and liberality adorned the world with fresh lustre and glory, and sent rewards to Samarqand, 'Irāq, Khurāsān and Kāshghar. He also despatched offerings⁵ to the sacred cities of Makkah and Medīnah, and to the holy places of pilgrimage, and sent off gold beyond price to all the inhabitants of Badakhshān and Kābul, to each its separate store, from the vast treasuries of Hindūstān. He converted the world into a rose garden. The Amīrs of Hindūstān, notwithstanding his conciliatory behaviour and efforts to improve⁶ their fortunes, did not yield obedience to him, but behaved like unruly savages,⁷ and took to fortifying themselves in their fortresses and estates,⁸ while Qāsim Sanbalī in Sambal, and Nizām Khān in Baiāna, and Hasan Khān Mīwātī in Alwar, and Tātār Khān Sārang Khān⁹ in Gwālīār, took refuge in their respective fortresses. Itāwa was held by Qutb Khān, and Kalpi by 'Ālam Khān, while Qannauj and all the eastern districts were in the possession of the Afghāns, who, in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm also, had refused to own his sway,¹⁰ and¹¹ having raised the son of Bihār Khān to the throne, gave¹² him the title of Sultān Muḥammad; his empire extended as far as

¹ MS. (B) reads لی صرگ.

² شاهید شدن ابراهیم = 932.

³ MSS. (A) (B) نمود.

⁴ MS. (B) صریر.

⁵ MS. (A) نذور.

⁶ MS. (A) reads ترقیه.

⁷ MSS (A) بود (B) بود after متوحش.

⁸ MS. (A) omits و بنام.

⁹ MS. (A) سارنگ خان.

¹⁰ MS. (A) نمیکنند.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) supply و.

¹² MS. (A) نهادند.

Bihār, and Nasir Khān Lūhānī and Ma'rūf Farmalī and other powerful Amīrs gave in their allegiance to him, while a slave of Sultān Ibrāhīm named Marghūb, having fortified the township of Mahāwan, which is situated at a distance of twenty *krohs* from Agra, on the far side of the river Jamna, refused to own him as king.

Accordingly troops were detailed by Bābar Pādīshāh to conquer these countries, and Firoz Khān, and Sārang Khān,¹ and Shaikh Bāyazīd, the brother of Mustafā Farmalī, with other Afghāns coming and tendering their submission, were given *jāegīrs*² Shaikh Khūran who was one of the Hindustānī Amīrs, and also one of their most accomplished men,³ being unrivalled in the art of music, came with his whole following and had an interview (with Bābar) in the Doāb.

The territory of Sambal was conferred as a *jāegīr* upon Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā. The Amīrs seized Qāsim Sanbalī and sent him to Bābar, while another body of men had been sent against Baiāna, and had besieged Nizām Khān, keeping him closely invested. In this year also Rānā Sānkā having wrested the fortress of Khandār,⁴ which is in the vicinity of Rantanbhūr, from Hasan son of Makhan, was in possession of it; and Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā,⁵ with a party of Amīrs who had been appointed⁶ to capture and hold Dholpūr, were ordered to proceed against a body of Afghāns of the Lūhānī faction who were close on fifty thousand, and had advanced beyond Qanauj. Both Saiyyid Mahdī Khwāja, and Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā, who had been ordered to capture Itāwa,⁷ joined the retinue of the Shāhzāda,⁸ who brought into subjection the whole of the eastern districts as far as Jaunpūr. In the meanwhile Rānā Sānkā and Hasan Khān Mīwātī raised to the throne one of the sons of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, named Sultān Muḥammad, with the title of Pādīshāh, and started on an expedition against the territories of Bābar with a large following and vast⁹ army.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) خانی.

² MSS. (A) (B) جایگیرها.

³ MSS. (A) (B) supply متعین.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) گهندار.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) را

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) معین

⁷ MS. (B) writes إعادة for اوتار.

⁸ MS. (A) writes شاه Shāh.

⁹ MS (A) بی پایان

Marching by way of Basāwar¹ they arrived in the neighbourhood of Fathpūr, otherwise known as Sikrī.² Nizām Khān, the Governor of Baiāna made representations to the Court of Bābar and gained a certain degree of influence. Rafī'ū-d-Dīn Safwī, who was one of the most powerful Saiyyids of Balkh,³ and the chief⁴ of the traditionists, and who, having come to Hindūstān in the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, had been given the title of *Ḥaḡrat-i-Muqaddas* (His Holiness), came and had audience of the Sultān and tendered his service. Tārtār Khān Sārang Khānī also, after that Rānā Sānkā seized the fortress of Khendhār, and the infidels had got the upper hand, first of all sent a representation to King (Bābar) saying, I intend to surrender the fortress of Gwāliār; but when Khwāja Raḥīm⁵ Dād and Shaikh Khūran and a further party also arrived, he was ashamed (of this weakness). This party then, by the guidance of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghana, who was unrivalled in his time, and was the chief authority on the science of *da'wat-u-l-asmā*,⁶ entered the fort by some skillful stratagem and took it from Tārtār Khān whether he would or no, and sent him into the presence of Bābar Padishāh. In just this same way also Muḥammad Zaitān the Afghān gave up the fort of Dholpūr to⁷ the Amīrs of Bābar, and coming in had an interview with the King. In the meanwhile, Rānā Sānkā⁸ had arrived on the confines of Baiāna and was doing damage to the country, and had, after a halt of a few days, reached Fathpūr; Bābar Padishāh, with a small body of the soldiery which he had with him, left the capital of Āgra with the object of engaging him in battle. He also wrote⁹ a despatch to summon Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā, ordering him to leave Jaunpūr in charge of certain eminent Amīrs, and to come himself with all speed to take part in that war; the victorious Prince, having taken the country of Harand¹⁰ and

¹ MS. (A) پشاور.

² See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 433.

³ MSS. (A) (B) ابخ.

⁴ MS. (A) اعظم.

⁵ MS. (B) جم.

⁶ Lit.: calling upon the names (of God). This is a term used to express a system of incantation which is held to be lawful by orthodox Muhammadans. For a full account of it, see Hughes (*Dict. of Islām*) article *Da'wah*, p. 72.

MS. (B) reads دعوات. The text has a misprint رهنمونی for رهنمونی.

⁷ MS. (A) به.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) رنا.

⁹ MS. (B) می نوشتند.

¹⁰ Footnote variant to the text reads حرند Harid.

Bihār from Nasir Khān¹ Lūhānī, and having appointed Khwāja Amir, Shāh Hasan and Amir Junaid Birlās to the government of Jaunpūr, proceeded by way of Kalpī, and by adopting measures partly peaceful and partly warlike, brought over 'Ālam Khān the governor of that place,² and made him one of his adherents. He lost no time in attaching himself to the king's service, and was granted many royal favours.

At this same time, that pattern for the great³ and noble, Khwāja Khāwind Naqshbandī arrived from Kābul, and the Amirs sitting in council determined by a majority, that, seeing that the army of Rānā Sānkā is currently reported to exceed in multitude the ants and locusts, it appears advisable to strengthen the fortress of Āgra, and that, leaving it in charge of a garrison, the sovereign of Islām should proceed in his own excellent person towards the 0. Panjāb, and wait for the development of unseen events. The king did not agree to the decision of this council, but girded up his loins to carry into effect his intention of a *jihād*, and setting his heart upon martyrdom, marched in the direction of the field of Fathpūr and made this project the aim and object of his ambition⁴

Verse.

Since the soul must of necessity at last leave the body,
This is best, that, when the time comes, it should at least
depart with honour

The end of the world is this, and nothing more
That after a man's death, his name should remain.

The Amirs also, placing their hands upon the sacred word, (the Qur'ān), swore an oath to renew their compact and carry out their intention of making war upon the infidels, for the exaltation of the sublime creed,⁵ and the promulgation of the

¹ A footnote variant نصر خان Nuṣrat Khān. So also MS. (B).

² MS (B) reads حاکم بخارا Hākim-i-Bukhārā.

³ The text reads قدوة الأعظم so also MSS. (A) (B). A footnote to the text says that this reading is found in all three copies, but that عالم is correct.

⁴ MS. (A) همت والا نیت

⁵ The Kalimah. "There is no God but God and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God," see Qur'ān xlvii. 21 and xlviii. 29. See also Hughes (Dict. of Islām) art: Kalimah.

glorious law, deeming the field of battle to be a joyful assembly, and doing full justice¹ to the claims of manliness in such a way as the eye of time had never before witnessed, and after many strenuous efforts the standards of Islām floated bravely on high, while the banners of infidelity were laid low. In the thick of the fight an arrow found its way to the forehead of Hasan Khān Miwātī, who was an infidel who used the Kalimah; they cast him into a well and took to flight, while he fell into the well of Hell, although a certain Miwātī,² a jogī³ in form and appearance, in the year 860 H., after the death of Salim Shāh Afghān Sūr, raised a rebellion in Miwāt, and called himself⁴ Hasan Khān, and mentioned certain of the secret signs to the Miwātīs. still, a certain number acknowledged him. The composer of this *Muntakhab* (selection) also, in the year 965 H. (1557 A.D.) saw him⁵ in Āgra, but no signs of nobility or authority were visible in his features,⁶ and the late Khān-i-Khānān Bairam Khān used to say, that Hasan Khān Miwātī⁷ was a man who commanded a large following,⁸ and was of kingly appearance, and had a poetical temperament. His poems are well known; but this mannikin⁹ resembled¹⁰ an uncouth rustic, his appearance was extremely repulsive.¹¹ God forbid that this wretch, should be that Hasan Khān.

After some time certain of the Khānzādas of Miwāt moved 24 by indignation and jealousy put him to death. A short time after this¹² victory, that gallant king was attacked by a severe illness, and after that he had reached the age of fifty years, he departed from this transitory world to the eternal realms in the year 937 H. (1530 A.D.).

THE DATE OF THE DEATH OF SHAH BĀRĀE.

This took place in the year nine hundred and thirty-seven. The words *Shah-i-Shawwal*¹³ also form the date of his decease,

¹ MS. (B) reads *دادند*.

² MS. (B) omits *میروانی*.

³ MS. (A) reads *چو رکی*.

⁴ MS. (B) *میگفت*. Text and MS. (A) *میگرفت*.

⁵ MS. (B) *دیدند بودند*.

⁶ Both MSS. (A) (B) omit *هیچ*.

⁷ Both MSS. (A) (B) read *میروانی* for *مذکور*.

⁸ MS. (A) reads *صاحب هجته*.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) *مردک*.

¹⁰ MS. (B) *می نماید*.

¹¹ Lit. like that of a changeling.

¹² MSS. (A) (B) omit *این*.

¹³ *شش شوال* = 937 (H).

while the date of his birth may be found from this couplet.

Since this revered monarch was born in the sixth of Muharram,

The year of his birth¹ also is *Shash-i-Muharram*.

The duration of his reign in Māwarā-nnahr, Badakhshān, Kābul, and Kāshghar, as well as in Hindustān, was² thirty-eight years. He had succeeded to the kingdom at the age of twelve, and Khwāja Kalāu Bēg wrote this couplet in his funeral ode.

Alas! that time and the changeful heaven should exist without thee.

Alas! and Alas! that time should remain and thou should'st be gone.

Among the learned men of his time is *Shaikh Zain Khānī*,³ who translated in most elegant⁴ style, the *Wāqī'at-i-Bābarī*,⁵ which the deceased monarch wrote, and the following verses are by him:

Verses.

2. Thou hast rested with thy guardians and hast fled from me
What have I done? or what hast thou heard or seen from me?

There was no necessity for injustice to enable thee to seize my heart.

I would have yielded it had'st thou but desired it of me.

*Verses.*⁶

So straitened did my heart become for longing for those lips of thine

Too narrow was the way by which my soul should quit its earthly shrine.

¹ The text reads correctly تاریخ سال او but both MSS (A) (B) read تاریخ فوت *tārīkh-i-faut*, the date of his death.

The letters of the words شمس محرم give the date 888 H. This would make him fifty years of age in 938 H. This couplet has a variant reading which is given in the footnote to the text

² MS. (A) omits بود.

³ MS (A) reads ذین حوائست.

⁴ *Wāqī'at-i-Bābarī*. This, called also *Tāzaki-Bābarī* is the work of which Erskine's translation is so well known. I can find no other reference to the translation from the original *Tūrkī* here referred to by our author. See Elliot V. 218 et seqq., also Erskine's *Bābar* (Introduction).

Footnote variant فصیح

⁶ MS. (A) reads وله.

My verses are both rational and traditional, and my desire is, that Maulānā Hasan, who comprises in himself all rational¹ and traditional science, may hear them.

Another is Maulānā Baqā'i who wrote a *Magnavī* in the metre of the *Makhzan-i-Asrār*.² At the moment I do not remember a single poem of his.

Another³ is Maulānā Shihābu-d-Dīn the Enigmatist, whose general learning was overshadowed by his special skill in the composition of enigmas, and⁴ at the time when Darmash Khān⁵ was appointed⁶ by Shāh Isma'il Safawī Husainī to the Governorship of Khurāsān, that prince of traditionists, Mīr Jamālu-d-Dīn, the traditionist, one day while the preaching was going on, in dispelling the apparent contradiction between the sacred word *Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days,*⁷ and that true Hadīṣ (tradition) that *He created the world in seven days,*⁸ explained it in two ways; Maulānā Shihābu-d-Dīn⁹ refuted it, by adducing one after another several excellent arguments, and wrote a treatise on that subject, to which the learned divines of that time subscribed¹⁰ their signatures. The writer of these pages also on the same occasion wrote a few lines of prose and poetry, from which the following *rubā'i* is selected; ¹¹

Quatrain.

341

This writing which has appeared like lawful magic,
Its poetry and prose are purer than the purest water.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read معقول.

² MS. (A) supplies اصوار. See *Āin-i-Akbari* (B) I. p. 595 n 2, also Beale, p. 67.

³ MSS. (A) (B) و دیگری. See Beale, p. 243. Shihābu-d-Dīn died in the reign of Humāyūn 942 A. H. See next page.

⁴ MS. (A) در زمانی که.

⁵ MS. (A) درمش خان Darmash Khān. ⁶ MSS. (A) (B) منصوب شد.

⁷ Qur'ān VII. 52 X. 3.

⁸ See *Mishkāt* xxiv. I. 3. "God created the earth on Saturday, and the hills on it on Sunday, and the trees on Monday, and unpleasant things on Tuesday, and he created the light on Wednesday, and scattered the beasts of the earth on Thursday, and created Adam after afternoon prayer on Friday, the last of the creation."

⁹ MS. (B) writes Shihāb only.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) write ثبت کرده اند.

¹¹ The text reads لایان جمله فقیر است. MS. (A) omits the word فقیر and MS. (B) reads فقر possibly for نقل.

It is a gleam from the brightness of "the brilliant Star,"¹
In describing whose dignity the tongue of meditation is struck
dumb.

The following enigma on the name Kāshif is also by him.

Quatrain.

With a view to deceive the heart of this broken-hearted one,
That idol with mouth like the rosebud is every moment²
displaying coquetry.

Upon the leaf of the rose she wrote that curling ringlet
And then displayed her moon-bright face from³ one corner.⁴

The death of the Maulavi took place at the time of the return of the Emperor Muḥammad Humāyūn, whose abode is in Paradise, from his expedition to Gujrāt in the year 942 H., and Mir Khond⁵ Amir the historian invented the chronogram *Shihābu-ṣ-ṣāqib*. And one of the wonderful⁶ inventions of that Emperor, whose shelter is the pardon of God, is the Khatt-i-Bābari (the Bābari script), in which writing he indited a copy of the Qur'ān, and sent it to the sacred city of Makka: his anthology of Persian and Tūrki poetry is well-known. He has also composed a book on the Hanifite Theology called *Mubaiyyin*,⁷ and Shaikh Zaiu-d-Din⁸ wrote a commentary upon it which he entitled *Mubīn*. His treatises⁹ on Prosody are also in common use.

¹ *Shihābu-d-Din* was called *Shihābu-ṣ-ṣāqib* (the brilliant star); these words also give the date of his death, see post.

² MS. (A) reads *از* for *هر*.

³ MS. (A) reads *در* for *از*.

⁴ The following is the explanation of this *Mu'amma* which is contained in the two last lines of the *Rubā'i*. *بر صفت گل کرد رقم آن سر زلف*. That is to say: she took the word *گل* and removed from it the *dāira* or curved portion of the *lām*, thus leaving *ک*; to this she added *سر زلف* *Sar-i-zulf*, that is to say the last letter of the word *زلف*, the letter *ف*, thus having *ک...ف*. To this she added *ر* *rukḥ-i-mah*, the first letter of the word *ماه*, which is in Arabic *شهر*. This will give the whole word *کاشف*.

⁵ MS. (A), see Beale, p. 150.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) omit *غرائب*.

⁷ The text reads *مبین نام بفتح بای مثنیات*.

⁸ MS. (A), see Elliot and Dowson IV. 288, et seqq.

⁹ MS. (B) reads *ریل* for *رسایل*, see Elliot and Dowson IV. 219.

Verse.

The heaven, whose sole skill is oppression,
Has this one object, to wring each moment the heart's blood;
It gives not to the tulip the crown of royalty without laying
low under the foot of oppression the head of a crowned
monarch.

NAṢIRU-D-DIN [WALU-D-DUNYĀ] MUḤAMMAD HUMĀYŪN
PĀDSHĀH-I-QHĀZĪ.

344.

Marching by forced marches from Sanbal in the year 937 H. (1530 A.D.), with the concurrence of Amīr Khālifa who was the agent and prime minister¹ of the Government, ascended the throne. The following chronogram was invented to record the date.

Verse.

Muḥammad Humāyūn Shāh of suspicious fortune
Who is the best of kings by virtue of his merit
The year in which he ascended the kingly throne
Was distinguished by the words "*Khairu-l-Mulūk*,"²

Moreover, inasmuch as at the time of his accession he made present of trays filled with gold, another chronogram was invented in the words *Kishī-i-Zar* (Tray of gold). After disposing of all matters of importance he led an army against the fortress of Kālinjar,³ and,⁴ after quelling the insurrection of Sultān 'Ālam ibn-i-Sultān Sikandar Lodī, who had raised a revolt in Jaunpūr, returned to Āgra and made a great feast, at which entertainment twelve thousand people were distinguished by the bestowal of robes of honour.

Verse.

A king will have the upper hand of his enemies
When his army is happy and contented;
But if he withholds their just reward from his soldiery,
They in turn will withhold their hands from the sword.

In those days,⁵ Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā ibn-i-Badī'u-z-Zamān Mīrzā⁷ ibn-i-Sultān Husain Mīrzā, who had hostile intentions

¹ MS. (A).

² The text reads *وكيل و وزير مطلق*. MS. (A) reads *وزير مطلق*.

³ *خير الملوك* *Khairu-l-Mulūk*. Best of Kings. The letters of the words *كشيتي زر* give the date 937 H., as do also the letters of the words *kishī-i-zar* in the next line.

⁴ MS. (B) writes *كاشيتي زر* *Kalichar* and *كاشيتي زر*.

⁵ MSS. (A)(B) supply *و*. ⁶ MS. (A) *دوات ایام*. ⁷ MS. (B) *میرزا*.

was captured. Sending him to the fortress of Baiāna, orders were given for his eyes to be put out. The pupil of his eye remained uninjured however, and shortly after, he escaped from prison and fled for refuge to Sultān Bahādur of Gujāt. It is said that at the time when Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā joined Sultān Bahādur, the latter was engaged in besieging Chitor, and the weather was exceedingly hot. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā was seized with a pain at the heart,¹ for the cure of which the physicians declared *gulqand* (confection of roses)² to be indispensable. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā begged Sultān Bahādur to send him a piece of this *gulqand*. He accordingly summoned his *shahbaddār* (preparer of beverages), and enquired how much *gulqand* there had been brought with the camp; he replied that there must be more than twenty cart loads. The whole of this he sent to the camp of Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā,³ and apologetically explained that this amount had been estimated as the probable requirements of the army, if it were not sufficient he begged to be excused. It eventually transpired that the juice of the *gulqand* used to be extracted for his use, and that for this reason there were⁴ so many carts accompanying him. Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā, with his two sons Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, proceeded to Qanauj and laid the foundations of revolt, and when the king, now deceased, wrote and despatched to Sultān Bahādur letters summoning Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, Sultān Bahādur sent back a discourteous reply;⁵ he accordingly determined upon the conquest of Gujāt. Bahādur, having collected an army to reduce the fortress of Chitor and oppose Rānā Sānkā, engaged him in battle, and besieged him. Tātār Khān Lodī being despatched by him, came and gained possession of the fortress of Baiāna, extending his depredations as far as Āgra; and after a fierce

¹ MSS. (A) (B) درد دلی.

² گل‌قند *Gulqand*. Confection of rose-petals and honey, said to be a powerful cardiac stimulant and tonic, see *Makṣamu-l-ādwiyah* s v. دواء.

³ MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) بالآخر.

⁵ MS. (A) reads بد for بدی in the text.

⁶ For the text of this reply and an account of the circumstance, under which it was written, see Bayley's *History of Gujerāt*, pp. 377 to 380.

conflict¹ with Muzā Handāl, in which he attacked with three thousand² men, was put to the sword with all his following. While Sultān Bahādur was besieging Chitor for the second time, Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh³ moved against him from Āgrā; and in this same year Mirzā Kāmran, proceeding by forced marches from Lāhor to Qandahār, defeated Sām Muzā, the brother of Shāh⁴ Tahmāsp, who was besieging Khwāja Kulān Bēg, and⁵ the following hemistich gives the date.

*Zada Pādshāh Kāmran Sām rā.*⁶

(King Kāmran defeated Sām)

Maulānā Bekasī⁷ also writes the following

Verse.

At that time when the crown and the golden goblet stands in sight, 346.

When amid the joy and feasting is seen the form of the
flagon and the chasing of the cup,

I enquired from wisdom, why hast thou cast down in our
midst the gold-scattering crown, like a crimson tulip?

She answered, the heaven, by way of assigning a date to this
encounter, has cast down the golden crown,⁸ in consequence
of the defeat of the army of Sām.

Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh, considering that it would be disgraceful to go up against Sultān Bahādur and engage his attention

¹ MS. (A) نموده.

² The text reads سیصد Si Sad 3000. MS. (B) reads شصت Shast Sad 600.

³ MS. (A) writes میرزا Mirzā. ⁴ MS. (A) omits شاه MS. (A) و و.

⁵ زده پادشاه که خون سام را. These letters form the date 942. H.

⁷ Footnote variant شکیبی Shikebi.

⁸ افکنده تاج زر و شکست سپاه سام. The letters of this line form the date 942 in the following way.

The literal meaning of the line may be taken thus:

Has cast away the crown of gold (Taj-i-Zar) from the defeat of the army of Sām (Shikast-i-Sipāh-i-Sām). By Taj-i-Zar is meant the letter ج, the first letter of the word ج, the value of which is 7; this being cast out from the value of Shikast-i-Sipāh-i-Sām gives 949-7=942.

while he was engaged in the siege of Chitor,¹ halted at Sārang-pūr. Sultān Bahādur meanwhile forcibly reduced the fort of Chitor, after which he engaged in war with Pādshāh (Humāyūn) for a space of two months in the neighbourhood of Mandāsūr, a dependency of Mālwa, but owing to the fact that no supplies of grain could reach the camp of Bahādur, men and beast died from starvation, and² Bahādur with five of his most trusty Amīrs left the royal tent by the rear door and fled towards Mandāsūr.³ The following verse commemorates the date of this event:—

Humāyūn Shah-i-Ghāzi, who has thousands of slaves in his palace like Jamshīd,

When he came victorious towards Gujrāt, returned in triumph, the glory of the sons of Timūr.

Since Bahādur fell humbled and abject,

The date thereof was "The disgrace of Bahādur."⁴

Muhammād Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued him, and the Mughūl soldiers came upon Bahādur one night while he was asleep,⁵ and were near taking him prisoner, but he made his escape with five or six horsemen towards Gujrāt. Sultān 'Ālam Lodī, however, fell into their hands and they cut off his feet. The army of Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued Bahādur by rapid marches and laid waste Ahmadābād. Bahādur leaving Ahmadābād went to Kanbbāyat,⁶ and from there to the port of Dīp,⁷ and at that time the fortress

¹ See Bayley, *History of Gujrāt*, p. 382. ² MSS. (A) (B) supply 9 here.

³ MS. (A) reads *مذبح*, so also footnote variant to text.

⁴ *ذیل بآدر* Zill-i-Bahādur. These letters form the date 942 H. We may also read Zill-i-Bahādur, in which case we translate "the submission of Bahādur."

⁵ MS. (B) reads *گرفتہ یافتہ* which the text gives in a footnote variant. This appears from the context to be the true reading.

⁶ Cambay. The name Khambāt is said to be derived from Khamibha or Stambhatirth, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar god. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, III. 271. See also Tieffenthaler I. 370 *et seqq.*

⁷ Tieff I. 395, writes *Diu*, appelée *Dip* dans la langue du pays, est une petite île située dans (près de) la presqu'île de Sorath où se trouve une ville et un château très fort, appartenant aux Portugais avec un petit territoire. La ville est séparée du château par un canal taillé dans la pierre. Un pont de bois joint l'un à l'autre. Elle a un port commode, duquel sort chaque année un vaisseau chargé de marchandises pour Mosambique. *Diu* est à 60 milles portugais de Surate vers l'Ouest."

See also *Ain-i-Akbari* I. 348, and II. 265, also Bayley, *Hist. of Gujrāt*, 319 n.

of Jānpānir¹ was also taken after a battle by the Pādshāh, and treasure beyond computation fell into his hands.

The year in which this happened may be learned from the following verse:—

Wiedom sought for the date of the victory of Shāh Humāyūn
and discovered this,

“It was the ninth of the month of Šafar.”²

Then Bahādur, in concert with the Zamīndars of the country³ of Sorath, collected a force and proceeded towards Ahmadābad. Mīrzā ‘Askarī who, after the return of Humāyūn Pādshāh towards the East,⁴ remained at Ahmadābād with the intention of having the Khutbah read in his own name, in which project he had the support of Amīr Hīndū Bēg; however, he could not carry out his plan, and after slight opposition left for Jānpānir, the governor of which place, Tardī Bēg, having entrenched himself, sent letters to the court conveying the tidings of the revolt of Mīrzā ‘Askarī. But at the time when Humāyūn had left Mandir on his way to Āgra Mīrzā ‘Askarī met him on the road and gave in his submission, and Bahādur took Jānpānir from Tardī Bēg without the necessity of fighting.⁵ [And in this year Shāikh⁶ Jamālī Kanbawī of Dihli left this transitory world for the kingdom of eternity. A chronogram has been invented to commemorate this in the words *Khuerū-i-Hind būda* (he was the Khuerū of Hindustan)].⁷ In this year also Shāh Tahmāsp came up against Qandahār from ‘Irāq to take vengeance on Sām Mīrzā,⁸ and⁹ Khwāja Kalān Beg leaving the city empty, and leaving the Diwānkhāna (Hall

¹ Or Chāmpānir. See Bayley's *History of Gujrat*, pp. 380 et seqq.

² شهر صفر نهم Nuh-i-Shahr-i-Safar bād. These words give the date 942 H.

³ MS. (A) omits ولایت. ⁴ A footnote variant reads برهان پور Burhānpūr.

⁵ The portion in square brackets is omitted in MS. (A) in this place.

⁶ MS. (B).

⁷ شهر صفر نهم. The letters of these words give the date 942 H. There is a footnote to the text calling attention to an alleged discrepancy in the dates of the chronograms, and asserting that شهر صفر represents 932 and not 942. This is a mistake.

⁸ MS. (A) here inserts the date 942 (942) in figures.

⁹ MS. (A) here inserts the paragraph relating to the death of Shāikh Jamālī, *supra* n. 6.

48. of audience) locked up just as it was, adorned with its splendid carpets, its magnificent furniture, and all the appurtenances of the audience chamber, came out to invite Shāh Tahmāsp to alight at that pleasantly prepared¹ resting place, which he did, and² gave Khawaja Kalān Bēg great praise for his conduct, saying, that in a good servant whom Kāmran Mirzā possesses. Shāh Tahmāsp left Qandahār, in charge of Badagh Khān, one of his own Amīrs, and returned to 'Irāq. Mirzā Kāmran at this same juncture, proceeded by forced marches from Lāhor, and arriving at Qandahār took possession of it. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, whom Bahādur had despatched after his defeat to inflict injury upon Hindustān, took advantage of the absence³ of Mirzā Kāmran to invest Lāhor; but, when he heard tidings of the return of Humāyūn Pādshāh to Gujrāt, retraced his steps. At the expiry of one year from the accession⁴ of Humāyūn Pādshāh in Āgra, Shīr Khān Afghān Sūr, in the absence of Humāyūn, collected a large force, and took possession⁵ of the country of Gour, Bihār, and Jaunpūr, and also the fortress of Chinār. Humāyūn Pādshāh encamped⁶ before the fort of Chinār, with the intention of opposing Shīr Khān, on the fourteenth of the month of Ṣafar in the year 943 H., and besieged Jalāl Khān, son of Shīr Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Islām Shāh. In a short time by the exertions of Rūmī Khān the Artillerist, (on whose name Sultān Bahādur had written and despatched the following enigma:—

[*Haif būghad nām i ān sag var zabār.*

Mikh dar jānash nih o nāmash bikhicān]⁷

It were a pity to take the name of that dog on one's lips

Place a stake (*mikh*) in his life (*jān*) and read his name).

¹ MSS. (A) (B) طیارنزه. ² MS. (A) supplies و. ³ MS. (B) omits زمان.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read استقرار.

⁵ MS. (A) متصرف شد.

⁶ MS. (A) محسور ساخته.

⁷ This *معما* *mu'ammā* or enigma requires explanation: The English version is naturally meaningless.

The words in the original, *رومی خان* *Rūmī Khān*, contain as will be seen the word *میخ* *mikh* between the syllables *Rū...ān*. These form the word *روان* *Ravān*, one meaning of which is *life*, for which the synonym in Persian is *جان* *jān*. So the writer says: Place the word *mikh* in his life (*روان* *ravān*), and you have his name *رومی خان* *Rū mīkh ān*, i.e., *Rūmī Khān*.

he reduced¹ that fortress, but Jalāl Khān escaped by means of a boat, and joined Shīr Khān who was engaged in conflict² with Naṣīb Shāh Governor of Bangāla. Humāyūn³ Pādshāh arrived, after that the Governor of Bangāla had been wounded in battle with Shīr Khān. Naṣīb Shāh⁴ submitted himself to Humāyūn, and acted as his escort. Having entrusted the Government of Jaunpūr to Mir Hindū Bāg, with the rank of *Amīr-i Umārā*, and a golden throne, he proceeded by way of Garhī,⁵ a narrow pass separating the countries of Bihār and Bangāla, which Quṭb Khān the son of Shīr Khān and Khawāṣ Khān, the well-known servant of Shīr Khān, had fortified, and came into Bangāla. Shīr Khān not being able to withstand him, left by way of Chahār Khāud to the fortress of Rohtās, and fell upon the rear of Humāyūn's army, and gained possession of the fortress of Rohtās by crafty means, in the following manner. He alleged as a pretext that he had a large number of families⁶ with him, and having placed two thousand armed Afghāns in closed litters⁷ sent them towards the fort. The Rāja of Rohtās being fired with avaricious designs upon the wealth and families of the Afghāns threw open the gates of the fort. Then the Afghān soldiers who were concealed in the litters leapt out, and entering the fort,⁸ put them all to the sword.⁹ 34

¹ MSS. (A) (B) فتح قوسه

² MSS. (A) (B) read محاربة. *muhāraba*. The text reads wrongly محاوره *muhāwara*.

³ D. le را MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ The Persian text is rather obscure, this seems to be the meaning.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) کرهی, see Elliot and Dowson IV. 357 n. 2.

⁶ The text reads بسای خود را درانجا, with two footnote variants بسی and بسای. The meaning is not clear, but from the *Tārīkh-i Shīr Shāh*, this appears to be what is meant. See Elliott and Dowson IV. 357.

A still better reading however suggests itself namely بتقریب آنکه بسای الخ, instead of بتقریب آنکه. We should then translate: "And inasmuch as he had very many families with him obtained possession of the fort in the following manner."

⁷ The محففة *Mihafḥa* is, as its name implies, a litter so closed in that the curtains surround on all sides the sitter upon it. See Lane حف. ۷

⁸ MS. (A) reads در آمده و بر آمده.

⁹ Regarding the truth, etc (See MS. Copy).

The climate of Bangāla proved so extremely suitable to Humāyūn, that he changed the name of Gaur to Jannatābād (The realm of Paradise), and having halted there for (two or)¹ three months returned. In the meanwhile Shīr Khān's affair was assuming large proportions, and his following was increasing. He wrote a letter to Humāyūn, saying, 'all these Afghāns are the servants and retainers of His Majesty the King, and beg to be granted *jāgīrs*,² if the king will think about a *jāgīr* for them, then it will be well, but if not, hunger will drive them to open revolt. Up to the present time I have kept them in check, but now they no longer obey me, and the proverb is well-known. *The hungry man will throw himself upon the sword.* For the rest whatever the king says is law.'

Humāyūn, when he grasped the contents of the letter, saw clearly what its object was, and seeing that the opportunity had passed by,³ and considering the bareness of equipment and inefficiency⁴ of his army, which had recently been doubled, many horses and camels having died, while the remainder were so jaded and emaciated that they were of no use whatever, he set about devising some remedial measures. Mīrzā Hindāl, who had accompanied the king as far as Mongīr, was despatched to Āgra to put down the rebellion⁵ of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, Ulugh Mīrzā, and Shēh Mīrzā, who had fled and had done great mischief in the Dillī country, and were now returning. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, after that Sulṭān Bahādur was drowned in the sea owing to the treachery of the Firangīs,⁶ could not accomplish anything, and again sought refuge with Humāyūn.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit *و*.

² MS (A) omits *له*.

³ *بعد از خرابی بصره*. Ba'd az kharābī-i-Baṣra. After the ruin of Baṣra. A proverbial expression equivalent to the English "shutting the stable door after the horse is stolen" For the story from which the proverb arises see *Sharā-i-Nahju-l-Balāgha* by 'Abd-ul-Ḥamīd bin Abī-l-Ḥadīd al-Ma'tazilī. When Alī ibn Muḥammad Sāhibn-z-Zanj besieged Baṣra in the year 255 H. Aḥmad Abūl-Abbās, son of Al-Muwaffaq b. Illāh came up and opposed him, but not until Baṣra was ruined. Hence the proverb See *Arabum Proverbia* Freytag III, p 129, No 774.

⁴ MS. (A) reads *بی سامانی و پشیمانی* MS. (B) *بی سامانی و پریشانی*.

⁵ MS. (A) omits *و فساد*.

⁶ This happened at Dīn on the 3rd Ramaṣān A. H. 943. See Bayley, *History of Gujerāt*, pp 896, 897.

And in the year 945 H. Mirzā Hindāl, at the instigation of certain turbulent innovators,¹ put to death Shaikh Bahlūl, the elder brother of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaṣṣ of Gwālīār, who was one of the chief exponents of the art of invocation and incantation,² and who enjoyed the full confidence and friendship of Humāyūn. The year in which this event occurred was commemorated by the chronogram *Faqad māta shahīdan*.³ Verily he died a martyr's death.

Mirzā Hindāl in this year read the Khutbah in his own name in Agra. Humāyūn despatched five thousand picked men to reinforce Jahāngīr Bēg the Maghūl, and making over the rule of that country to him, with permission to read the Khutbah should occasion arise, set out for Agra, and, all unprepared as he was, reached Jausā,⁴ which is a village on the bank of the Ganges. The Amirs of Jaunpūr and Chinnār came in and offered to tender their services. Shīr Khān seized the head of the road, and being aware of the distress of the army, placed between it and his own army a canal,⁵ which joined the Ganges, and, owing to the rains, was quite full of water, and for three months encamped over against the King. It is said that during this period when they were confronting each

¹ MS. (A) reads *muttiyān*.

² MS. (A) reads *da'wat-i-Asmā' wa sihr*, "the invocation (of the attributes of God) and magic" *Da'wah* is said in the *Jawshir-i-Khamsa* to be used for several purposes, establishment of friendship or enmity, for the induction of sickness and death, or for the cure of disease, for the accomplishment of desires temporal or spiritual, and to secure victory in battle.

By *Asmā'* is meant the names or attributes of the Deity; they are of two categories, the *Asmā'-l-jalāliyyah* or "terrible attributes" and the *Asmā'-l-jamālīyyah*, "amiable attributes" For a full account, see Hughes, *Dict. of Islām* articles *Da'wah* and *Magico*.

³ *Faqad māta shahīdan* These words give the date 945 H. MS. (B) appends the date in figures.

⁴ Footnote variant *Jausāh*.

⁵ The text reads *rahāb*, which has no meaning. A footnote variant is given *rahāb*, which means water oozing from the ground. This is the reading of MS (B). MS. (A) reads *rahāb*. We should read *rahāb*, in the sense of a canal or aqueduct. See Elliott and Dowson IV, 870.

other, Humāyūn one day sent Mulla Muhammad 'Aziz,¹ who was an old friend of Shīr Khān, as an ambassador.² Shīr Khān was at that moment with his sleeves³ rolled up, and with a spade in his hand, in spite of the heat, was busy preparing the fort and entrenchments.

When Mulla Muhammad came near he washed his hands, and having ordered a *shāmiāna*⁴ to be pitched, sat on the ground unceremoniously, and after hearing the King's message said, "Take this one message from me to the King and say: 'You yourself desire war, but your army does not, I on the other hand, do not desire war,⁵ but my army does: for the rest the decision is the King's.' " Then he sent Shaikh Khulil,⁶ one of the descendants of the venerable Shaikh Farīd Ganj-i-Shakkar, may God sanctify his soul, who was the spiritual guide of Shīr Khān, to Humāyūn, and made overtures of peace to him, representing that he was willing to give up to Humāyūn's representatives the whole country with the exception of Bangāla, and would have the *Khutbah* and *sikka* established in Humāyūn's name. This agreement was ratified between them by an oath on the Divine Word, and Humāyūn's mind was at peace with regard to Shīr Khān.

A bridge was ordered to be thrown across: but Shīr Khān was plotting treachery and deceit.

Verse.

Make the camel leap from the room of the deceit of the world,
because out of craft,

In that room where they speak of peace the camel is clad in
armour.

I flee from the camel of the heavens and the room of the earth,
Because there are maddened camels surrounding that room.

The following morning he surprised and attacked the army of Humāyūn, without giving them time to draw up in line. After a short skirmish Humāyūn's army was defeated, and the Afghāns

¹ MS. (A) reads محمد يرفري Muhammad Yarghavi. MS. (B) reads محمد پرمزین Muhammad pur 'Aziz.

² Read بلچي گيري for بلچي گري MSS. (A) (B).

³ Omit را MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ شاميانہ *Shāmiāna*, a kind of marquee consisting of a flat awning supported by four poles and having no side curtains.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) omit جنگ. See Elliot and Dowson IV, 371 and note 2.

arriving first¹ at the head of the bridge broke it down, while their artillerymen and archers seated in boats kept the army under a perfect hail of fire, drowning² them in the ocean of destruction. Muhammad Zamān Mirzā was overwhelmed by the tempest of death, and Humāyūn urged his horse into the water and was in dread of drowning, in fact was on the point of drowning, when a water carrier³ came to his aid and rescued him from that whirlpool of destruction. Then he turned towards Agra. Shīr Khān wrote⁴ 302. this verse upon that event:—

Thou givest sovereignty to Farīd the son of Hasan,⁵

Thou givest the army of Humāyūn to the fishes

Although the master (Ustād) has [this second verse]—⁶

One thou exaltest and givest him sovereignty,

Another thou castest down from his throne to the fishes.⁷

This event occurred in the year 946 H. and to commemorate it the following chronogram was written:

*Salāmat būwad Pādshāh kase.*⁸

And Shīr Khān after the victory turned back, and came to Bengālā, and after fighting several engagements⁹ put to death Jahāngir Qulī Bēg with all his following. In that country he read the *Khutbah* in his own name, and assumed the title of Shīr Shāh,¹⁰ and in the following year proceeded with a vast army

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read *بیشتر*. *bishtar*, in great numbers.

² MSS. (A) (B) *می ساختند*.

³ Named Nizām according to Firīšta, who says that as a reward Humāyūn permitted him to occupy the throne for half a day. Briggs II. 87.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) *گفت که*.

⁵ Shīr Shāh was originally called Farīd Khān, and his father's name was Hasan Khān.

⁶ MS. (A) omits these words. The text has a footnote saying that the above is the reading of two MSS., but that the correct reading is

اگرچه مصرع ثانی این بیت استار دارد

No authority exists for such a reading.

The verses in question are by Firdausi.

⁷ Here the reading of MS. (A) is followed which reads

دگر را ز شاهی بهامی دمی

⁸ MS. (B) adds the date in figures (946).

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) omit *بشکل*. See Elliot and Dawson, IV, pp. 376-378.

¹⁰ Abbās Khān tells us he had assumed the title of *Harat-i-'Alī*.

intending to capture Āgra. Kāmran Mīrzā, prior to the affair of Jansā, after hearing of the victory of Shīr Khān and the rebellion of Mīrzā Hindāl against Humāyūn, returned from Qandahār to Lāhor, and leaving there came to Āgra, which he reached in the year 946 H. Mīrzā Hindāl himself, before the arrival of Mīrzā Kāmran, in the absence of Humāyūn, laid siege to Dihlī, in which Mir Fakhr 'Alī and Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir had fortified themselves; but not meeting with any success joined hands with Mīrzā Kāmran. Mir Fakhr 'Alī also came in and had an interview with him, but Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir would not leave the fort. Eventually Mīrzā Hindāl separating from Mīrzā Kāmran proceeded to Alwar. When Humāyūn heard these tidings, he became still more despondent,¹ till that eventful defeat took place:² after the defeat at Jansā³ he proceeded by forced marches, accompanied by a few horsemen, and arrived unawares at the tent of Mīrzā Kāmran in Āgra. The Mīrzā also knew nothing of his coming; both brothers upon recognising each other burst into tears.⁴ Afterwards Hindāl Mīrzā and Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā and his sons, who had for a time shewn hostility, came in and offered their submission for certain considerations: Their faults were pardoned and they sat in consultation. Mīrzā Kāmran ostensibly had this intention, that, inasmuch as the army of the Panjāb had gathered fresh force, Humāyūn should grant him leave to proceed against Shīr Khān and endeavour to take vengeance on him, while the King should remain in ease and tranquillity at the Capital. When Humāyūn declined to accede to this proposal, the Mīrzā put forward a claim to proceed to⁵ the Panjāb, and urged an infinity of reasons, giving colour to the suggestion that a refusal would cause him insupportable annoyance. Accordingly Humāyūn acceded⁶ to all his requests, saving only his return; and Khwāja Kalān Hāg was exerting his efforts to procure the return of Mīrzā Kāmran to the Panjāb: so that this argument was carried on for six months and nothing was settled.⁷ In the meantime Mīrzā Kāmran was taken ill with a complication

¹ MSS. (A) (B) بیشتر

² Text چوسا Chausā.

³ MS. (A) به.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) اجابت نمودند.

⁵ Omit the words دار گیر MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ MS (B) حادث گشت.

⁶ MS. (A) گردند.

of severe diseases,¹ and when the diagnosis was arrived at that the source of the disease was a poison, which had been poured into his life's cup by the hand of circumstance, he was led by the whisperings of interested advisers² to entertain suspicion against Hamāyūn, and imagined that perhaps it was he who had administered³ poison to him. Ill as he was he returned to Lāhor, and in breach⁴ of his former agreement that he would leave the whole of his army at Āgra in the service of the king, took the whole of it⁵ with him, with the exception of two thousand men whom he left under the command of Sikandar. Mīrzā Haider the Mughul and Dughlāt⁶ Kashmiri also remained at Āgra, and were kindly treated. Shīr Khān waxed bold at the success of these hypocrisies, and towards the close of the year⁷ aforesaid reached the bank of the Ganges, and despatching a⁸ force under his son Qutb Khān, sent him across [the Ganges]⁹ against Kalpi and Itāwa. Qāsim Husain Sultān Usbeg, in concert with Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā and Iskandar Sultān, after a fight in the vicinity of Kālpī, put to death the son of Shīr Khān with a large number¹⁰ of his following, sending their heads to Āgra.

Hamāyūn started to oppose Shīr Khān with a large force composed of some hundred thousand cavalry, and crossing the river of Qanauj encamped in face of his enemy for the space of one month. The army of Shīr Khān did not comprise in all more than five thousand¹¹ cavalry. It was under such circumstances that Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā and his son fled a second time from the king, and the reinforcements of Mīrzā Kāmran also took flight to Lāhor, and the Mughuls of the King's army were scattered in

امراض متضادة *Amrāḡ-i-mutaḡaddah*. Lit.: Diseases of opposite tendencies, i. e., those diseases, the treatment of one of which tends to aggravate the other.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) بگفته های غریبگیان

² MS. (B) مخالفت for تشایف

³ Read here همه را همراه خود برد MSS. (A) (B) instead of وقتها را الخ

⁴ Read دقتات MS. (A)

⁵ MS. (B) reads wrongly در خراسان for در آخر سال

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) نمی ساختند

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit گنگ

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) جمع کثیر

¹⁰ MS. (B) says پنجاه هزار پنجاه هزار, fifty thousand.

all directions. The rains now came on, and inasmuch as the camp of Humāyūn's army was on low lying ground, he desired to march from there and encamp on the high ground. At this very time¹ Shīr Khān drew up his troops, and came out to give battle. This engagement took place on the day of the 'Āshūra, the 10th of Muḥarram 947 H., and a chronogram was found for it in the words *Khudābī-i-mulk-i-Dillī*.² The greater number of the Mughul soldiers refused to fight³ and took to their heels, while a small body of them who engaged in fight, strove manfully in battle,⁴ but things had gone beyond control, and it was of no avail. The king rode off with the intention of going to the high ground. This action of his in itself afforded an excuse to his men to flee, and a serious defeat ensued. Moreover the king while crossing the river Ganges became separated from his horse, and by the help of Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī (who eventually became the foster-father of the prince's most excellent majesty, and was honoured in Hindūstān with the title of A'zam Khān),⁵ escaped from the water and returned to Āgra; but seeing that⁶ the enemy's army was coming up in pursuit, he could not remain there,⁷ so made his way to the Panjāb with all speed.

At the commencement of Rabi'u-l-awwal of this year all the Sultāns and Amīrs of the Chaghatai tribe⁸ assembled for conference in Lāhor. Hypocrisy was still the order of the day, and Muḥammad Sultān and his sons fled from Lāhor to Multān, while Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir thought it advisable to proceed to Bhakkar and Tatta. Mirzā Kāmran

¹ MSS. (A) (B) در همین حین.

² خرابی ملک دلی. These letters give the date 947 H.

³ Jang nā kardā. MS. (A) omits ترتیب tartīb.

⁴ MS. (B) reads مردانه وار کوشش و کشش دادند.

⁵ Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atka Khān, son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī. See Āin-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, p. 321 (No. 15).

The word Atka, Atikā, or Atākā is a Turkī word, signifying precepteur instituteur, père de lait (Paret de Courteilles)

The wife of Shamsu-d-Dīn was appointed *anakah* or wet-nurse to Prince Akbar at Amurkōt

⁶ MS. (A) omits چون. ⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read اینجا قرار نتوانستند گرفت.

⁸ For a full account of the Line of Chaghutai, see Nev and Elias Tūrkh-i-Rashidī, pp. 28 et seqq. MS. (B) writes چغتای.

prayed that this conference might speedily be dissolved so that he might go to Kābul. After long consultation Humāyūn sent Mirzā Haidar with a large party who had accepted service in Kashmīr, to that district. It was agreed¹ that Khwāja Kalān Bēg should follow Mirzā Haidar, and that Humāyūn himself also should proceed thither after the conquest of Kashmīr. When Mirzā Haidar arrived at Naushahra² which is a well-known place, he entered that country with the concurrence of certain Kashmīris and conquered it and on the 22nd of Rajab of this same year he gained possession of that country. Khwāja Kalān Bēg had gone to Siālkoṭ. When tidings reached the king that Shīr Khān had crossed the river at Sultānpūr and had arrived within thirty kroṡs of Lāhor, Humāyūn, on the first of the month of Rajab in the aforesaid year, crossed the river of Lāhor, and Mirzā Kāmran, after breaking his solemn vows, agreed for certain reasons to accompany Humāyūn as far as the neighbourhood of Bahira, and Khwāja Kalān Bēg made forced marches from Siālkoṭ, and joined Humāyūn's camp. Mirzā Kāmran together with Mirzā Askarī, separating³ from the king, proceeded in company with Khwāja Kalān Bēg towards Kābul, while Humāyūn proceeded towards Sind. Mirzā Hindāl, and Mirzā Yādigār Nāqir also, after accompanying him for a few stages, left him, and after a few days returned, by the counsel of⁴ Amīr Abūl Baqā. On the banks of the Indus such great scarcity prevailed in the camp of Humāyūn, that one sir⁵ of the smaller millet⁶ could sometimes not be bought even for an *ashrafi*.⁷ The greater part of the army perished owing to this scarcity, while others died from want of water, till at last Humāyūn with a small number passed on to the districts of Jaisalmer,⁸ and the country of Mārwar, where strange⁹ incidents

¹ MSS. (A) (R) مقرر ساختند.

² Nowshera.

³ MSS. (A) (B) supplying از.

⁴ MS. (B) reads به صحبت, in company with. ⁵ About two pounds.

⁶ غلة جواری *ghalla-jawārī*. This is the Hindustānī, or rather, the Panjābī name. In Persian it is called ارزان *arzan*.

⁷ The proper average price of this grain being six dām per man of forty sir, the above represents an enhancement of price represented by the ratio 1:6,000.

⁹ Omit غریب MSS. (A) (B).

occurred. After undergoing great hardships and distress, which it is the invariable custom of the Heavens to inflict, he betook himself to 'Irāq and having obtained reinforcements, Shāh Tahmāsp gained possession of Qandahār and Kābul, and collecting a great army re-conquered Hindūstān. This exploit will be described in its proper place if the Most High God will it so.

SHĪR KHĀN IBN I ḤASAN SŪR

Whose name was Farid and his title Shīr Khān, ascended the throne of empire under the above title, which he assumed. The chronogram *Khārābī-i-Mulk-i-Dillī*¹ was invented² to record that year.

Inasmuch as he, by favourable circumstances and his own cleverness and bravery, rose from the rank of Bēg³ to royal dignity, it is essential to give a brief account of his career. The father of Ḥasan Sūr, Ibrāhīm by name,⁴ in the time of Sultān Bahlūl, came to Hindūstān from⁵ Roh, by which is meant Afghānistān, entered the service of Sultān Bahlūl, and was stationed in the vicinity of Hissūr Firūza and Nārṇūl. After his death (his son) Ḥasan became a servant of Jamāl Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Sikandar, and was granted the *jācgīr* of the *pargana* of Sabarām and Khawāspūr, dependencies of the fortress of Eastern Rohtās.⁶ He had five hundred cavalry under his command. In consequence of the unkindness of his father, and the jealous enmity of his brothers,⁷ of whom there were seven, he left his

¹ These letters give the date 947 H. (1540 A.D.) MS. (B) adds the date in figures.

² MSS. (A) (B) with یافتند for شد as in the text.

³ The text reads از بککي MS. (B) از هککي MS. (A) از یککي.

The first seems the only intelligible reading in the sense in which it is translated.

⁴ Omit ۴۵ MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ The text and both MSS. read راده it should be روه Roh. See Firishta Bo. text, p. 412, also Elliott and Dowson IV, 308.

⁶ Rohtās Sharqī. Rohtāgarh in the Shāhābād district of Bengal. The other Rohtās is in the Panjāb. See Hunter Imp. Gaz., XII, 78.

⁷ The text reads برادران اعیانی *barādarān-i-a'yānī*. Uterine brothers. MS. (A) reads اخیانی *Akhyānī* brothers by the same mother, but a different father. From the context it is clear that Badāoni means all the sons of Ḥasan Khān by his four wives. (Steingass), see E and D IV, 310.

home and giving up the service of Jamāl Khān spent some time in Jaunpūr in the acquisition of science, and in perfecting himself¹ in knowledge, until he had read the *Kāfiyah*² with its commentary and other epitomes, besides acquiring by heart the *Qulistān*, *Būstān*, *Sikandarnāma* and other works. He used to go the round of monasteries and colleges, associating with the learned doctors and *Shaiḫs* of that country, and busied himself with the improvement of his character. After some time he was reconciled to his father, and was entrusted by him with the management of his *jāegire*. This he carried out with equity and impartiality, using clever devices³ for the punishment of rebels, and kept them in check⁴. Later on circumstances again led to an estrangement between Farīd and his father, and going to Āgra with his own brother,⁵ he elected to enter the service of Daulat Khān,⁶ one of the chief commanders⁷ of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and laid a complaint against his father and brothers⁸ before the Sultān.⁹ The Sultān however, was displeased at this and said, This is a disgraceful and inhuman state of things that a father should be displeased with his son and that the son should complain against him.¹⁰ Upon the death of Ḥasan, Daulat Khān made a representation to the Sultān, and obtained his desire in securing those *parganas* for Shīr Khān. There he remained for some time,¹¹ and eventually was led by the enmity of his brothers to enter the service of Bihār Khān, the son of Daryā Khān Luḥānī,¹² who had read the *Khutbah* and issued the *sikla* in his own name in Bihār, and had assumed the title of

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¹ There is a little variation in the reading here: MS. (B) reads

تَحْصِيلِ عِلْمٍ وَ كَسْبِ قَضَائِلِ. MS. (A) also reads فَزَائِلِ *fazā'il*, excellencies.

² *Al-Kāfiyah fi'l-naḥw*. A celebrated work on Arabic grammar by Shaiḫ Jamāl-ud-Dīn, (Ibn-ū-l-Ḥājib); for an account of this work and its commentary, see H. K. No. 9707.

³ MS (A) كَيْفِ الْحِيلِ.

⁴ MS. (A) قَبِيحٌ نَجَسٌ.

⁵ Nizām Khān was the brother of Farīd Khān by the same mother.

⁶ Daulat Khān the son of Badhā, was a commander of 12,000 horse and in great favour with Sultān Ibrāhīm (E. D. IV, 821).

⁷ MS. (A) omits كِبَارِ.

⁸ MS. (A) omits دَرِیْكَرِ.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) supply وَ.

¹⁰ Read here اِنْكَدَرْتُ وَ نَارِضِي بِاَشَدِّ MS. (B).

¹¹ (MSS.) (AB) بِسَرِ بَرْدِ وَ.

¹² MS. (A) (B) دَرِیْكَرِ.

Sultān Muhammad. This was at the time when Sultān Ibrāhīm had taken the field at Pānīpath, and Bābar Pādshah had conquered Hindūstān and planted¹ the banner of sovereignty. Here he was well received, and as one day, when on a hunting expedition, he killed a tiger in the presence of Sultān Muhammad, the title of Shir Khān was bestowed upon him by the Sultān, who also appointed him to be tutor² to his son Jalāl Khān. After some time Muhammad Khān Sūr, governor of the country of Chaund, made an attempt to turn Sultān Muhammad against Shir Khān, with the object of advancing the interest of his brothers, and having succeeded in getting an order from Sultān Muhammad that the brothers were to have a share in the management of the *parganas*, sent Suleimān, son of Hasan Sūr who has been mentioned, accompanied by one of his servants named Shādī to Khawaspūr, and Bhaka the servant of Shir Khān who was known as the father of Khawāṣ Khān, engaged in battle with Suleimān and was killed. The remainder fled, and came to Shir Khān at Sahsarām. Shir Khān had no longer the power to cope with Muhammad Khān, nor the inclination to serve Sultān Muhammad, he accordingly abandoned his position and *jādegīr*, and having no other resource betook himself to Sultān Junaid Birlās, who was holding the Government of Karra and Mānikpūr on behalf of Bābar Padshāh.

38. He remained in his service, and after presenting many valuable offerings, obtained a fully equipped army as reinforcement from Sultān Junaid, and fought with Muhammad Khān, wrested from him the *parganas* of Chaund and other *parganas*, and took possession of them. Muhammad Khān fled, and took refuge in the fortress of Rohtās. Shir Khān, having wreaked his vengeance on his brothers, made apologetic overtures to Muhammad Khān, addressing him by the title of uncle; having thus earned his gratitude he handed over³ the *parganas* he held as *jādegīr* to him on the same footing as formerly, and leaving Nizām his full brother in charge

¹ MS. (A) reads افراختند for آختند.

² اتالیغ *Atāligh*, this word is *Türkī*. In its Arabicized it becomes اطاليق, but the other is the correct orthography. اتالیغ *Atāligh* literally signifies the relationship of an *atā* or father.

According to M. Pavet de Courteille it signifies "Paternité: nom d'une dignité dans le Turkestan et le Kharissar, chef de tribu: qui élève une personne."

³ MS. (A) writes گذرانیه. MS (B) omits گذرانیه.

of the *jāegir*, went again to Sultān Junaid, whom he found just starting to pay his respects to Bābar Padshāh. Taking Shīr Khān with him, Junaid enrolled him among the servants and well-wishers of the king's court. He accompanied Bābar on the expedition to Chanderi. In accordance with Mughūl habits and customs, and owing to the carelessness of the king in his management of the affairs of State, and the venality of the revenue-officers, and the utter disorder into which the affairs of the people had fallen, matters came to such a pass that if any person¹ had an object in view, he could quickly bring it to pass.² One day Bābar on the occasion of a banquet, observed him behave in a way which deserved the royal censure,³ and demanded the punishment of Shīr Khān. Those who were present at the banquet related the particulars of his independence and arrogant assumption, not omitting to mention some of his double-dealings. Shīr Khān accordingly became apprehensive of danger, and fled from the king's camp to his *parganas*, whence he wrote a letter couched in apologetic terms and sent it to Sultān Junaid, advancing as a pretext to cover his return,⁴ that since Muḥammad Khān was led by feelings of hostility against him to induce Sultān Muḥammad to send⁵ an army against Shīr Khān's *parganas* because of his being in service with the Mughūls, and as he could not easily and quickly⁶ obtain leave of absence from Bābar, he had accordingly taken this liberty and had at all hazards determined to rejoin those who wished well to the Sultān. 360. Thence he proceeded to Sultān Muḥammad, where he was honoured by increased confidence and by suitable rewards, and was once more installed as custodian of his younger son Jalāl Khān, whose whole affairs he took under his own management. After the death of Sultān Muḥammad, he obtained absolute control of the whole country of Bihār and its dependencies.

He entered into a compact of friendship with Makhdūm 'Ālam, the governor of Hājipūr, one of the Amīrs of the Wālī

¹ MS. (A) supplies کسی.

² MSS. (A) (B) supply می تواند کرد after.

³ MS. (A) reads عبرت for نصرت text.

⁴ MS. (A) has بخلاف with no dots.

⁵ Omit باید before می MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ MS. (A) می تواند. The text is correct.

of Bangāla, who despatched an Amir named Qutb Khān to undertake the overthrow of Makhdūm 'Ālam. Shīr Khān marched to the aid of Makhdūm 'Ālam, and¹ after a fierce battle put Qutb Khān to death, taking as spoil elephants and treasure and many followers. Jalāl Khān and his tribe, who are Lūhānīs,² in spite of Shīr Khān, made over Bihār to the ruler of Bangāla and elected to serve under him, and leaving Shīr Khān to his fate, took care to secure their own safety.

The Bangālīs in the first instance sent Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of the Qutb Khān above mentioned, against Shīr Khān to wreak vengeance upon him. Shīr Khān used daily to fight with them from within the fort, but since the Bangālīs received large reinforcements, and no way of retreat remained open to him, he yielded to necessity and fought a battle with them in the open³ in which he gained the day. Ibrāhīm Khān also seeing what had occurred went and joined his father, and Shīr Khān seized the whole of the camp of the Bangālīs⁴ with their elephants and artillery, acquiring thereby great renown, so that he established a lasting and undivided control over the country of Bihār and raised himself to the dignity of a Sultān. He next wrested the fortress of Chinār together with its vast treasures from the sons of [Jamāl Khān Sārang-Khānī]⁵ Tāj Khān, one of the Amīrs of

61. Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, who some years before had regained possession of it, and took in marriage his wealthy and beautiful wife who had vast stores of treasure. This fact also enhanced his grandeur and dignity, so that the desire for sovereignty daily gained more ascendancy over his mind, till at last certain powerful Amīrs of the Afghān Lodī faction summoned from Chitor Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, who, after raising Ḥasan Khān Miwātī and Rānā Sānkē to royal power, and induced him to fight with Bābar Pādshāh, and subsequently to his defeat⁷ had remained in the fortress of Chitor, and seated him upon the throne in Patna.⁸ He accordingly came with a vast army and invaded the country of Bihār, and wresting it from Shīr Khān took possession of it. Shīr Khān was perforce compelled to

1 MS. (A) supplies و.

2 MSS. (A) (B) نوحانیان.

3 MS. (B) reads جنگ صعب, but the textual reading جنگ صف is correct.

4 MS. (A) بنگاله.

5 MS. (B) ساراجانی.

6 Not in MS. (A).

7 MS. (A) بعد از شکست.

8 MS. (A) omits در ولایت پتنه.

submit, and entered his service, and taking leave came to Sahsarām. Sultān Mahmūd passing by Sahsarām, after writing and making over to Shīr Khān an agreement relating to Bihār,¹ thereby raising his hopes, despatched him to attempt the conquest of Jaunpūr and to engage in war with the Amīrs of Humāyūn Pādshāh. He thus brought the whole of that province as far as Lakhanau into his own² power. The Amīra of Humāyūn Pādshāh could not stand against (Shīr Khān), and proceeding to Kālinjar³ gave in their allegiance to him. Humāyūn marched to oppose Sultān Mahmūd, and Baban and Bāyazīd,⁴ who were with him.⁵ When the two armies met Shīr Khān, who had stood aloof from Sultān Mahmūd for some days, again joined his force, and sent a message to Mīr Hindū Bēg Qūchīn, Commander-in-chief of the Mughūl army, saying that on the day of the battle he would make a flank movement and stand on one side. You and the Afghāns, said he, well know how utterly I abhor and detest the command of Sultān Mahmūd and Baban⁶ and Bāyazīd. 352.

Verse.

If I committed a fault, I have at all events made my road clear.

Eventually he did as he had arranged, and Sultān Mahmūd and Baban⁷ being defeated retired to the country of Patna, and made no further attempts to fight, till in the year 949 H. (1542 A. D.) in the country of Orissa⁸ he encamped on the frontiers of the desert of non-existence, and having gone to the appointed goal remained at rest. Humāyūn Pādshāh [after this victory]⁹ sent Mīr Hindū Bēg as his agent to Shīr Khān with a demand to him to yield up the fort of Chinār. He, however, made some lame excuse, so the king ordered several noted Amīra to precede him

¹ This agreement was to the effect that should Shīr Khān render effectual assistance to Sultān Muhammad Lodī in recovering Jaunpūr, the country of Bihār should be restored to him as a reward for his services. (Firishta).

² MSS. (A) (B) omit خود. ³ MS. (B) کالینجر.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read و بایزید. Firishta says Baban and Bāyazīd.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read که همراه او بودند متوجه گشتند. The text is incorrect.

⁶ MS. (A) و بایزید.

⁷ MS. (A).

⁸ The text reads wrongly اودیسه.

⁹ Not in MSS. (A) (B) which write also میر هندو بیگ.

and lay siege to that fortress, himself also ¹ preparing to follow them. In the meanwhile Shir Khān wrote a petition in which he pointed out his own sincerity and the favour shewn him by Babān, and recounted the deserving nature of his former services, more specially his opposition to Baban and Bāyazīd. This petition he sent by the hand of Qutb Khān, his eldest son, together with a large force, to Humāyūn Pādshāh. He sent also with Qutb Khān, ‘Isā Khān Hajjāb, who was his *takīl* with the powers of a *vazīr*, and he fleeing from Gujrāt joined his father in Bangāla. When Humāyūn Pādshāh altered his course towards Gujrāt, Shir Khān himself had risen to great dignity and power, so that he engaged in open battle with Humāyūn on two occasions, and gained the day, as has already been mentioned. Shir Shāh in the early part of the year of his accession laid waste the ancient city of Qannauj, and moving it from its original site re-established it on the banks of the river Ganges; it is now known as Shirgarh. In the same manner he destroyed the fortress of Shamsābād and removed it to another place, calling it by the name of Rusūlpūr. Now, however, at the date of writing, it has been repopulated in its old position. And when he arrived at old Dihlī, which was founded by Sultān ‘Alān-d-Dīn, he destroyed that also, and established between the fortress of Dinpanāh, which Muhammad Humāyūn Pādshāh constructed, and ² Firozābād, an extensive city, and built round ³ that fort a rampart of stone and mortar, having an extent of three *krohs*. On his arrival at Sultānpūr by continuous marches, the brothers of Humāyūn Pādshāh and the Chaghatai Amirs quarrelled, and each took his own way as has been described, and Shir Shāh himself, ⁴ not giving them time to reassemble, came up in pursuit. In this year he issued a public proclamation that from the country of Bangāla as far as western Rohtās, which is a four months' journey, and also from Āgra to Mandū, ⁵ at every *kroh* a *sarāi* (rest-house) and a mosque, and a well built of burned bricks was to be established and a Muazzin ⁶ and an Imām. ⁷ A Musulmān

¹ MS. (A) reads خود هم.

² MS. (A) supplies و.

³ MS. (A) reads here دوران قلعه را.

⁴ MS. (A) supplies خود.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) مندر.

⁶ The officer whose duty it is to call the Azān or call to prayer before each of the stated times of prayer. See Hughes' Dict. of Islām, Azān.

⁷ The priest who leads the prayers.

and a Hindū were also appointed to superintend the supply of water for each. A refreshment house was also kept stocked for the use of strangers and poor wayfarers. On both sides of the road also, large and lofty trees were planted in avenues, so that all travellers might go along in the shade of them. Traces of these still remain in most places up to the present time, though fifty-two years have passed since then. In his reign justice was so widespread that if, for example, an old man holding a golden tray in his hand had lain down to sleep whenever he felt inclined, no thief or ruffian would have dared to take it away from him.

Thanks be to God that the writer of this *Muntakhab* was born in the reign of so just a king; to us, the words of the Prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him,*¹ I was born in the reign of the just king, on the seventeenth of Rabi'n-sāni² in the year 947 H. (1540 A.D.) but, in spite of this, would that the name of that hour and that day had been erased from the chronicles of years and months, so that I had not been obliged to leave the private chamber of non-existence, where I dwelt with the inhabitants of the world of dreams and fancies, and to place my foot into this world of imaginary existence, and to suffer³ so many scars of various misfortunes, all of which are branded with the stamp, *He loses this world and the next*, the context is well-known.

364.

Verse.

My body bears a robe, surpassing splendid
My hopes for this world and the next are ended.

Rubā'ī.

I came yesterday, and have accomplished nothing,
To-day my efforts have availed me nothing
To-morrow I depart, having learned no single secret;
Better had best non-existence than this vain superfluity.

And when one looks into the matter carefully one becomes aware that seeing that the Lord, the repository of the seal of the prophetic office, upon him and his family *may the peace and blessing of God rest*, says : * " Would that the Lord of Muhammed had not

¹ MSS. (A) (B).

² 21st August, 1540

³ MSS. (A) (B) read *بایستی کشید* for *نباید کشید*.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) omit *می* writing simple *فرماید*.

crested Muhammed," it is not in the power of a weak-minded mortal (like myself) to draw a single breath in this valley (of desolation), and one fears lest such an attempt should lead to audacity in the way of religion, and lest its fruit should be everlasting destruction. *I entreat pardon from God of all that is an abomination to Him.*

What power has the clay that it should say to the potter

Why dost thou make me and why dost thou break me.¹

After that Shīr Shāh reached the hill-country of Bālnāt. He built there the fortress of Rohtās as a protection for the army of Hindūstān against the Mughūl forces. Then he appointed Khawāss Khān to undertake the pursuit, and returned. While on the march he heard that a commander named Khizr Khān Sarak had become infatuated with rebellious notions and was behaving as though he were a Sultān. Shīr Shāh² accordingly bent his course thither, and Khizr Khān hastening to encounter him was taken prisoner. Shīr Shāh took possession of that country and conferred it by way of *jāegīr* upon several of his Amīrs, and appointed to the superintendence of the fort of Rohtās,³ Qāzī Fazīlat the Qāzī of the army, who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāzī Fazīhat.⁴

In the year 948 H. he came⁵ to Āgra, and in the year 949 H. proceeded to Gwālīār with the intention of conquering Mālwa.⁶ Abūl Qāsim Beg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn Pādshāh who had entrenched himself in that fortress, came in and had an interview

¹ Cf. Isaiah xlv. 9; Romans ix. 21. So also Omar Khayyām

از آب و گلـم سرشته من چکنم
و من پشم و قصب تو سرشته من چکنم
هر نیک و بدی که آید از ما بوجود
تو بر سر من نوشته من چکنم

Thou formedst me of clay. What help have I!

Thou didst this garment weave. What help have I!

Whate'er for good or ill from me proceeds

Is thy prescription, Thine! What help have I!

² MS. (A).

³ Omit شرقي MS. (A).

⁴ فضيلت *Fazilat* means excellence. فضيحت *Fazihat* means ignominy.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) باگرو آمد.

⁶ Omit قلعه MSS (A) (B).

with him, giving up the keys of the fort. Mallū Khān the governor of Mālwa, who ¹ was one of the slaves of the Khilji Sultān, and held absolute and unlimited power in that province, offered his services to Shīr Shāh, and was honoured by splendid rewards. Shīr Shāh also had tents pitched for him close to his own tent, and prepared a hundred and one horses and other apparatus of pomp and dignity in his honour. In the meantime a suspicion arose in Mallū Khān's mind, and one night he tore his tent and escaped alone after the accustomed manner of slaves, and fled. Shīr Khān wrote the following:—

Verse.

You see how the chicken-hearted slave Mallū has treated me
It is a saying of Mustafā "There can be no good in a slave."

Shīr Khān then nominated Hāji Khān Sultānī to the subjugation of the province of Mālwa, and Suzāwal Khān ² to administer the affairs of the district of Sawar; ³ Mallū Khān fought with Hāji Khān and Suzāwal Khān, and suffered a defeat from which he never recovered.

Every weakling who fights with one stronger than he,
Gets such a fall that he can never again rise.

And Khān-i-Khānān Sarwānī, ⁴ who was the ⁵ permanent Governor of the fort of Ranthambūr, yielded up that fortress to Shīr Shāh and came with his family to the township of Basāwar. It is said that some one introduced some poison into his cup. His tomb is in the suburbs of that township, in a pleasant spot, and is well-known at this time: 356

Quatrain.

Death, thou hast desolated hundreds of homes,
In the kingdom of existence thou makest life thy spoil.
No jewel beyond price has come into the world,
But thou has borne it away and hidden it beneath the dust.

In this year Shīr Shāh ⁶ led an army against the fortress of Rāi Sen and besieged it, because Pūranmal the son of Silhadī, one of the Chiefs of Rāi Sen, had attacked the city of Chanderī, which

¹ Supply AS MSS. (A) (B)

² MS. (A) supplies ب.

³ MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ MS. (A) سروانی.

⁵ Omit AS before حاکم MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ MS. (A).

is one of the chief cities of Hindūstān, and had put its inhabitants to death, and was keeping two thousand¹ women, Hindūs and Muslims, in his own *harīm*. The following couplet was found to record the date of this siege :

Qiyām-i-bāngāh bāshad mubārak.

May the stability of the court be fortunate²

After prolonging the siege for some time *Shir Shāh* entered into a compact, and succeeded in dislodging *Pūranmal*³ by the intervention of *Shāhzāda 'Adil Khān* and *Qutb Khān Nāib*,⁴ and assigned him a place in his own camp, bestowing upon him a hundred horses, with a robe of honour and a sum of gold; and eventually by the advice of *Mir Saiyyid Rafi'u-d-Din Safawi* of *Ij*,⁵ which was given the title of *Muqaddasa* (Sacred) by *Sikandar Lodi*, broke his word, and caused *Pūranmal* together with his family and children to be trampled to death by elephants. Not a single man of those turbulent and rebellious Hindūs, who were near ten thousand souls, escaped in that battle. Their women and men either⁶ became food for the edge (*janhar*) of the sword or fed the flames of the fire called *jūhar*, a well-known word in the Hindī language. This chronicle, from that day forward, remained as a record upon the pages of Time, *may God be merciful to its author*. This event occurred in the year 950 H., and⁷ after some time he girded up his loins for a holy war to uproot the pestilent infidels of the country of *Mārwar*, and led a vast⁸ army against *Rāi Maldeo*⁹

¹ MS. (A) omits دو.

² قیام بارگاه باشد مبارک. The letters give the date 949 H. MS. (B) gives this date in figures.

³ MS. (A) reads دیوریمال Deorimal and omits از انجا.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) omit پائین.

⁵ Died at Agra in 954 or 957, see *Ain-i-Akbari* (B) I, 523.

The text reads erroneously لچھی *Ichī'-e*. MS. (A) reads لچھی *Injī*, and MS. (B) reads لچھی *Ichī*. We should read لچھی *Ijī*, in the sense given in the translation. *Ij* is stated by *Yāqūt* to be a city rich in gardens and other advantages. The Persians he says pronounce it ایک *I'k* (*Mu'jamu-l-Bulādn*, I, p 415).

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) لا.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) و.

⁸ Lit. exceeding in its numbers the ants and locusts.

⁹ MS. (B) omits وای.

the leader of the Rāis of Hindūstān who held sway over the country of Nāgor and Jaunpūr, and was a powerful opponent of the Muslims; and inasmuch as one of the maxims of Shīr Shāh, from which he never departed,¹ was to throw up an entrenched position round his army, no matter how few the enemy might be, as soon as Māldeo arrived in the vicinity of Ājmīr with fifty thousand picked cavalry trained and experienced in war, intent upon slaying or being slain, and confronted Shīr Shāh, he, finding it impossible to make trenches and ramparts because of the sandy soil, held a conference with his experienced and veteran Amirs. No one of them however could devise a way to effect that object. Suddenly Maḥmūd Khān, the son of 'Adil Khān,² who was grandson to Shīr Shāh, notwithstanding his youth said, "Let Shāh 'Alam order the *banjāras* (grain sellers) of the army to fill sacks with sand and arrange them round³ the army." This idea⁴ highly commended itself to Shīr Shāh, and he immediately placed his turban upon the lad's head, and bestowed upon him in perpetuity the treaty territories

In the end Heaven did not favour his designs, and Islām Shāh⁵ after reaching kingly power, made this unfortunate voy the very last of his family, heirs to the kingdom, to have his name blotted out from the page of existence, in accordance with the saying *Al mulku 'uqīm*⁶ (The kingdom has no heir), and that treatment which he meted out to them, vindictive Time measured again to his posterity.

Verse.

If thou hast done evil remain not secure from calamity.

For the nature of things brings about requital.

In short Shīr Shāh, who⁷ would not give the head of one of his soldiers for a kingdom, and to whom the Afghāns were⁸ far dearer than can be expressed, was by no means willing to involve

¹ MS. (A) omits خلف.

² MS. (A) reads پسر عادل خان MS. (B) بن عادل خان.

³ MS. (A) reads for گرد.

⁴ MS. (A) reads این رای او omitting بسیار.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read صلیم شاه.

⁶ الملک عقیم.

⁷ MS. (A) omits چون.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read بود.

his army in calamity with the ignorant, hoar natured, curriish Hindūs. Accordingly he devised an artifice, and wrote fictitious letters purporting to emanate from the generals of Māldeo's army to himself, couched in enigmatical language,² the substance of them being that there would be no need for the king in person to superintend the fighting, when the armies were drawn up for battle, because they themselves would take Māldeo alive and deliver him up, upon the condition that such and such places should be given them as a reward. Having done this he so arranged that those letters fell into Māldeo's hands, with the result that Māldeo became utterly suspicious of all his generals, and, in the dead of night, fled alone without looking behind him and, notwithstanding that his generals denied their complicity with oath upon oath, saying that they never could have been guilty of such dastardly conduct,⁶ and that this was all the handiwork of Shīr Shāh in his desire to raise dissensions⁶ between them, it was of no use, and had no effect upon Māldeo's mind. Kanhaiyā,⁷ who was his minister and agent, abused Māldeo in violent terms, and taking four thousand resolute men devoted to death, or even more than this number, came down upon the army of Shīr Shāh, with the intention of surprising them by night, but missed his way, and after marching the whole night when morning broke became aware that he had left the camp far in rear.⁸ After striving to the utmost of their powers, when they had abandoned all hope of life, at the very moment when the army of Shīr Shāh came in sight, as a result of their own stupidity, by the good luck of Shīr Shāh or by the superior good fortune of Islām, the infidels in a body dismounted from their horses, and renewing their vows of singleness of purpose and

صیکسار with a footnote variant found in MS. (B) صیکسار ۱

۲ MS. (B) omits نوشت MSS (A) (B) امرای خویش ۳

۴ شبشب MSS. (A) (B). واقع نشده و MS. (A) omits ۵

۶ Lit to cast the stone of discord in our midst. MSS. (A) (B) read در میان ما. MS (A) reads حيلة و این جملة for (Text).

۷ This name is given on the authority of Firishṭa (Bo. text, p. 427). Our text and both MSS. (A) (B) read گویا *Goyā* which does not appear to be possibly correct. Brigg's II, p. 122, calls him Koonbha. Kanhaiyā is a proper name among Hindūs, and is one of the names of Krishna.

۸ Firishṭa merely says they missed their way and reached the enemy's camp in daylight. (Bo. text, loc cit).

mutual assistance, binding¹ their sashes together and joining hand to hand, attacked the army of the Afghāns with their short spears, which they call *Barchha*,² and with their swords. Shīr Shāh had given orders saying that if any man ventured to fight with the sword with this swinish horde, his blood would be on his own head. He accordingly ordered the elephant troops to advance and³ trample them down. In rear of the elephants, the artillery and archers gave them a taste of the bowstring, and admitting them to the banquet of death, gave them the hospitality of the land of extinction. The bright surface of the world's page was polished, and freed from the dark lines of the land of infidels, and not one of the infidels got off with his life, nor was a single Muslim lost in that encounter.⁴ A poet of Basāwar, whose *takhallus* is Faizī,⁵ wrote this verse on that subject

Suddenly check to the king happened to Māldeo
It would have been checkmate had not the piece
Kanyā⁶ protected him as 'Irā.⁷

It is said that after this victory Shīr Shāh on several occasions used to say, "I have sold the empire of the whole of Hindūstān⁸ for a handful of millet." Returning thence and making over the fortress of Rantanbhūr to his son 'Ādil Khān, he gave him leave for a few days to visit the fort, and put the garrison in order, when he was to follow his father. The writer has heard from a trustworthy source, that one day while on that expedition Mir Saiyyid Rafī'u-d-Dīn, the renowned and unique traditionist now pardoned and absolved, who has been already mentioned, said to Shīr Shāh, "All my ancestors were⁹ authors of authoritative compositions and used to give instructions in the two sacred

¹ The text reads *بافتند* *بافتند* *بافتند* but we should read *بافتند* *bāfta*.

² *Barchha*. A Hindī word meaning a small spear.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read *پایمال کردند*

⁴ MS. (B) writes needlessly *یک گیس ضایع شد*.

⁵ See *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B) 1490, for a full account of the poet Faizī.

⁶ I read here *کنیا* for *گویا*, see n. 7, page 478.

⁷ *بهری* for *بهری* MSS. (A) (B) *بهری* 'Irā is that piece at chess which is interposed between the king and a Rook to protect the king from check by the Rook, see J. R. S. A. xiii p. 49, (Bland, on the Persian game of chess).

⁸ MS (A) *بوده اند*.

cities.¹ I alone of all my family have become so helpless and powerless that in search of the gold and fame of Hindūstān I am blindly wandering. I beseech your Majesty to grant me permission to depart, so that at the end of my days I may be able to relight the lamp of those venerable ancestors of mine.

Seeing that I was not worthy to succeed those mighty intellects who have gone before me.

My hands have spoiled many books, my ignorance has wasted many parchments.²

Shīr Shāh answered, I should have no objections to make on this score, were it not that I have kept you with me for a special object, which is this that I intend in a short time by the help of God, *He is blessed and exalted*,³ to clear the heart-delighting plain of Hindūstān of the thorns of infidelity, and shortly to reduce the few forts which remain, with very little difficulty, and passing along the seashore to fight with⁴ those Qizilbāshes who oppose the progress of the company of pilgrims⁵ to the holy temple (of Makkah) and have given rise to bigoted interference with the established religion and the orthodox followers of Muhammad, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*,⁶ and to send you thence with a mission bearing letters to the Sultān of Rūm, in order that, having knitted the bonds of religious brotherhood between us, you may bear to him a request on my behalf to be entrusted with the service of one of the two sacred temples, *may God increase their dignity*. Then I coming up from one direction [and the *Khwandqār*⁷ from the other], may clear out the Qizilbāsh from between us, because⁸ as soon as the Sultān of Rūm attacks him, he will move with all rapidity in this direction, and when the Sultān of Rūm withdraws his forces, he will

¹ Makkah and Madīnah. دفاتر Dafātir.

² MSS. (A) (B) read بعون ایزدی تبارک و تعالی.

³ MSS. (A) (B) با.

⁴ MS. (B) reads حبیاج و جوار. Regarding the Hajj or pilgrimage to Makkah, see Hughes Dict. of Islam, art. Hajj.

⁵ A footnote variant اللهم انزل المقدم المقرب بالقيامة is evidently the interpolation of some devout copyist.

⁷ MS. (B) omits the words in square brackets.

⁸ MS. (A) چه

again return to the place he came from, whereas if we surround him from both directions with this army and the large following we have in Hindūstān, together with that powerful force and its artillery,¹ his resisting power will be nil;² and on carefully considering over this matter I can think of no person more fitted to carry³ this message than yourself, and simply in view of the attainment of this object⁴ I cannot entertain the idea of your leave. 371.

It must not be forgotten that it is by no means improbable that this same good intention may be the cause of the salvation of that faithful king from the fire (of hell) although he fell into the fire,⁵ in the Day of Beckoning, for the Almighty, may He be glorified and exalted, is satisfied with little and very bountiful, and the story of 'Amr ibn al-Laiṣ⁶ [who for all his vast army and equipment, which gave him the pre-eminence over all kings of 'Irāq, in the four quarters of the globe, was always regretful because he had not been present at the slaughter of Imām Husain, may God Most High be pleased with him, so that he might have smitten and destroyed the⁷ followers of Yazid,⁸ and of his having a vision in which he was walking in the gardens of Paradise] is well known, say, every man acts after his own manner,⁹ that is after his own desire.

Verse.

My brother thou art all desire, naught else;
All the rest of thee is but bone and fibre.
If a rose is thy desire, thou art a rose garden,
If a furnace is thy desire, thou art its fuel.¹⁰

MS. (A). *أنتي باري* 1.

¹ We should probably read here *معلوم* for *معلوم*.

² MS. (A) reads *أو* for *أو*.

³ MS. (A) reads *عرض*.

⁴ See next page for the account of Shīr Shāh's accident at the siege of Kālinjar.

⁵ See Ibn Khalliqān (Do Slane) IV. pp. 501 et seqq.

⁶ MS. (A) (B) omit *يليه*.

⁷ Yazid, the son of Mu'awiyah, the second Khalifah of the house of Umayyad. He is celebrated in Muslim history as the opponent of Husain who was killed at Karbalā A.H. 61, see Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*.

⁸ See Qur'an XVII, 86.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads *فأنت* for *فأنت*. MS. (B) reads *فأنت*.

And in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.) Shir Shāh invested the fortreas of Kālinjar, which is one of the strongest and most famous of the forts of Hindūstān, and with great energy and skill in a short time prepared galleries, and used to make daily attacks upon the bastions;¹ and by the time that the galleries had advanced near to the walls of the fort, and the mines were ready, attacking on all four sides he made the condition of the garrison very precarious. Shir Shāh from the position where he was standing, gave orders to hurl grenades filled with gunpowder 2. into the fort. This they did, and by chance one of those grenades struck the wall of the fort, and recoiling with great force exploded. Its fragments fell among the other grenades, which exploded, burning Shir Shāh severely from head to foot. And inasmuch as he was badly scorched,³ and Shaikh Khalil the son of his spiritual guide, and the learned Manlānā Nāzimu-d-Din⁴ also were fellow-sufferers with Shir Shāh in this explosion,⁵ Shir Shāh as he ran using his hands to cover his nakedness,⁶ took refuge in a tent which they had pitched for him in (front of) a bastion,⁶ where he lay unconscious. Whenever he recovered consciousness a little⁷ he shouted to his men encouraging them⁸ to seize the fort, and if any one came to see him he signed to him to go and fight, so that in his absence the Amīra⁹ in command in the trenches worked harder than if he had been present, and

¹ The text reads here مورچلہا with a footnote variant مورچہا. MS. (B) reads مورچہا. MS. (A) however has a totally different reading مليارہا for which I can see no meaning, but we should probably read مورچلہا "bastions" which would be consonant with both the text and MSS (A) and (B). This supposition is the more probable as some lines further on we have MS. (B) reading مورچل, MS. (A) مورچل, and the text مورچل. See note 6.

² فولما Fulma The meaning of this word is given in Faḡlu-llāh Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary as Chīze ki māye ān kanda bāghad, that which has lost its hair

³ MS (A) reads مولانا ناظم.

⁴ MS. (B) reads دربین موزش و شورش.

⁵ Both MSS (A) (B) read ہردو دست پی و پیش گرفته. This is a common expression to denote utter wretchedness and poverty.

⁶ The text reads مورچل. MS. (A) مورچل MS (B) مورچل, see ante n. 1.

⁷ MS (A) مورچل

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read here فریاد زده مردم را الخ

⁹ MS (A) امری

behaved with the utmost gallantry, and coming to close quarters with the garrison, brought matters to a fight with knife and dagger and did full justice to the demands of endeavour and manliness. The writer heard a story from a most trustworthy source, that on that eventful day of assault, in which the deeds of every individual assailant were conspicuous, and the standards and faces could be easily distinguished one from another,¹ I saw, said he, a soldier armed *cap-a-pie*, who had not previously been seen nor was ever after seen, clothed from head to foot in black, wearing a plume² of the same colour upon his head,³ and urging and encouraging our men in the battle. Then he entered one of the galleries and made his way into the fort. I searched for him everywhere after the battle, but in vain, I could find no trace of him.⁴ The men in the other trenches also gave the same account, saying, we saw several horsemen wearing these clothes who kept advancing in front of us till they entered the fort and vanished.

Verse.

If thou hadst not been on the side of religious law, Heaven 373.
itself would have girt its loins,
If thou hadst⁵ been on the side of the faith, the Gemini
would have ungirt their sword.

A report became current that, in that battle, certain men from the invisible world had come to the aid of the Muslims. And Shīr Shāh suffering and distressed as he was, from time to time enquired for tidings of victory. The air was terribly hot, and although they sprinkled him constantly with sandal and rose-water, it was utterly useless⁶ to relieve the scorching heat whose intensity increased hour by hour.

¹ The text reads *وعلامات وصورته از یک دیگر ممتاز بود* MS. (A) reads for *صورته* - *موزن* MS. (B) reads *موزن* The reading of the text is adopted.

² Fazla-shāh Khān gives a word *يالاور* *Fāḡāz* in the meaning of *علم* *alam*, a standard or ensign.

³ MSS. (A) (B) agree with the footnote variant *يلو بهمان رنگ* omitting the words *ملبوس و علامه* found in the text.

⁴ MS. (A) *جستيم نيافتيم*.

⁵ In the first line MSS. (A) (B) read *نه* for *نر* (Text) In the second line MS. (A) reads *نه* for *نر* (Text).

⁶ The text reads *فايده نر التهاب اجل نداشت* MS. (B) reads *آل* for *اجل* but the correct reading appears to be *اجل نداشت* MS. (A).

Verso.

A breast which is consumed by the fire of separation
Sandal¹ can afford it no relief.

At the very moment of hearing the good tidings of victory he
yielded up his life² to the Lord, the Giver of life, the Receiver
of life. The following stanza was written to record the date of
his death:—

Shir Shāh, he in dread of whom
The lion and the goat drank at the same source
Left the world; the wise sage pronounced
The date of his death. Zi ātash mard³ (he died from the
effects of fire).

His corpse was taken to Sabarām where was the burial-place
of his fathers, and there buried. The period of his military
command was fifteen years, and of his Sulṭānate five years.

It is said that on one occasion when he was looking in a
mirror, he exclaimed, "Alas! that I obtained my kingdom at the
time of evening prayer."⁴

¹ ساندل Santalum album. Useful in headache, Bontheimer II, 138. There
are three kinds according to the Maḥṣanu-l-adwiyah. The white sandal
called in Hindī Ohandan; the yellow sandal called in Hindī Malāgir; the red
sandal called in Hindī Rokāt Ohandan. This latter is the wood of *Pterocarpus*
santalinus (Red sanders). It is generally called Debi Ohandan, it is used,
not for headache, but after being offered at the shrine of Kālī is used to
mark the forehead of the worshipper. The others both Ohandan and
Malayāgir (so called because it comes from Malayālam or Malabar) are used
as a powder mixed into a paste with water to apply to the forehead as a cure
for headache. They are also used in pāś or worship by the Hindūs, who have
a saying

Ohandan, dhūp, dīp, malayāgir
Fram sahit Thākur malakrān.

With (gifts of) Ohandan, frankincense, lamps, and malayāgir
I will lovingly bathe the Thākur (Lord).

² Omit عاریتمی MS. (A).

³ ز آتش مرد. These letters give the date 933 H. This date is given in
figures in both MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ That is to say so late in life. Firights says: Whenever he looked in the
glass and saw his white beard, he used to say, "It was near evening before
I attained to empire."

MSS. (A) (B) writes عاریتمی MS. (A)

My heart! like Khizr¹ take and drink the water of life,
Like Sikandar come and conquer land and sea.
If thou entertainest any longing for the cup-bearer and wine,
Take the cup of Kanṣar² from the hand of the Hūrī³ and
drink.

The fame of thy greatness and glory and majesty
Has reached the Koh-i-qāf, go thither and hear its tale. 874

If thou art sitting, for instance, on the throne of Solomon,
One day like the ant creep into the recess of a cave and hide
there;

Two or three days like the spider, spin in the deserted corner
of the world the strands of desire and take thy place there.

Every beautiful-faced one,⁴ whose beauty is unapproachable
With that one, to thy heart's content,⁵ take thy delight.

This world is a dream in the opinion of the wise,

Do thou at last see this dream and take it.

Thy life, O Qādiri, is as a fairy-tale of enchantment,

Thou hast heard the tale, take the spell of enchantment

When the hand of Death tears⁶ the sleeve of thy existence

Raise thy hand, and seize the skirt of the true Friend (God).

ISLEM SHĀH ISNĀ SHĀH SŪR,⁷

Who is Islem Khān. on the fifteenth of the month Rabi'ū-i-Awwal in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.), acting upon the summons of the Amīr⁸ of Bhatta came by forced marches from the neighbourhood of Patna,⁹ and by the co-operation of 'Isā Khān Hajjāb and the other men of influence and power,¹⁰ succeeded¹¹ to the imperial throne in room of his father, with the title of Islem

¹ Al-Khizr. See Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, p. 272.

² Qur'ān cviii. 1-3 See Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

³ The women of Paradise. Qur'ān lv. 46-72.

⁴ MS. (A) reads بر خور برور for بر خور برور.

⁵ MS. (B) برادی دل footnote variant برادی دل.

⁶ (Text) MS. (A) MS. (B) reads در.

⁷ MS. (A) omits سور.

⁸ A footnote variant امیرای بیه با یلغار. MS. (B)

⁹ MS. (A) بیه Bhatta.

۱۰ دل حل و عقد ۱۰

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) read گشت for گشت (Text).

Shāh, and the son of Mulla Ahmed Junaid,¹ who is well known,² found this verse of the sacred word:³ "And already we have written in the Psalms, after the admonition that 'the earth shall my righteous servants inherit,'"⁴ to give the date of his accession. He wrote a despatch to his elder brother 'Adil Khān and sent it to him in Ranthambūr, of which the following is the substance. "Although the succession was really your right, still as you were at so great a distance there was a danger, nay a certainty of the occurrence of disturbances here before you could arrive. Accordingly with a view to keep down insurrections, I will take charge of the army for a few days as your deputy, and after you arrive I shall have no alternative but to submit to and obey you." Leaving Kālinjar he made for⁵ Agra and in the vicinity of the township of Kūra Khātampūr,⁶ Khawāss Khān arrived from Sihrind which was his jāegir, and yielded a forced allegiance, because he was more inclined to favour the accession of 'Adil Khān as compared with Islem Shāh; a splendid banquet was held and he was anew placed on the throne. Afterwards when fresh despatches from Islem Shāh reached 'Adil Khān, he referred the question of his coming to the following four persons upon whose advice and opinion as to its expediency he made his action dependent: Qutb Khān Nāib, 'Isā Khān Niyāzī, Khawāss Khān, and Jalāl Khān Jilwānī,⁷ all of whom were great Amirs, men of eminence belonging to his family. Islem Shāh sent this body of men to him bearing an agreement by which he undertook to allow 'Adil Khān to depart to his jāegir after the first interview, and to deliver to his control any place in Hindūstān which he might select. 'Adil Khān acting upon the advice of these Amirs proceeded from the neighbourhood of Ranthambūr to Fathpūr,

¹ MSS (A) (B) جند Jund.

² MS. (B) omits مشهور.

³ Supply ل MS. (A) See Qur'ān xxi, 105.

⁴ Psalm xxxvii, 29. "The righteous shall inherit the land and dwell therein for ever."

The date is given by the words من بعد الذكر i.e., that which follows الذكر. The value of الذكر being 851, that which follows is 852 H.

⁵ MSS (A) (B) عازم آگره شد.

⁶ Kora (Corah) Town in Fathpur district, N.-W. P., on the old Mughul Road from Agra to Allahabad. See Tieff, Vol I, p 235 and map, Vol, III See also Hunter, Imp' Gaz. viii, p 295.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) چلو Jalā

otherwise called Sikri, and Islem Shāh¹ left Agra and came to Shikārpūr,² where the royal palace is at present, to receive him; and when they met they first fulfilled the duties of condolence, and evinced great cordiality, and after a short time set out together for Agra. Islem Shāh had plotted treachery against 'Adil Khān, and had consequently made a stipulation that not more than two or three persons should be left in the fort with 'Adil Khān. This however was not carried out, and a large body of followers accompanied him; accordingly Islem Shāh was constrained, in order to avoid suspicion, to treat 'Adil Khān with extraordinary³ fawning and flattery, saying "I have taken care of these unruly⁴ Afghans so far by artful means,⁵ now I make them over to you."

Verte.

Subject the intoxicated and riotous one to the warning glance of the cup-bearer.⁶

Having placed him upon the throne he himself assumed an attitude of submission and obedience, and from motives of worldly wisdom was most punctilious in the observance of courtesy.⁷ Although 'Adil Khān was in the flower of his youth, and of great bodily strength (many well-known tales of his strength are told), nevertheless, since he was fond of ease, and was well aware of the craft and subtlety of Islem Shāh and his⁸ ways of dealing, would not agree to that procedure, rose to his feet, and seating Islem Shāh on the throne again with all honour and ceremony,⁹ swore allegiance to him, and offered him congratulations upon his accession, with the customary offerings¹⁰ and oblations. Islem Shāh, in accordance with the compact which had been made,¹¹ sent 'Iss Khān and Khawāss Khān to accompany 'Adil Khān, and having confirmed Baiāna to him as a jāegīr, permitted him to proceed thither. Two months later he appointed Ghāzi Mahallī, who was one of his confidential attendants, to go and arrest 'Adil Khān.

¹ Omit. MS. (B).

² MS. (A) سنکاپور Sankāpūr.

³ MS. (A) بی سر.

⁴ From Hāfiz. See ode commencing بلطائف السجیل Diwānī-Hāfiz. Nowa Kishore Press, p. 308.

⁵ MS. (A) reads ملازمیت.

⁶ Read بهرامی تعظیم MSS. (A) (B).

⁷ MS. (B) omits بود.

⁸ MS. (A) reads فرق السبق.

⁹ MS. (A) ما سر خوشیم.

¹⁰ MS. (A) بلطائف السجیل.

¹¹ MS. (B) supplies او.

¹² MS. (A) و تبار کرد و ایثار واقع شد.

'Adil Khān, however, heard of this, and fled from Baiāna taking refuge with Khawāṣṣ Khān in Miwēt. Khawāṣṣ Khān then summoned Ghāzi Mahalli, and bound him with that same golden chain which he had brought for 'Adil Khān and having gained over to his side all the Amīrs, set out for Āgra with a large army. Qutb Khān and 'Isā Khān also, who were two of the chief nobles of the State,² with whose concurrence the compact³ had been made, were annoyed at this breach of faith on the part of Islem Shāh,⁴ and with great management summoned 'Adil Khān at a time agreed upon, namely at day break after the *Shab-i-barāt*,⁵ so that they might own allegiance to him. It so chanced that 'Adil Khān and Khawāṣṣ Khān, having arrived at Sikri on the *Shab-i-barāt*,⁶ spent that night as a vigil in the service of Shaikh Salim Chishtī, in voluntary prayers⁷ and benedictions, so that their departure for Āgra was delayed long past the time agreed upon, and it was breakfast time⁸ when they reached the outskirts of Āgra. Islem Shāh who was alarmed,⁹ spoke very courteously to Qutb Khān and the rest of the Amīrs, and permitted them to go and present themselves before 'Adil Khān. His¹⁰ object was to get rid of his opponents. and that very instant to start alone¹¹

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read *عامۃ امرا*.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit *امرا*.

³ MS (A) *قول وقرار*

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read *و نسیبہ* instead of *بواسطۃ الخ*

⁵ The fifteenth day of *Shabān*. A day of great rejoicing among Muhammadans. Muhammad ordered his followers to keep vigil during this night, to repeat a hundred prayers and keep the next day as a fast day. See Hughes, *Dict of Islam*

Briggs in his translation of *Fariḥtā* says, "as it was the night of the Koorban festival," and in a footnote says, "this fast is kept in commemoration of the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham." The translator however is at fault here, as the original says *شب براءۃ یون* (Bo Text, p 481) and means much as it was the *Shab-i-barāt*

⁶ MS (A) in error *شب بر آب*.

⁷ *نوافل و ادعیہ* *Nawāfil wa ad'iyah* *Nawāfil* are voluntary prayers which may be omitted without sin, as distinguished from *Farṣ* which are prayers enjoined by God, and from *Sunnah*, prayers founded on the practice of the Prophet

See Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, art Prayer.

⁸ *چاشتگاہی* *Chashtgāhe* MSS. (A) (B). *منظر گشتہ*

⁹ MS. (A) omits *و* and also *را* after *مشالان*.

¹⁰ Insert *تنبہ* after *صامت*. MSS (A) (B) instead of as in the text

for the fortress of Chunār, seize the treasure which was there, and after collecting the necessary equipment for an army to return and again engage in war. 'Isā Khān Hajjāb warned him of the folly and absurdity of this project, and prevented him from sending his Amīrs to his enemy and from starting for Chunār. Eventually Islem Shāh, accompanied by a party of his own bodyguard, and two or three thousand old and trusty retainers, left Āgra with all haste and came out in force to fight, first recalling those Amīrs¹ whom he had sent,² saying "I am by no means confident that 'Ādil Khān will not deal treacherously with you; you had better return quickly and rejoin me, because the question between³ him and me can only be settled by the sword."

Verse.

In this case messengers and despatches can avail nothing,
The two-edged sword will make this matter clear.⁴

The Amīrs, however, who were friendly to 'Ādil Khān, on seeing Islem Shāh take the field, refused⁵ to return to his side and entreated the ranks of the more powerful army; a severe battle ensued before Āgra, and 'Ādil Khān was defeated⁶ and fled alone toward Bhattā.⁷ Khawāṣṣ Khān and 'Isā Khān Niyāzī, who had a strong regard and unbounded loyalty for each other, took the road to Miwāt and the township of Fīrūzpūr, engaged the force which had been sent in pursuit of them, and overcame it; but eventually, not having power to resist the army of Islem Shāh, proceeded to the hills to the north of Hindūstān, which⁸ are called (the) Kumāon (hills), and took refuge with the Rājās of that district. Qutb Khān Nāib, having been appointed to attack them, kept continually ravaging the country at the foot of the hills. In the meantime Islem Shāh proceeded to Chunhār, and sent the treasure which was there to Gwāliūr, and on his return, when he reached the township of Kūrah Khāṭampūr, while engaged in playing *changūn* with Jalāl Khān Jilwānī,⁹ who was one of the married Amīrs of the Afghāns, and had been¹⁰ an adherent

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¹ MS. (A) *امیران*. ² Omit *فرستاد و* MS. (B). ³ MS. (B) omits *میان*.

⁴ This order of the hemistichs is given in MS. (A).

⁵ MS. (A) *باز ماند*.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) *شکست یافتاد*.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit *رفت و*.

⁸ MS. (A) omits *یا*.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) *چلو*.

¹⁰ MS. (A) *بود*.

of Adil Khān, and a great object of suspicion to Islem Shāh, by some treacherous device persuaded him to come to his camp, and cast him into chains together with his brother Khudādād, making them over to an Afghān who had a blood feud with them, and having put them to death under the cloke of vengeance, proceeded to Āgra, [and from thence to Gwāliār which he had made his capital],¹ and setting himself to slay and eradicate a party who were favourable to 'Adil Khān, girded up his loins in enmity against them, and swept them one by one from the board of the world like so many pieces in the game of draughts or chess. Qutb Khān also took fright, and fled from the foot of the Kumāon hills to Lahore, taking refuge with Haibat Khān, to whom Shīr Shāh had given the title of A'zam Humāyūn. Haibat Khān in obedience to a summons from² Islem Shāh, sent Qutb Khān in chains to him. Islem Shāh sent him together with Shāhbāz Khān Lūhānī,³ who was brother-in-law to Shīr Shāh,⁴ and Barmazid Kor who was the *Dajjāl*⁵ of that sect, and the Hajjaj⁶ of his age, and thirteen or fourteen other Amīrs⁷ and Amīrs' sons, to the fortress of Gwāliār, where most of them quitted the body in imprisonment.⁸

[Among them was Maḥmūd Khān, son of 'Adil Khān, who in his seventh year had counselled Shīr Shāh to throw up a rampart of sand, in consequence of which Shīr Shāh had made him his heir-apparent, as has been related. Another was Kawāl Khān Ghakkar who will be mentioned shortly]⁹

And in this year Salīm Shāh summoned A'zam Humāyūn from

¹ Not in MSS. (A) (B). ² بموجب طلب. ³ MS. (B).

⁴ Firishṭa says که شوهر خواهر سلیم شاه بود و بر مزید کور و چند کسی دیگر who was sister's husband to Salīm Shāh, with Barmazid Kor and some others. Bo. Text, 433.

Briggs translates this, "the king's brother-in-law, who was deprived of his sight," mistaking Barmazid Kor. (Briggs II, 132.)

⁵ دجال *Dajjāl*. The *Maṣīḥ-d-dajjāl* or lying Christ, the last of the impostors whose appearance was predicted by Muḥammad.

⁶ See ante, p. 12 n. 1. ⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit نامی.

⁸ The text reads بداری تفنگ by gunpowder. MSS. (A) (B) omit these words.

⁹ This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a footnote to the text states that it is found in one MS.

Lāhor, but he advanced some excuse¹ for not coming in person, and sent Sa'id Khān his brother, who was renowned for courage and sound judgment.² Islem Shāh received him with the utmost show of favour, and made much of him, advancing him to the highest place of intimacy, but inwardly cherished the intention of putting an end to him; at last one day, having summoned him to a private interview within the palace, he shewed him the heads of the Amirs who had been immured alive in the walls, for instance Zain Khān Niyāzi³ and the others, saying: Do you recognize these persons, who they are? He mentioned the names of some whom he recognized. Previously to this he had thrown the abovementioned Amirs, men of ability, into a chamber in Gwālār, and setting fire to it with gunpowder had burned them all except Kawāl Khān Ghakkar, who remained under the protection of the All-cherisher safe in a corner of the room.⁴ [It is said that the following was the reason of his escaping; the sister of Kawāl Khān, who had been united by marriage to Islem Shāh, became aware of the conference and sent word to her brother, saying: This very night they intend to blow up the prisoners with gunpowder. She also sent from inside (the palace) four quilts stuffed with cotton, and several skins of water. Kawāl Khān poured quantities of water upon the quilts, and under pretence of taking a bath betook himself into a corner, apart from his friends, and rolling himself up in the quilts had gone to sleep when they set fire to the room, and all were burned to ashes, but he alone remained alive beneath the quilt. In the morning Islem Shāh came to inspect that prison house, and seeing Kawāl Khān alive said: It is right for me to release you seeing that fire had no power over you].⁵ Then Islem Shāh having made him⁷ take an oath that he would never again oppose him, released him, and appointed him to assist the Governor of the Panjāb to conquer the country of the Ghak-kars [where he arrived with all honour].⁸ In short Sa'id Khān, who had been a witness of this sudden death, gave orders in obedience

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¹ MS. (A) عذر.

² MS. (B) reads فتانت مقات.

³ MS. (A) omits نيازي.

⁴ MS. (A) omits آن.

⁵ MSS (A) (B) read simply در گوشه خانه.

⁶ This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) A footnote to the text states that it is found in one MS.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit او.

⁸ Not in MSS (A) (B)

to which post horses were tied up along the road to Lāhor, so that he travelled the distance between Āgra and Lāhor within three nights. Day by day the scale turned more and more in favour of the Niyāzī faction, and Ā'zam Humāyūn read the *Khutbah* in his own name in Lāhor. Islem Shāh returned from that same camp and came to Āgra, and summoning a vast army from all sides marched for the Panjāb. Sazāwal Khān came from Mālwa to join this movement, and was received very graciously, and after bringing forward certain important matters took leave, while Islem Shāh, after halting for a few days in Dillī and ordering his army, set out for Lāhor.¹ Ā'zam Humāyūn and Khawāss Khān, and 'Isā Khān² Niyāzī as well, (who had come down from the hill country to join him), came from the Panjāb with armies strong as the hills to receive Islem Shāh. In the early part of the³ winter time a fierce battle was fought in front of⁴ the township of Ambāla, and on the evening preceding the day on which the battle was to be fought, Ā'zam Khān had asked Khawāss Khān. After the victory who will be selected as the successor to the throne? He answered: It may be that it will be 'Adil Khān who is the eldest son of Shīr Shāh⁵ and is really fit to rule. It appears that the Niyāzī faction said,⁶ The kingdom is not by inheritance, but He who conquers, takes the booty.⁷ It is a foregone conclusion, what sense is there in this that we should strike with the sword and the kingdom should come to others.

Khawāss Khān, who was heart and soul attached to the cause of Shīr Shāh, was displeased at this claim of theirs, consequently when the battle began to rage, he refused to fight,⁸ and standing aloof left the battle field together with 'Isā Khān Niyāzī. The Niyāzī faction fought right manfully, without yielding a foot of ground, and were near carrying away the centre⁹ of Islem Shāh's

¹ MS. (A) reads و.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit *میان* ^۲ *میس* a footnote to the text states that the words are in one MS

³ MSS. (A) (B) read only *در ایام زمستان* In the winter time.

⁴ *دو کا مورو* MS. (A).

⁵ MS. (A) supplies *باشد*.

⁶ *نیزایان گفتند باشند*.

⁷ *من غلبه سالابه* *man ghalaba salaba*.

⁸ The text reads *جنگ ها کرده* but this is manifestly wrong, and the reading should be *جنگ با کرده* as in MS. (A) (B).

⁹ MS. (A) omits *قالب*.

army, but in the end¹ pluck told,² and their efforts were of no avail.

Verse.

Thy wound which utters presage of thy death
When it feels thy salt closes its lips.

And Sa'id Khān, the elder brother of Ā'zam Humāyūn, attended by a body of men fully armed and equipped, disguised in such a way that no one would know him, came in under the pretext of offering congratulations, with the intention of putting an end to Islam Shāh, and with that object asked repeatedly, where is the Padshāh that I may offer him my congratulations on his victory. An elephant-driver of one of those elephants which had surrounded Islam Shāh recognised the voice of Sa'id Khān, and struck a blow at him with his spear, but he³ made his way in safety through the crowd of elephants, great as it was,⁴ and failed in his purpose made his escape; the Niyāzi faction fled and came to Dhankot,⁵ which is near Roh,⁶ and the remainder were plundered by the Kawārs, while some were drowned in the nullahs of Ambāla. Islam Shāh pursued as far as Western Bohās, and despatched Khwāja Wais⁷ Sirwānī with a large army to oppose the Niyāzis, and returned towards Agra. Leaving Agra he went⁸ to Gwāliār, and made it his capital.⁹ When Khawāss Khān and 'Isā Khān Niyāzī, who had made common cause, left the battle field, 'Isā Khān went to the hill country,¹⁰ [while Khawāss Khān with five or six hundred cavalry¹¹ fled to Jāhor]; [and (Islam Khān)¹² Islam Shāh appointed Shams Khān

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¹ MS. (B) reads آخر for غایت.

² نیک کار خود کرد. The word 'pluck' seems the best equivalent for the Persian نیک nimak which means literally salt, and secondarily spirit, courage.

It may also mean however that Islam Shāh's men were 'true to their Salt.'

³ The text reads here which quite loses the sense. Read او MS. (B).

⁴ Omit حلقه فیلان MSS. (A) (B). ⁵ MS. (A) دھانکوت Dhankot.

⁶ MS. (A) روه Roh. ⁷ MS. (A) اویسی Aicis.

⁸ MS. (A) رفته MS. (B) رفت. ⁹ MSS. (A) (B) آن را پای تخت ساخت.

¹⁰ We should follow the text here. MS. (A) omits the words خان پداسخ

and goes on به دامن کوه در آمدن. omitting the passage in square brackets which follows.

¹¹ MS. (B) کسی. ¹² MS. (A) اسلام شاه.

Lūhānī as Governor of Lāhor; and at a time when Shams Khān had come out for some undertaking¹ to a distance of thirty *krohs* from Lāhor, Khawāss Khān,² with three³ or four hundred cavalry, each individual man of whom could have withstood an army, advanced with the idea of taking Lāhor, and encamped⁴ in the grove of Kāmraṇ Mūza. The inhabitants of Lāhor shutting themselves up in the fort held the city till the arrival of Shams Khān, and Khawāss Khān, having cut down the lofty trees⁵ of Safīdār and Chinār⁶ of that grove, had set about making *Sōḡūr*⁷ and ladders, when⁸ his cavalry brought news that Rāi Husain Jilwānī and other Amīrs of Salīm Shāh's party with an army of thirty thousand cavalry had arrived in the neighbourhood of Lāhor. Khawāss Khān, after a conference with 'Isā Khān, abandoned the siege, and went out some five or six *krohs* to meet (his enemy), and with five hundred veteran cavalry well tried in war hurled himself against that wall of steel. Rāi Husain said to his men, leave the way open so⁹ that this black calamity may pass through our midst. Accordingly¹⁰ he made a breach in the line of Salīm Shāh's army, and attacked them again from the rear and threw them into confusion. At this juncture he received a wound in the knee which bore him from his horse to the ground, but his opponents had not sufficient enterprise to come up to him and take him prisoner, and he was openly borne off the field upon a *charpoy*.¹¹

¹ MS. (A) بیعت میبوی.

² MS. (A) سردار. ³ MS. (A) سیصد. ⁴ MS. (A) فرود آمدند.

⁵ MS. (A) درختهای.

⁶ The *Safedār*. سفیدار is the white Poplar or Abale. The *Chinār* has been already mentioned.

⁷ MS. (A) ساطور. This word is not given in any of the dictionaries. The only word I can conjecture it may possibly be meant for is the *Tarkī* سائر *Sātē*, which means the roof of a house (P. de O.) in which case it would have a meaning of a shelter under which to approach the walls, like the Roman *Vinea*, which consisted of a roof resting upon posts eight feet in height, made sufficiently light to admit of its being carried by the soldiers. The roof was formed of planks and wicker work.

⁸ MS. (A) که سواران. ⁹ MS. (A) reads که راه دهند.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads از میان بدرورد و.

¹¹ I have retained this word in its English dress as being one so familiar to all who know India. The چارپای *chahār pāi* is simply an oblong wooden frame on four legs (as its name implies) fitted with a bottom of string, matting

Rai Hainsin forbade his men to give pursuit, and Khawāss Khān went off in safety towards Nagarkot]¹ whence he proceeded to the foot of the Kumāon hills. The final issue of his affairs will be related shortly² in its own place if God, *He is exalted*, so will it. The Niyāzi faction set their hearts upon the government of Kashmir, but by the craft of the Kashmiris were enticed into bye-ways, and eventually reached their rest in the corner of destruction, as will be mentioned, if God, *He is exalted*, so will it.

And in the year 954 H. (1547 A.D.) an Afghān named Usmān, whose hand Sazāwal Khān had cut off for some reason, one day laid an ambush in Āgra, and at the entrance to a road aimed a blow at Sazāwal Khān and wounded him. Sazāwal Khān went to the camp, and represented that this attack had been made at the instance of Salim Shāh, he then took his way to Mālwa. Islem Shāh pursued him as far as Bānswāla, but seeing that Sazāwal Khān was hidden among the Zamindārs of Surūr,³ Salim Shāh left Isa Khān Sūr with twenty thousand cavalry in Ujjain, and reached the capital. In the early part of his reign 384. Islem Shāh detailed five thousand cavalry for the chief *sarkārs* of Hindūstān. Among them Mubāriz Khān, the son of Nizām Khān⁴ Sūr, who was the cousin and wife's brother of Islem Shāh, and eventually received the title of Muḥammad 'Adīlī, was appointed as a commander of twenty thousand to the vicinity of Ajāwan in the Sarkār of Sanbal, in order that Khawāss Khān and the other Amīrs might not be able to raise disturbances in that province, and he appointed as his deputy Pābandh Khazak.⁵ He had also given orders at the beginning of his reign, that between every two resthouses built by Shir Shāh, which were at intervals of one *kroḥ*, another rest-house of the same pattern should be built, with a temple, and a dwelling-place, and a conduit for water, and that a butlery and kitchen containing food both cooked and uncooked, for the use of travellers,⁶ both Hindū and Musulmān, should be

or a broad tape called *nīwār*, in common use as a bedstead, and everywhere known as a *charpoy*. See Yule and Burnell, Glossary, s. v.

¹ The portion included in double square brackets is omitted from MS. (B)

² MS. (A) مذکور کردہ خواہند شدہ. ³ Footnote variant سرور Sarūd.

⁴ MS. (A) writes نظام خان سور.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read خزک Khazak as in footnote variant. The text reads خبرک Khabrak.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) supply مسافر.

always open. Among other commands of his was this, that the *madad-i-ma'ash*¹ and *aimah* grants of the whole of the protected² provinces of Hindūstān which Shīr Shāh had given, and the rest-houses which he had furnished, and the pleasure-gardens he had laid out,³ should remain just as they were, and should not be altered in the slightest degree. Another order was, that all the *Pāṭāṣ*⁴ should be taken by force from those Amīrs who kept *Akhāras* (these are well known in Hindūstān). He also seized⁵ the elephants in the same manner, and did not leave in the possession of any one any but a wretched female elephant fit only for carrying baggage, and gave⁶ orders that the red tent was confined solely to his own use. Another order was this, that he brought the whole country under his own personal control,⁷ and in accordance with the regulations and custom of the *dāghī* system⁸ which Shīr Shāh had instituted, the soldiery were paid in cash. A further step was to send written orders to all the *Sarkārs* containing comprehensive instructions on all important points of religion, and all political and civil questions,⁹ entering into the minutest essential detail,¹⁰ and dealing with all regulations which might be of service to the soldiery and civil population, to the merchants and other various classes, and which the authorities were bound to follow in their jurisdiction.

All these points were written in these documents whether agreeable to the religious law or not,¹¹ so that there was no necessity to refer any such matters¹² to the *Qāzī* or *Muftī*, nor was it proper to do so.¹³

¹ See *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann) I, 268, 272, regarding the tenures of land called respectively *madad-i-ma'ash* and *aimah*.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit *ممالک*.

³ MSS. (A) (B) *مراختة بودند*. ⁴ Dancing girls, see ante, p. 260 (Text) n. 6.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) omit *گرفت*. ⁶ MS. (A) *کرد*.

⁷ *خامه خود ساخت* MS. (A)

⁸ See *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann) I, 242. Under the *dāghī* system every Amīr began as a commander of twenty, and when he brought his full complement of twenty horses to be branded (*dāgh* signifies a brand), he was to be promoted to the next higher grade, and so on.

⁹ MS. (A) omits the words *و معاملات*. MS. (B) omits *مهمات*.

¹⁰ *نقیر و قطمیر ضروری* *Naqir o qatmīr-i-ẓarūrī*. *Naqir* means the small groove on the date stone, *qatmīr* is the thin pellicle which covers the datestone.

¹¹ MS. (A) *خواه موافق نه*. ¹² MS. (A) *اجواب*. ¹³ MS. (A) *بایستی کرد*.

Also the Amirs of five thousand, ten thousand, and twenty thousand, used every Friday to pitch a lofty tent supported by eight poles,¹ and bring the shoes of Salim Shāh together with a quiver which he had given to the serdārs² in front of the throne; and first of all the commander of the troops, and after him the *Munsif*, that is to say, the Chief Commissioner (*Amīn*) followed by the others in due precedence, with bowed heads and every expression of respect would take their seats in their appointed places. Then a Secretary would come and read aloud that order, chapter and verse, which occupied eighty sheets of paper more or less. Any question which presented any difficulty was referred by them in conclave to the various provisions and rulings of that document, by which it was finally decided, and if it should so happen that any Amir acted in contravention of that order, the Secretary used to write a report of that action and despatch it to the Court, and the disobedient Amir would forthwith be visited with punishment together with his family and relations. This procedure remained in force to the end of the reign of Islem Shāh. The writer of this *Muntakhab*, in the year 955 H. (1548 A.D.), when he was of tender age, went to the country of Bajwāra, one of the dependencies of Bāḥāna, with the army of Farid Tāran, Commander of five thousand, in the company of his maternal grandfather, on him be the mercy of God, and witnessed these customs and rules of practice. And in the year 954 H. or in 955 H., God knows which, Khwāja Wasī Sirwānī, who had been commissioned to proceed against A'zam Humāyūn³ fought a battle with the Niyāzis in the

¹ This is a conjecture. I have failed to find the word *سورخه* *Surgha* in any dictionary. It sounds like a Turkī word. There is a word in the Turkī language *سورخه* *Sūghma* or *سورقه* *Sūghma* (Fazl-llāh Khān) meaning pillar, colonne (P. de C) and. It is quite possible that in copying the word, has been written for *س* and the *ف* omitted by oversight. We should then have *سورقه* as in the text and MSS. The meaning is reasonable: eight-poled *shēmīznāz* being very commonly used.

² MS. (A) has a different reading to the text here.. It reads *بر کشتی که بر دادر داد* upon a tray which he had given to the Serdar, instead of *با ترکشی که بر داران داد*.

³ MS. (B) omits the words from *همایون* to *تلمود*, the copyist having mistaken his place after the first occurrence of the name A'zam Humāyūn.

vicinity of Dhankot,¹ and was defeated. A'zam Humāyūn] having taken a strong force pursued him as far as Sīhrind. Islem Shāh sent a large army against the rebels, and at last they fought another battle in the same country, and on this occasion also the Niyāzis suffered defeat, and some of their women were captured and sent to Gwālīār. Islem Shāh dishonoured them, and made over to the harlots in his camp the banners and tents and all the tokens of dignity of the Niyāzis who had fallen into his hands, and naming one Sa'id Khān, and another A'zam² Humāyūn, and a third Shāhbāz Khān, in this way he distributed titles. Moreover he gave them drums which they used to play at their doors, at the time of the *naubat*,³ and the prostitutes used to give themselves airs⁴ and used to say *Sag-i-falakam*.⁵ This class used to come every Thursday evening, in accordance with the custom of the harlots of Hindūstān, to pay their respects to Islem Shāh, and the heralds and chamberlains used to call out with a loud voice, O King! cast a gracious glance hither, for a certain Khān Niyāzī, and Bahmān Khān are here to invoke blessings on thee. This used to annoy the Afghāns who were all of one tribe and of one mind, so that an intense disgust for him had sprung up in their hearts. Some assert that his conferring the titles of the Niyāzis and giving the ensigns and drums was on the first occasion.⁶ God knows the truth. And A'zam Humāyūn, who on the second occasion was defeated, was not able to gird himself again to war, and the Niyāzī party being scattered asunder grew daily weaker, and at first took refuge with the Ghakkars in the neighbourhood of Rohtās, making the hill country adjoining the Kashmīr territory their asylum. Islem Shāh, in order to remove the cause of the mischief, marched with a large army, and reaching the Panjāb took up a strong position in the northern hill range, and by way of guarding his head-quarter post built five
7. forts: viz., Mānkoṭ and Raḥidkoṭ and the others. For a space of

¹ MS (A) دھنکوب Dhankob.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit خان.

³ نوبت Naubat. Music which is played daily by the band appointed for the purpose at stated hours. See *Āin-i-Akharī* (B) I 51.

⁴ طبل علاء Footnote variant, also MSS. (A) (B) Text reads طبل علاء Tabl-i-ulā (nawākhtan). To beat the drum of self-conceit.

⁵ سگ فلکم Sag-i-Falakam. "I am the dog of the sky," a parodied expression taken from the astronomical *Shir-i-Jalak*, the constellation Leo.

⁶ On the occasion of their first defeat.

two years he kept the Afghāns¹ employed in carrying stone and lime, and had such a hatred of the whole tribe that he heaped² the dust of infamy and oppression on their heads. At this time he did not give them even the smallest coin³ by way of recompense. A party of them, however, who had obtained exemption from this labour,⁴ he detailed to oppose the Ghakkars, and they engaged in continuous warfare with them.

The Ghakkars in appearance like the tribe of 'Ād,⁵ daily fought with the Afghāns, and by night entered their camp like thieves, and used to carry off whomsoever they might find, woman or man, freed man or slave, and keep them in bonds with the utmost rigour, and sell them. The Afghāns⁶ dragged them in the dirt, and gave them the nickname of *Ruswāī* (disgraced), but no one had the power to represent this state of things to Islem Shāh till at last one day Shāh Muḥammad Fārmali,⁷ who was one of the most noted Amirs for wit and good-humour in Hindūstān, and was also a specially favoured and forward boon companion said, "My Lord the King! Last night I saw in a dream three bags descend from heaven, in one of which was dust, in another gold, and in the third⁸ paper. The dust fell upon the head of a soldier, the gold went to the house of the Hindū *daftari*,⁹ and the paper remained in the royal treasury." Islem Shāh was pleased with this speech, and promised that after his return to Gwāliār he would make his accountants draw up an account of the soldiers' pay, and pay them in gold. As it happened that order was never carried out, for in those same days death seized him by the collar.

Verse.

Attend to my wants to-day for that draught is of no avail
Which is given to Sohrāb after his death.

In the end, the affairs of the Niyāzis came to this, that when 388.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit دیونزاد.

² MS. (A) ریخته.

³ MS. (A) یک فلس و جیتل دداد Fak fals o jital na dād. The text reads فلسی *fulūs*. The *jital* is an imaginary division of the *dām*, used only for purposes of calculation. Its fictitious value is only the thousandth part of a rupee. *Āin-i-Albārī* (B) I. 31.

⁴ Read باعزود کرد تا MS. (A). MS. (B) باعزود کرده The text is wrong.

⁵ See Sale's Koran, p. 4

⁶ MSN (A) (B) خط بینی کشیدند

⁷ MS A قرتاعلی

⁸ MS (A) دیگری

⁹ A scribe, clerk

their strength¹ was broken, and they came into Kashmīr, the Kashmīrīs, who are² born traitors and deceivers, first of all invited the Niyāzīs from Hājūrī after inflaming them with spurious ambition for kingdom, and in the end their guides leading them astray³ brought the tribes of Kashmīr to oppose them, and at a hint from Islem Shāh held the head of the pass against them. The women even of the Niyāzīs in defence of their honour⁴ girded on quivers, (among them were the mother and wife of Ā'zam Humāyūn),⁵ and fighting with the Kashmīrīs were attacked by a hail of stones which literally covered them, and not a soul escaped. It is said that in the reign of Shīr Shāh a body of the Afghāns of the tribe of Sanbal invited the Niyāzīs to Dhanokot under treaty, and put two thousand of them to death in obedience to the orders of Shīr Shāh, putting their wives and children to the sword. Five years later the same thing happened to them,⁶ and in this house of retribution they received the reward of their deeds, hand for hand. And⁷ in these narrow passes they put all three brothers to the sword, sending their heads as an offering to Salīm Shāh. They also sent for him a girl from there. A part of this story has been elegantly told in the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*,⁸ the composition of which is ancient though its arrangement is modern; and at the time when Islem Shāh, had sent troops against the Ghakkars and the Jānoha party who were strongly entrenched on the banks of the river Behat, he himself was occupied in building the fortresses of Māngarh;⁹ and Kamrān Mirzā, after fighting many battles with¹⁰ Muḥammad Humāyūn Padshāh, fled from Kābul and took refuge with Salīm Shāh, in the hopes that he would give him reinforcements which would enable him to capture Kābul, in the (vain) expectation that the water which had flowed away would return¹¹ to its source. When Islem Shāh heard this tidings, he selected from his army the notorious Humun¹² Baqqāl, who in those

¹ Footnote variant صورت. ² MS. (A) آمدند اند. ³ MSS (A) (B) پس خیم.

⁴ Omit ک MSS (A) (B).

⁵ همین آشی در کاهه ایشان بود. *Hamān ash dar Ku-a-ighān būd*, Int. The same broth was in their cup.

⁶ MS. (A) supplies و.

⁷ *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, sec p 8, n. 3

⁸ Text مان گره Māngarh, MSS. (A) (B) مان گره Māngarh.

⁹ با MS. (A).

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits باز.

¹¹ Footnote variant هیمون *Hamūn*. The text reads هیمون *Hamūn*.

days, in virtue of his capacity for extorting taxes, had been promoted from being overseer of the market to a post of confidence, and sent him, with another body of Afghāns to the neighbourhood of Rohtās to meet Mīrzā, and although Islem Shāh in his own mind thought this a reason for increased confidence in Mīrzā, being led to this by the want of confidence¹ he had in the Afghāns as a tribe, and the entire trust he reposed in Hamān, still Mīrzā himself made light of this, and² recognising that there were dregs in the very first draught of the cup was unwilling to come in person.

Verse.

Now indeed thou repentest but thy repentance profiteth thee nothing.

Nevertheless, in spite of this Mīrzā still believed that possibly Islem Shāh would overlook everything, and would treat him with honour and respect when the time of meeting arrived. However, on the day of public audience, he himself entered with arrogant assurance, and sitting on the seat of a Fara'ūn or a Shaddād,³ gave orders to Sarmast Khān⁴ the Afghān, a Dā'ūd Za'i,⁵ who held the office of Bārbak,⁶ in accordance with which he directed Mīrzā to perform the customary salutations like the servants of the ordinary public. He accordingly performed the Kōrnish,⁷ and those diabolical men⁸ out of sheer inhumanity seized Mīrzā roughly by the nape of the neck, and shouted aloud several times saying, Your Majesty!⁹ So pleased to cast a glance hither, for Kāmran the Muqaddam-zāda of Kābul invokes blessings. Islem Shāh after ignoring him for some considerable time, cast a haughty glance in the direction of Mīrzā,¹⁰ and uttered a hypocritical 390.
"Welcome." He then ordered a tent and canopy to be erected

¹ Footnote variant and MS. (A) اعتمیدی....

² MS. (A) ولا قبیل اول خم وردی.

³ Shaddād the son of 'Ad, see ante, p. 261 n. 6.

⁴ MS. (A) omits خان.

⁵ MS. (A) omits دلؤد زئی.

⁶ Bārbak. The chief attendant of the darbār or public audience.

⁷ Kōrnish. A mode of salutation in which the palm of the right hand is placed on the forehead, and the head bowed. It signifies that the saluter has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and the mind) into the hand of humility. See Ām-i-Akbarī (B) l. 125

⁸ MS. (A) دیو مردم. ⁹ MS. (A) پادشاه. ¹⁰ MS. (A) (B) چائبه میرزا کردو.

for Mirzā near to his own tent, and bestowed upon him a horse and a robe of honour, and a slave girl and a eunuch so that they might spy into his affairs. He used also to summon the Mirzā from time to time, and hold converse with him regarding poetry, but their intercourse was always disagreeable, and the Mirzā was worried by those incessant ceremonial visits and shew of politeness, till he grew sick of his life, and was watching a favourable opportunity to make his escape. Moreover the Afghāns used to make jibes¹ at him in the Hindī tongue, and when he appeared in *darbār* used to say² *Moro mi āyad*³ (Here comes the peacock). The Mirzā enquired from one of the attendants, in the presence of Islem Shāh, "What do they mean by *Moro*?" He answered, "It is the name they give⁴ to a man of great dignity." The Mirzā replied,⁵ "At that rate Salim Shāh is a first rate *Moro* and Shir Shāh was a still finer." Salim Shāh consequently gave orders that no one was ever to use that word again,⁶ nor to indulge in pleasantries at the Mirzā's expense. At last one day Islem Shāh called upon the Mirzā for a verse of poetry, when the Mirzā recited this *matla'* off hand:

Gardish-i-gardūn-i-gardān gardānānrā gard kard
*Bar sar-i-ṣāhib-lamīzān nāqīṣān rā mard kard.*⁷

The revolutions of the circling heaven have brought low the mighty,
 And have made worthless men to lord it over men of intelligence.

Islem Shāh fully caught the meaning of this verse, and gave secret orders to his attendants to keep the Mirzā under open arrest. The Mirzā, however, by the help of the *zamīndārs*,⁸ made an arrangement with one of the hill Rājas, and persuaded him, by holding out inducements of various kinds, to station post-

¹ MS. (A) (B) هزل. ² MS. (A) گف.

³ सोरो *Moro* is the Prākṛit form of the modern Hindī सोर *Mor*, a peacock.

MS. (B) reads مور و مرغ یعنی. *Moro*, that is to say, a bird.

MS. (A) reads مور و مرغ یعنی, so also footnote variant to text.

⁴ MS. (A) omits میگویند.

⁵ MS. (B) omits گفت.

⁶ MS. (B) reads بگویند for نگویند.

⁷ Read اهل تمیزان صاحب تمیزان MSS (A) (B). ⁸ MS. (B) زمینداري.

horses along the banks of the river Chināb. One night he emerged from his tent with a woman's *chādar*¹ drawn over his head. The guards imagined that it was one of the women of his *harīm* and offered no interference.

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The *Mirzā* crossed the river with his horse and saddle and succeeded in reaching the *Rājā*. From there he proceeded alone clothed in a *burg*²,³ and taking a *jīlaudār*⁴ with him, was escorted⁵ by some of the *Rājas'* subjects till he arrived in the vicinity of the village of *Gharī Khū*,⁶ on the bank of the river Behat, and rested there one night. Inasmuch as that village is near *Sultānpūr* the residence of *Sultān Ādam Ghakkar*, at a distance of three *krohs* from the fortress of *Rohtās*, some one went to *Sultān Ādam* and informed him that a *Mughūl* woman was encamped at such and such a place, attended only by one *jīlaudār* and that her intention was to proceed on the following morning. *Sultān Ādam* sent messengers to make enquiries, and then proceeded⁶ in person, and had an interview with the *Mirzā*, who by persistent entreaty prevailed upon him to give a promise that he would send him in safety to a place of refuge. *Sultān Ādam* accordingly wrote a letter to *Muhammad Humāyūn Pādshāh*, who had recently arrived in that neighbourhood, begging him to spare the *Mirzā's* life.⁷

The *Pādshāh* wrote an order in accordance with this request⁸ of his, and sent it to him; but eventually, two years later, he again seized the *Mirzā*, and⁹ after blinding him with a lancet.

¹ چادر *chādar*. A garment worn by women over the head and body.

² برقع *Burqa*. Here the author probably means the garment covering the head and body completely, and having only a small latticed opening for the mouth, and similar openings for the eyes, worn by *Alghān* women when out of doors. See Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, for a description of the *burqa* proper, which is a kind of veil.

³ جلودار *Jilaudār*. An attendant whose duty it is to run beside the horse. *Abul-Fazl* says some of them will run from 50 to 100 *kroh* (100 to 200 miles!) a day. See *Ain-i-Akbari* (B) I. 138.

⁴ Text بدرقی. With a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS. However MS (A) reads بدرقی correctly.

⁵ MS. (A) MS. (B) reads گهری جو *Gharī Jū*. ⁶ MSS. (A) (B) آمد و.

⁷ Read with MS. (A) میرزا for میرزا (Text). ⁸ MSS. (A) (B) مرسول.

⁹ MS. (A) supplies و.

(*nīshṭar*) sent him to the holy city of Makkah. The word *nīshṭar* records the date of this occurrence¹. These incidents have only been briefly alluded to here, because they are related² fully in the *Akbar Nāma* and the (*Tarīkh-i-Nizāmī*)³. Among the events which took place during the reign of Islem Shāh was the affair of Shāh Muhammad of Dihli, of which the following is a brief account. Shāh Muhammad, in the reign of Shēr Shāh, had come from the country of 'Irāq⁴ to Hindūstān, and had given himself out⁵ to be a Saiyyid. There was some hesitation among the people as to this claim; however, he used to live in accordance with the customs⁶ of the Shaikhs and holy men, and was acquainted with the science of invocation of the mighty names,⁷ and was not without an admixture of deceit.⁸

Verse.

What is expected of Shaikhs is the performance of miracles
and prayer-stations.

Whereas what we really see in them are ecstatic⁹ and in-
coherent ravings.

In spite of all, Shēr Shāh gave him credit for being a *wālī*, and Islem Shāh¹⁰ also had reposed great confidence in him from the time he was a prince, and used to go and do reverence to him, and as is the custom of kings, used to take omens¹¹ concerning (his accession to) the kingdom, and from the excessively high opinion he had of him used to lift (the Saiyyid's) shoes. The story goes that one day they had brought a basket¹² of melons as a present to Shāh Muhammad and just then¹³ Islem Shāh arrived. The Saiyyid pointed to Islem Shāh and said, I present

¹ نیشتر. The letters of this word *nīshṭar* give the date 960 H.

² See Elliot and Dowson V. 147 and 235. ³ MSS. (A) (B) read مسطورو.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B). ⁵ میگرفت we should read میگفت.

⁶ The text reads wrongly بردوش MSS. (A)(B) read باروش *barawish*.

⁷ See ante, p. 445 n. 6. ⁸ خالی از شیدی نبود.

⁹ MS. (A) reads سطحیات *sathiyāt*, superficialities.

¹⁰ MS. (A) supplies و MS. (B) reads و شیر شاه.

¹¹ تفأل *tafa'ul* MS. (B) reads نقال.

¹² MS. (B) reads سید *saiyyid* for سبد *sabad*.

¹³ MSS (A)(B) در همان آنجا.

you with this basket confident in its being as a royal umbrella to you,¹ rise, and place it on your head and be gone. Islem Shāh without hesitation lifted the basket accepted it as a lucky omen and took his departure.

How good it is to take a *lucky omen*,

Not to strike one's *cheek* (in grief) but to give mate with the *rock*.²

But eventually this matter became a source of annoyance to him³ as is generally the case. At all events, when Islem Shāh succeeded to the kingdom, during his reign two Saiyyids of good birth, men of ascetic habit, clean-living, dignified, and agreeable, one of whom was named Amīr Abū⁴ Tālib who was the inferior, and the other named Mīr Shamsu-d-Din who was his superior and brother's son to him, arrived from the country of Irāq at the camp of Islem Shāh in the Panjāb, and came to Dīlī, where they took up their abode in one of the quarters of the city, and were resorted to by all classes. Amīr Abū Tālib was so marvellously skilled in the abstruse science of medicine, that the majority of the sick who came under his treatment obtained cures, and used to bring him presents and offerings in return, to say nothing of perquisites.⁵ A report was spread that he was in possession of the ring of 'Alī,⁶ may God be satisfied with him, one of the properties of which was that no one who was suspected (of being of bastard origin) could stand in presence of that ring, and retain the power of seeing it. God knows the truth. Relying upon his former intimacy with Shāh Muḥammad, he desired to give his daughter in marriage to the nephew of Mīr Abū Tālib, but he was by no means inclined to agree to this

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¹ MS. (A) supplies پادشاهی after تو.

² Chi nika bawad fāl-i-farrukh zadun

Na bar rukh zadun, balki shah rukh zadun

There is a play here on the words rukh and farrukh, illustrating the figure known as تجنیس مرتکب. The word rukh means the *cheek*, and also the *castle* or "*rock*" at chess.

³ MS. (A) puts او را after اینمعی.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ MS. (B) reads فتوحات.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) supply علی. The ring of Solomon which was given to 'Alī by Muḥammad, was possessed of magical properties.

proposal, and folk began to entertain increased suspicion against him, and both small and great talked openly about him. Shāh Muḥammad summoned these two holy men into his own private dwelling for safe custody, and took great pains to entertain them. One night, not long afterwards, an armed band entered his¹ house by the upper story and martyred both father and son who were engaged in their night's devotions. They then left the house, and in the morning the governor of the city came and enquired of Shāh Muḥammad how this had occurred. He absolutely denied any knowledge of the circumstances, and stated that he had no idea who the murderers were; then he prepared a report of the affair under the Great Seal, and sent it together with a despatch to Islem Shāh at his camp. Islem Shāh thereupon sent to Dihli Makhdūm-i-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu-llāh of Sultānpūr,² who was Shaikh-i-Islām and Sadru-s-sudūr, to investigate this matter, and also despatched circular letters summoning the Chief 'Ulamā of the time, for example Miyān Hātim Sanbalī, Miyān Jamāl Khān Muftī, and others. This conflict lasted two months after this time, and after great argument and enquiry it was with tolerable certainty conjectured³ that the murderers were agents of Shāh Muḥammad.⁴ This result was reported to Islem Shāh, but before any reply could be received Shāh Muḥammad, who had sunk from so high dignity to the depths of disgrace, could not endure the anxiety, underwent venesection and took sour milk in addition, and endured voluntarily humiliating penance. Report also says even more than this, but, every one knew perfectly well that all these austerities and self-inflictions, were the outcome of hypocrisy and deceit, and not inspired by religious motives.

Thou hast forsaken the world for the sake of the world.

Quatrain.

This long time thou hast made thy tongue like a sword,
So that thou givest the attributes of a lion to one who is but
a dog.

Thou turnest upside down the storehouse of falsehood
In order to satisfy thy own hungry belly.

¹ MS. (A) omits his.

² See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blockmann) I, Biography VII.

³ MS. (B) reads مقتوم شد.

⁴ MS. (B) مقتوم شد.

This event took place in the year 956 H. Another important incident was the affair of Shaikh 'Alāi Maḥdī of Baiāna,¹ which closely resembles the affair of Sīdī Maḥla,² which took place during the reign of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Firōz Shāh, in fact the proverb, *One shoe is like its fellow*,³ is exactly applicable here.

The following is a brief exposition of this affair: The father of the aforesaid Shaikh 'Alāi was called Ḥasan, and was one of the great Shaikhs of the country of Bangāla, and on his arrival from Bangāla on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy city of Makka with his younger brother Shaikh Naṣru-llāh, who was one of the most eminent of the 'Ulamā, came from there to Hindūstān and took up his abode in the province of Baiāna. The words *Jā'a naṣru-llāhi wal fath*,⁴ were found to give the date of that event. The elder brother gave his attention to *irshād*⁵ and *hidāyat*, and the younger⁶ to *fatwā*⁷ and instruction in religious knowledge.⁸

Shaikh 'Alāi, who was the most orthodox of the sons of the Shaikh, the tablet of whose forehead was from early boyhood distinguished by the marks of nobility and uprightness, and the evidences of a youth to be spent in the worship of God and in following the ordinances of the prophet of God, may the peace and blessing of God rest upon him, in the service of his venerable father devoted himself to the acquirement of exoteric and esoteric sciences, and to the improvement of his character, disposition, and behaviour, and in a short time⁹ having read all the routine works by the aid of his natural quickness of apprehension and clear intellect, engaged in tuition and instruction.

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¹ See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann) I, Biography V, seqq.

² See Beale (*Oriental Biog. Diet.*), p. 240.

³ حذو القذة بالقذة. They also say حذو النعل بالنعل, i.e., one feather of the arrow is like another. See Fraytag *Prov. Arab* I. 345. As we say "As like as two peas."

⁴ جاء نصر الله والفتح. The letters give the date 955 H. The words mean,

The victory of God and conquest has come to pass.

⁵ ارشاد *Irshād*, Orthodoxy. هدايت *Hidāyat*, Guidance, direction.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) both omit خور but the text seems probably correct.

⁷ فتوى *fatwā*. Religious or judicial rulings.

⁸ MS. (A) omits the words علوم دين.

⁹ MS. (A) (B) فرغت.

Verse

Continual learning is requisite with application and exertion,
 Always by day argument and by night repetition.
 Piety, asceticism, worship and reverence,
 Without these, all acquisitions are wondrous vain

After the death of his revered father, having abandoned the ordinary conversation and giving up all connection with the delusive phantoms of the world, he set himself to follow consistently the paths of obedience and austerity, firmly occupying the prayer carpet of the Shāikh, and used to engage in the direction and instruction¹ of seekers of the right way. Nevertheless he still retained a residue of evidences of worldly desires, and in accordance with the saying, "The last thing to leave the head of the just is the love of glory,"² seeking as he did to claim superiority over his fellow-men, he was unwilling that any other Shāikh in that city should share his dignity; this he carried so far that on the day of the festivals, from his excessive jealousy³ and envy, he caused one of the leaders of the contemplative⁴ and ascetic⁵ Shāikhs of the Sūfī party to descend from his litter, thus inflicting a grievous blow to his dignity. He used to arrogate to himself alone the dignity of Shāikhdōm. His other brothers, who in respect of years and experience were his superiors, used also to yield submission to him and pride themselves upon it.⁶

In the meanwhile Mīzān 'Abdu-llah, a Niyāzī⁷ Afghān, who was at first one of the most noted lieutenants of Shāikh Salm Chishtī of Fatbpūr, and who eventually with his permission proceeded on a pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, and performed various kind offices and favours for him, taking part with Mr Saiyyad Muḥammad of Jaunpūr,⁸ may God sanctify his holy resting-place, who had claimed to be the promised Mahdī, and adopting the manners of a Mahdī, on his return from the Hijāz took up his

¹ MSS. (A) (B) write تلقین و ارشاد.

² "That last infirmity of noble minds."

³ Badāonī here uses غیبة *ghibat* in a sense opposed to its classical meaning which is emulation unmixed with envy.

⁴ MS. (A) reads میتوسم for مترسمه in the text

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read متقشف for متقشفه in the text

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) read میکردند

⁷ See *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B) I, v.

⁸ See *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B) I, iv.

abode in Biānah, and making his dwelling in the corner of a grove far from the haunts of men on the borders of a tank, used to cast water upon his head; and when the times of prayer came round, used to gather together certain of the labourers, hewers of wood and drawers of water who had to pass by that way, and compel them to form an assembly for prayer,¹ with such a degree of enthusiasm, that if he met any man disinclined for the meeting he would give him a few coins² and encourage him, thus not allowing the reward of the assembly³ to escape him. 536.

When Shaikh 'Alāi saw his conduct he was greatly pleased,⁴ and said to his own followers, This is religion and true faith which Līyān 'Abdu-llah Niyāzī has, whereas the path in which we are held is naught but idolatry and infidelity.⁵

So long as a hair's breadth of existence remains to thee⁶

The danger of idol-worship still remains for thee;

Thou sayest I have broken my idols and my Zunnār, I am free,

This idol however, thy slavery to self-conceit, remains to thee

Abandoning the customs of his forefathers, and giving up his claims as a Shaikh and a leader of religion, trampling under foot his self-esteem and conceit, he devoted himself to the care of the poor of his own neighbourhood, and with the utmost self-mortification and humility gave himself up to the service of those whom he had formerly vexed, and abandoning his *mad-i-mad*⁷ and his alms-house and monastery,⁸ entering the valley of self-renunciation and abnegation, bestowed¹⁰ all his worldly possessions

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit نماز.

² MS. (A) پولي چند.

³ Concerning this it is said: "The prayers which are said in multitudes increase the rewards of those said alone by twenty-seven degrees." See *Mishkāt-u-L-Maṣābiḥ* (Mathew) xxiv 1.

⁴ MS. (B) بسیار خوش گردید.

⁵ جزوت پرستی و زنا داری نیست. *Juz dut parastī o zanrāi dārī nist.* The term Zunnār [Gk. ζώνη (Zōnē) or ζώνιον (Zōnion)] is applied to the belt or girdle worn by the Christian or Magian. It also applies to the Brahminical thread: and thus the wearer of any of these is to Muslims an infidel.

⁶ MS. (A) reads تا يك سرووی نواز هستی باقی است. ⁷ MS. (A) سابقاً.

⁸ Lands given for benevolent purposes, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 270.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) omit لنگر.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) read تار و ایشار کرد.

even to his books upon the poor, and said to his wife,¹ "The pains of the search after God have gotten hold of me, if thou canst endure poverty and hunger come with me in God's name, but if not take² thy portion of these goods; and take the reins of choloos into thine own hands, and go thy way."

Follow my fortunes, or else depart far from me

She of her own accord was highly pleased with this determination of his.³

17. There are some women who perform perhaps even better than men the duties of religion,
Just as in boldness the lioness surpasses the lion.

Then approaching Miyañ 'Abdu-illah, with all respectful submission to him, he took instruction in the ceremonial observance of Zikr⁴ in the manner which obtains among that sect.

The interpretations of the Qur'ān, and the delicate points and minutiae and true meanings of that sacred book were easily revealed to him, and a large number of the friends and companions who were in accord with him, and believed in him, some of them unmarried and some with families, chose companionship with him even at the risk of their lives, and following the path of his guidance with the foot of reliance in God, three hundred householders, abandoning all other source of gain and traffic, agriculture and skilled labour, spent their time with him. And whenever anything was given by Providence they used to divide it justly, apportioning to each individual an equal share. If nothing came,⁵ comforting themselves with the sacred word, "Men whom neither merchandise nor selling divert from the remembrance of God,"⁶ even had they died of hunger, they would not have uttered a sound, and if any person abandoning his vow made according to their mutual compact engaged in any lucrative occupation, of a surety he would expend a tithe of it in the

¹ MS. (A) reads جلیله. ² MSS. (A) (B) بردار The text reads wrongly برآور
³ This line is omitted from MS. (B).

⁴ ذکر. Zikr. The religious ceremony practised by the various religious orders of Faqīrs. See Hughes, Dict. of Islām, art. Zikr.

⁵ I read here لا و MSS. (A) (B)

⁶ Qur'ān xxiv. 37. رَجَالٌ لَا تُلَهِیْهِمْ تِجَارَةٌ وَلَا بَيْعٌ مِنْ دِكْرِ اللَّهِ

service of Almighty God. Twice daily after the morning prayer and another prayer, great and small would gather in that assembly, and listen to an exposition of the Qur'ān. Shaikh 'Alāī had such a marvellous power of attraction that when he was expounding the Qur'ān almost every one who heard him, of his own accord withheld his hand from all worldly occupation, and elected to join that assembly,¹ abandoning his family and relations and children, enduring the hardships of poverty, hunger and religious warfare never troubled himself again about his work or gains; and if he had not that degree of fortitude, his penitence and repentance of his sins and iniquities would certainly have availed nothing, while many a one thought it his duty to empty his cooking vessels at nightfall of all the necessities of life even to salt and flour and water, and let them remain upside down, and they kept nothing in the way of means of existence by them, from their extreme faith in the providence of Almighty God, and the saying "Each new day brings a new provision" was the basis of their practice. 398.

A short account of this sect is given in the *Najātu-r-rashid*² which should be consulted.³

In spite of this they were in the habit of keeping arms and implements of war always with them⁴ as a protection against their enemies, so that anyone who was unacquainted with the truth of the matter would be apt to think they were wealthy; *The ignorant think them to be rich because of their modesty.*⁵ And whenever they saw any irreligious or forbidden action either in the city or the market, they went and called the offenders to account by main force,⁶ and admitted no investigation by the governor, and on most occasions they got the best of it; they aided every magistrate of the city who acted in conformity with their religious tenets and principles⁷ in carrying out his

¹ 1 MSS (A) (B) insert *ب* after *صحبت*.

² *Najātu-r-rashid*. *نجاة الرشيد*. A MS. of this work is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No E 204. Its author is Badāoni.

³ MS. (A) reads *داد*.

⁴ MS (A) reads *بار*.

⁵ Qur'ān ii, 274 *يَسْتَبْهِمُ الْجَاهِلُ اغْنِيَاءَ مِنَ التَّعَفُّفِ*.

⁶ MS. (A) reads *رفته* for *گرفته*.

⁷ MS. (A) reads *در اعتماد او می کوشید*.

measures, while no one who was opposed to their views could stand against them. Matters came to such a pass that fathers left their sons, brother left brother, and wife left husband¹ and entered the charmed circle of the Mahdī, voluntarily submitting to poverty and extinction. Mīyān 'Abdu-llah when he saw that Shaikh 'Alā'ī had lost his influence with rich and poor alike, and that his day was over, was much vexed, and speaking with gentleness and moderation, said by way of advice, The time cannot play with affairs of this kind, and truth nowadays has become more bitter than colocynth. It were wiser for you to quit this vale (of iniquity) and either retire into obscurity or determine upon a journey to the Hijāz.

Verse.

Alas! for him who escapes not from public turmoil,
Alas! for him who sets his heart upon the men of this world.
The hand of the faqir holds no other coin but that of leisure,
Alas! for him if he abandons that also

Shaikh 'Alā'ī,² retaining that selfsame habit and conduct³ which he always had, accompanied by six or seven hundred families, set out for Gujrāt in the hope that in the companionship of the chiefs⁴ and leaders of this sect he might learn the customs of the inmates of cloisters⁵. At the time of his arrival at the township of Basāwar from Baiāna, my late father took me, the writer of these pages, to do homage to him. In consequence of my tender years, his form remained fixed in my memory as a dream or a vision. On his arrival at Khawāspūr which is near Jodhpūr, Khawāṣ Khān who had been appointed to that district, at first came out to receive him and joined the circle of his adherents: but in consequence of his devotion to musical entertainments and pastimes,⁶ whereas now every Thursday night Sūfis used to assemble in his house, and Shaikh 'Alā'ī forbade music and other prohibited⁷ pastimes, and enjoined⁸ that which

¹ MS. (A) زن از شوهر. The words in brackets are omitted in MS. (B).

² MS. (A) omits علائی. ³ MS. (B) omits و حالت

⁴ MS. (A) reads wrongly باغبان

⁵ Insert in the text را after دوانر MSS (A) (B)

⁶ MSS (A) (B) بساط و صفائی مقید بود ⁷ MSS. (A) (B) منادی و ملاهی

⁸ MS. (B) reads wrongly اوامر for امر

was lawful and in those that which was forbidden by law, accordingly their association was not agreeable, besides which opposition and disagreement arose with regard to the upholding of the rights of the soldiery: The saying—

*Verily speaking the truth will not leave me a single friend*¹

is a well known proverb. Shaikh 'Alā'i in consequence of certain opposition which arose, turned back in the middle of the journey and returned to Baiāna, and at the time when Islem Shāh had taken firm possession of the throne of power in Āgra, and the rumours regarding Shaikh 'Alā'i reached his ears, he sent for Mir Saiyyid Rafi'u-d-Din the traditionist, and Miyyān² Abul-fath of Thanesar and other learned doctors of Āgra, and summoned Shaikh 'Alā'i from Baiāna, at the instigation of Makhdumu-l-mulk Maulāna 'Abdu-llah of Sultānpūr. He accordingly, accompanied by a party of select³ companions, all of whom wore mail and were fully armed, came to the Court, and paying no heed to the customary observances of kingly assemblies,⁴ greeted the whole assemblage in the manner appointed by the laws of Islām.⁵ Islem Shāh acknowledged his salutation with indignation, as the appearance of the Shaikh greatly displeased⁶ him and his courtiers.

Makhdumu-l-Mulk had fully persuaded Islem Shāh that Shaikh 'Alā'i was a revolutionary who laid claim to being the Mahdī, and that the Mahdī himself would be king of the whole world: consequently as he presumed to revolt he was deserving of death. 'Isā Khān⁷ Hajjāb who held a very confidential post, and the other Amirs, when they saw Shaikh 'Alā'i in this displeasing attire, with ragged clothes and worn out shoes, said to Islem Shāh: "This fellow, in this condition and with this miserable appearance, wishes to take away the kingdom from us, does he imagine that we Afghāns are all corpses!"

Prior to the convening of the assembly for discussion, Shaikh 'Alā'i in accordance with his invariable custom, had expounded a

ميان (B) (A) MSS. ۱. اِنْ قَوْلَ الْحَقِّ لَمْ يَتْرِكْ لِي مَدِيْقًا ۱.

۲. MS. (B) omits مشهور.

۳. MS. (A) reads می بافتد for می باشد and omits معلوم.

۴. Omit و MSS. (A) (B) ۵. MSS. (A) (B) نمود.

۷. MSS. (A) (B) supply خان.

few verses of the Qur'ān, and delivered such a profitable discourse, in most elegant language, comprising a criticism of the world, and a description of the last judgment, and contemptuous remarks regarding the learned men of the time, and all their faults and failings,¹ that it had the most profound effect² upon Islem Shāh and the Amirs who were present in the assembly, notwithstanding their hardness of heart, so that it brought tears to their eyes and left them amazed and confounded. Islem Shāh then rose from the assembly, and giving the matter his own attention sent refreshments from inside the palace for the Shaiikh and his companions.³ The Shaiikh, however, refused to touch⁴ the food himself, and moreover when Islem Shāh entered⁵ he did not pay him any respect, and merely said to his friends: Any one who chooses may eat of it. When they enquired of him the reason of his abstaining from eating the food he replied: "Your food is due to Muslims because you have possessed more than was yours by right, contrary to the dictates⁶ of the law of Islām." Islem Shāh notwithstanding this repressed his anger, and referred the enquiry into the truth of that dispute,⁷ and the decision of the contention to the 'ulemā.

Shaiikh 'Alā'i vanquished every one of them in argument by virtue of his quickness of intellect and clearness of apprehension and whenever Mir Saiyyid Rafi-u-d-Dīn (who died in the year 954 H.) was engaged⁸ in citing the traditions which existed relating to the appearance of the promised Mahdī, and the signs by which he would be known, Shaiikh 'Alā'i used to say, "you are Shāfrite by religion⁹ and we¹⁰ are Hanīfites, the fundamental of your traditions are different from those of our's." How can we accept¹¹ your explanations and interpretations on this question. Nor did he spare¹² even Mulla 'Abdu-llah himself in his criticism of a single point, saying to him, "you are one of the learned men of the world and a thief of religion, and you engage in so man-

¹ MS. (A) خطائیات.

² MS. (A) بسیار مؤثر افتادند و.

³ MS. (A) تناول کرد.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) بخلاف حکم شرع.

⁵ MS. (B) writes وارد شدہ شیعہ omitting.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) مذہب.

⁷ MS. (B) reads قبول داریم.

⁸ MS. (B) ہمراہیانہ.

⁹ MS. (A) عنکام در آمدن.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) آن مباحث.

¹¹ MS. (B) و یا.

¹² MS. (B) reads و میگذاشت.

illegal practices that you have put yourself outside the pale of equity, so that even to this time the sound of pipe and tabor may be plainly heard issuing from your house, and in accordance with the true traditions of the prophet, upon him be peace and blessing, a fly which settles upon filth is by degrees better than learned men who have made kings and emperors the object of their ambition and glad from door to door.

Verse.

Learning which exists for the sake of palace and garden
Is like a lamp to the night loving thief.

In accordance with these premises he uttered so many scathing satires [on those who preach but do not practise, citing in support of his² arguments examples from the Qur'an and Traditions] that Mulla 'Abdu-llah was not able to say a single word in defence. One day in the midst of the argument it happened that the learned Mulla Jalāl Rihīm³ of Āgra, having turned up that tradition which relates to the description and evidences of the promised Mahdī,⁴ read as follows,⁵ *Ajallu-l-jabhal*,⁶ on the form of the *af'alu-t-tafzīl* derived from *jalāl*; Shaikh 'Alā'ī smiled, and said, "Good Heavens! You have given yourself out to the world as a marvel of learning, and yet you cannot read with a proper pronunciation, you have no knowledge of the delicacies;

¹ Omits در MS. (A) ² Not in MS. (B) which reads اعلت عی آورد.

³ MS. (A) reads تهم Trim.

⁴ Regarding the Mahdī, see Blochman *Amr al-Akbar* 1, iii.

⁵ MSS (A) (B) چلیں خواند کہ.

⁶ The text here runs.

کہ اجل الجبہ بفتح جیم و تشدد لام بصيغة تفضيل مشتق از جلال

MS (A) reads more correctly - بصيغة فعل التفضيل الجليل.

Ajallu-l-jabhal would have no accurate meaning. *Jalāl* meaning greatness.

The superlative form with the article is applied to God: - **الْأَجَلُّ** *Al-Ajallu*.

The form **أَفْعَلُ** *af'alu* is called the **صيغة تفضيل** or form of superiority, i.e. the comparative, or, combined with the article, the superlative.

سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ *Subhān-Allāh* (lit.) Praise be to God! A common mode of expressing surprise or astonishment.

and subtleties and minutiae of the science of tradition.¹ The real reading is *Ajlāu-l-jabhah*² which is the form *Afa'alu-l-tafsil* from *jalā*; not from *jalāl* which is your own name."

He was abashed and said not another word.³ They likewise relate concerning Shaikh Mubārak⁴ that he was an ally⁵ of Shaikh 'Alā'ī in this assembly, and from that day⁶ he became known⁷ as Mahdawi, and Islem Shāh being deceived⁸ by his speech and explanations used to say "You must have been in the habit of expounding the meaning of the Qur'ān," he also gave a message to the Shaikh in these words "Give up this claim of yours to be the promised Mahdi,⁹ and renounce this pretension secretly¹⁰ in my hearing, and I will make you chief overseer of religion in the whole of my dominions, and whatever lawful orders you have been in the habit of issuing without my authority, continue henceforth to issue these same commands with my permission. Otherwise, the 'Ulamā of this time have given their decision that you should be killed and gibbeted, but I will revise their sentence, for I am not willing that your blood should be shed. The Shaikh, however, who had been successful at every step, and in this easy pretension and partial object of attainment had got beyond the power of even Islem Shāh,¹¹ cared nought for

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit حديث.

² *Ajlāu-l-jabhah* اجلی الجبهة. Most wide of forehead. That is to say having that degree of baldness which is termed *jalā*, i.e., baldness of the fore part of the head. See Lane. Lex. v. اجلی.

³ و دیگر مردم نزد MS. (A) reads incorrectly دیگر مردم نزد.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) have و before the word شيخ.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) correctly read حمید. The text has ~~محمد~~ Muhammad.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) omit روز reading روز.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) مشهور شد.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) omit و read فریفته بیان.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) read گذشته before ای.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads آید for آید.

¹¹ MS. (B) reads بودیم for بودیم.

any ruler and addressed¹ him in these words, "why should I change² my own belief at your bidding."

If thou desirest safety, reproach is right

If safety is lost, reproach is a mistake.

In the meantime tidings reached Islem Shāh³ daily "To-day such and such an Afghan⁴ general has gone over to the following of the Shaikh and sided with him, giving up all worldly considerations."

The following day Bahmān and Mulla 'Abdu-llah spent every moment in urging Islem Shāh to put the Shaikh to death. At last Islem Shāh gave orders for his expulsion,⁵ and forbade him to remain in his kingdom, and ordered him to go to the Dakkan. Shaikh 'Alā'i who had for years⁶ desired to travel in the Dakkan and to see how the Mahdawi ideas were progressing there, hearing this good tidings recited⁷ the text *Verily God's earth is wide.*⁸

Then he arose and started without delay for that country.

Qāsim, curtail thy speech, arise, and take thy way,

408.

Cast the sugar to the parrots, cast the carcass to the vultures.

On his arrival at Handiya,⁹ which is the frontier of the Dakkan, Bihār Khān, who was entitled A'zam Humāyūn Bīrwānī, the governor of that place, kept him for some time in his own family, and having embraced his tenets used to go daily to hear his preaching, and half¹⁰ his army, nay more than half, sided with him; this news was brought to Islem Shāh by runners, and roused his indignation. Makhdūmu-l-Mulk took great pains to paint the event in glowing colours, and misrepresented it to Islem Shāh so that orders were issued summoning Shaikh 'Alā'i. Just at this

¹ Omit ^{معه} MS. (A).

² MS. (A) ^{تغیر سے} دھم.

³ MS. (A) ^{شاہان}.

⁴ MS. (B) omits ^{باز}.

⁵ MS. (A) ^{تسلیم}.

⁶ MS. (B) ^{اخراج او کردہ}.

⁷ MS. (A) ^{خواندہ و}.

⁸ Qur'an iv. 89. ^{قَالُوا أَلَمْ تَكُنْ أَرْضَ اللَّهِ وَاسِعَةً فَلَهَاجِرُوا فِيهَا} They said

was not God's earth wide enough for you to flee away therein?

⁹ See Imp. Gaz. V. 809. Handiya is on the Narbadā in the Hoshangābād District of the Central Provinces. MS. (A) reads ^{ہندوستان} Hindustan, and

¹⁰ MS. (B) ^{سید} for ^{سید}

¹⁰ MS. (B) ^{سید}

juncture Islem Shāh had left Agra for the Panjāb¹ with the intention of quelling the disaffection of the Niyāzi faction; when he arrived opposite to Baiāna at the halting-place of Bahrsūr Makhdūmu-l-Mulk said to Islem Shāh "we have earned a few days' respite² from the lesser evil" by which he meant Shaikh 'Alā'ī, "but the great evil, that is Shaikh 'Abdu-llah Niyāzī, who is the instructor of Shaikh 'Alā'ī and the spiritual guide of the Niyāzi faction, and always remains in the hill country of Baiāna accompanied by three or four hundred men fully armed and equipped, and raises disturbances there, is still flourishing." The fire of the anger of Islem Shāh, who was thirsting for the blood of the Niyāzis, was fanned into flame by this breath³ of suggestion, and he ordered Miyān Bahwa Lūhānī⁴ the Governor of Baiāna, who was one of the special adherents⁵ of Shaikh 'Abdu-llah, to produce the Shaikh. Miyān Bahwa went to the Shaikh and said: It seems to me to be the best course for you to hide yourself for a few days in accordance with the saying "one should avoid misfortune" and migrate from this city to some other place, then perchance the king will forget⁶ all about you and never make an attempt of this kind again,⁷ and you will have met the emergency,⁸ while I for my part shall have a good excuse.

Verse.

11. Fear not a misfortune when the night intervenes between it and you.

Shaikh 'Abdu-llah would not agree to this suggestion⁹ of his, and said, "this is an arrogant monarch and Makhdūmu-l-Mulk is always watching for an opportunity. If they go still further away and then send for me it will cause me great annoyance; for this reason, seeing that he is only ten *krohs* distant, I had better interview him now, and as for the question of mastery here and there, it will be all one whether it is to be now or in the future, since whatever is predestined will come to pass."

Man proposes and God disposes.

¹ MS. (B) بجانب پنجاب.

² MSS. (A) خلاصی باقیم.

³ MS. (B) reads نفیث.

⁴ MS. (A) نیر خانی.

⁵ MS. (A) گرویدگان.

⁶ MS. (B) قمر اموشی کند.

⁷ MS. (B) reads حروف for حروف.

⁸ MS. (A) باشند.

⁹ MS. (B) omits سنی.

Verse.

The reins of affairs are not in the hands of one who looks to advisability.

Yield the reins into the hands of Fate, this is the advisable course.

Accordingly he set out by night from Baiāna, and had an interview with Islem Shāh in the morning as he was mounted ready to march, and greeted him with 'Peace be to you.' On the instant Miyan Bahwa seized him by the nape of the neck and bent his head down saying: ¹ "My friend the Shaikh this is the way they salute ² kings." The Shaikh looked savagely in his direction ³ and replied: "The salutation which is in accordance with the *sunna*,⁴ and which is that which the friends of the Prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, used to make,⁵ and which he, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, used to give them in response, is this very form of salutation, I know no other." Islem Shāh, with evident aversion asked: ⁶ Is this the master of Shaikh 'Alā'i? Mulla 'Abdu-llah who was lying in wait for him said: The very man. By order of Islem Shāh he was at once seized and most unmercifully beaten with sticks, and kicked and cuffed; the Shaikh as long as he retained consciousness kept repeating this text of the sacred word "Lord forgive us our sins, and our extravagance in our affairs; and make firm our footing, and help us against the misbelieving folk!" ⁷ Islem Shāh enquired what he was saying Mulla 'Abdu-llah said: He is calling you and the rest of us unbelievers; Islem Shāh becoming exceeding wroth waxed still fiercer in his efforts to punish and torture him,⁸ and kept his retinue standing ¹⁰ an hour longer while they cudgelled him, and when he thought that the breath had left¹¹ his body—

405.

¹ MS. (B) omits *گرفت* and *آه* after *گفت*.

² MS. (A) *سالم میبختند*. ³ MSS. (A) (B) *بچاند*.

⁴ The *sunna* is the traditional law of Muhammad.

⁵ MS. (A) omits *کردند* MS. (B) reads *گرفتند*.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) insert *گفت*.

⁷ Qur'an iii. 141. See Palmer's Translation.

⁸ MS. (B) omits *و*.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) read *تأذیب و عقوبت*.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) omit *او* MS. (B) reads *سوار*.

¹¹ MS. (A) *منقطع شد*.

One single breath was left as a mediator (between Life and Death),

That mediator also rose and departed.

he desisted, and went on his way.

A spark of life however remained¹ in the Shaikh, so they wrapped him in a raw hide, and kept him warm for a night and a day before a fire, till he recovered. This occurrence took place in the year nine hundred and fifty-five. When he had regained his health he left Baiāna, and commenced travelling, and spent some time in Afghanistan (Rūh), and some time among the Afghāns of Pattan in the Panjāb,² on the confines of Bajwāra between Ambér and Amritsar,³ and was in the habit of saying: 'This was the fruit of consorting with argumentative people.

Oh ye lords of contemplation, all my trust is in you,

But ye masters of discussion. I'll have none of you.

Finally he came to Sirhind,⁴ and giving up all connection with the manners and customs of the Mahdawī party (moreover he turned all the Mahdawī party from that faith) began to deal with all the followers of Islām according to the tenets of the orthodox school, till eventually in the year 993 H., at the time when the Emperor was on his way to Benares, he summoned Shaikh Abdullāh and granted him a portion of *madad-i-ma'āsh*⁵ land in Sirhind with remainder to his children. And in the year 1000 H., he bade farewell to this transitory world at the age of ninety or thereabout.

Rubā'ī.

If the coursar of the sky give the reins into your hand,

And if the world gives you wealth as the dust under your feet

If your wisdom surpasses the wisdom of Afiātūn,⁷

These are all as nought, at last you must die.

After that Islem Shāh had overcome the Niyāzī faction, and had

¹ MS. (A) omits مانده.

² MS. (A) پتن پنجاب در سرحد. Pak Pattan or Ajūdhān.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read here ملین انیسرو انیسرو. MS. (A) adds ملین before انیسرو.

⁴ MS. (B) ملین می گفتم.

⁵ MS. (B) omits ملین می گفتم.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) ملین می گفتم.

⁷ ملین.

returned to Agra, Muzā 'Abdu-llāh set about inciting him,¹ and giving him a song which reminded him of former intoxications, again induced him to summon Shaikh 'Alā'i from Hindīya, and to order punishment to be executed upon him, and spared no pains to remind him in the vilest possible way, that Shaikh 'Alā'i had been condemned to banishment, whereas now Bahār Khān had become his disciple and follower, and the whole army had shown their leaning towards him. Seeing that his own relations had sought absolution from him and had adopted his faith, there was great probability of disturbance in the kingdom. Accordingly Islem Shāh summoned Shaikh 'Alā'i thence, and used still more strenuous exertions than before² to bring matters to a satisfactory settlement, and knowing as he did the ambitious nature of Shaikh 'Alā'i, and recognising that there was no other man among the learned men³ of Dehli and Agra capable of settling this dispute, he therefore directed Shaikh 'Alā'i to be sent to Bihār to Shaikh Budh⁴ the learned physician, in whom Sher Khān had the very utmost confidence, and who is renowned for the authoritative commentary which he wrote upon the Iṣḥād-i-Qūrī,⁵ and bade him act in accordance with his directions.⁶ When Shaikh 'Alā'i went thither, he heard the sound of singing and musical instruments proceeding from the rooms occupied by Shaikh Budh the physician, and saw in his assembly certain other things repugnant both to the natural feelings and⁷ to religious law⁸ also, the very mention of which is disgraceful, so felt constrained to enjoin⁹ what was lawful and to forbid what was prohibited. Since Shaikh Budh was very infirm¹⁰ and aged, and was not strong enough to speak, his family answered for him that certain customs and observances which have obtained vogue in Hindustān are of

1 MSS. (A) (B) میری شہاد. MS. (A). خود. MS. (A).

2 MS. (B) omits و after دیگر and inserts it after آگے.

3 MS. (A) reads شیخ ہند Shaikh Hindah (?)

4 See Hājī Khalīfah, 522. Iṣḥād.

5 MS. (A) reads فقیر. MS. (B) reads نماید.

6 MS. (B) شریعتی. MS. (B) دیند.

7 MS. (A) reads مکررہ کرد which is the exact opposite of the reading in the text.

8 MS. (B) omits فانی and reads تجدد for تجدد and مکرم for مکرم.

such a nature that if one should forbid them in any way whatever, worldly injury, and loss both bodily and spiritual¹ would inevitably result to the prohibitor, also that the women of Hindustān who as a class are worthless, consider that loss as the result of restrictive measures, and for that reason become infidels. In any case legalising incontinence was probably a less sin than legalising infidelity.² Shāikh 'Alā'ī said that this is an iniquitous conjecture,³ as is proved by the fact that, whenever worldly loss according to their belief is the result of the interference⁴ with some prohibited pleasure, and the injunction to obedience is held by them to be the cause of personal death and injury to their property and position, they have not even the fundamental properties of Muslims, so that their conformity to Islām need not even be considered. Seeing that the argument concerns the validity of Nikāh,⁵ why should one regret⁶ the fact of their not being Muslims? for it is said, *That which is based upon iniquity is most iniquitous of all*⁷ That class therefore stand condemned. Shāikh Budh the physician however,⁸ having regard to equity became their apologist and entered a plea for them, praising⁹ Shāikh 'Alā'ī and treating him with the utmost courtesy and respect.

First of all he wrote a letter to Islem Shāh in the following terms, "Seeing that the Mahdawi question is not indissolubly bound up with the faith of Islām, and very great difference of opinion exists as¹⁰ to the veritable signs by which the Mahdi is to be distin-

¹ The text varies from the MSS (A) and (B) which read *بمانع* while MS (B) omit *دنیوی و بدنی و جانی*.

² We should read here

بهر حال در تجویز فسق شاید از تجویز کفر بزرگ کمتر باشد MSS. (A) (B).

³ MS. (A) *قیاس فاسد*.

⁴ MS. (B) reads wrongly *تعبیر* for *تغیر*.

⁵ *نکاح* Nikāh. The marriage contract. A marriage contracted between a Muslim man and a Hindu woman is invalid in accordance with the injunction of the Qur'ān. The issue of such a marriage is however held to be legitimate. Under no circumstances can a Muslim woman marry any but a Muslim. For fuller discussion of this subject, see Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art. Marriage.

⁶ MS (B) reads *خورد* for *کرد*.

البناء علی القاصد احمد 7

⁸ MS (B) reads *و* for *اما* and omits *در مقام انصاف*.

⁹ MS. (B) reads *نمود* for *کرد*.

¹⁰ MS. (B) omits *باب*.

guished, it is accordingly impossible to convict Shaikh 'Alā'ī of infidelity and impiety. At any rate, all doubts regarding him should be removed. Here books⁵ are very scarce, whereas there are sure to be many⁶ books in the library of the learned men of your country, let them settle the truth of the matter."

The sons of the Shaikh impressed upon him that Makhdūm-i-Mulk⁷ was the *Sadr-i-judr*,⁸ and said, "This opposition of theirs to him has undoubtedly been the cause of your being summoned. At your great age it is far from wise for you to undertake so long a journey, and to undergo the severe fatigue incidental to it." They accordingly cancelled his first letter⁹ and, whether he would or not, secretly wrote another letter¹⁰ as if from Shaikh Badh, couched in terms of flattery of Mulla 'Abdu-llāh, and sent it to Islem Shāh, saying, "Makhdūm-i-Mulk is one of the most discriminating of the learned doctors of the day. What he says is the truth and his decision is the sound decision."

At the time when Islem Shāh was encamped in the Panjāb 401. Shaikh 'Alā'ī arrived at the camp of Bīn Bāu; when Islem Shāh read the sealed letter of Shaikh Badh the physician, he called Shaikh 'Alā'ī to come close to him and said to him in a low tone of voice, "Do you only¹¹ say to me in my own ear that you are penitent for having made this claim, you shall then be accorded complete liberty to go where you will¹² and do as you please." Shaikh 'Alā'ī however refused to give ear to his proposals and paid no heed to him; Islem Shāh in despair¹³ said to Mulla 'Abdu-llāh, I leave him in your hands.¹⁴ This he said, and gave orders for him to receive a certain number of stripes in his own presence.¹⁵ Shaikh 'Alā'ī

¹ MS. (B) omits *مستحق*.

⁵ MS. (A) reads *و کتاب کباب است*.

² MS. (B) omits *بسیار*.

⁶ MS. (B) reads *مستقیم*.

⁷ The *Sadr-i-judr* is the chief judge of all religious questions among Mohammedans. He was also known as *Sadr-i-kul* or *Sadr-i-jahān*. See *Am-i-Akbari* (B) I. 271.

⁸ MS. (A) reads *نورثه دل او را فسخ کرده*.

⁹ Insert *فخرانی* after *مستقیم* MS. (B).

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads *در گوشه*.

¹¹ MS. (A) (B) insert *و* before *فای*.

¹² MS. (B) reads *مهر*.

¹³ *تو دانی و من*. Lit. You know and this fellow, i.e., the matter is one between you and him.

¹⁴ MS. (B) inserts *و امر* after *مهر*, not as in the text.

himself had a wound in his neck, the result of an operation for the pestilence which raged in that year throughout the whole of Hindustān, and had destroyed the greater part of the people.¹ This wound had to be kept open by a tent,² in addition to which he was suffering from the fatigue of his journey, and had hardly a breath of life left in him, so that at the third lash his lofty soul quitted its humble frame and took its flight to the abode promised in the words "*In the seat of truth, in the presence of the powerful king*"³ and rested in the pleasant places of which it is said "*Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard neither hath it entered into the heart of man.*" And after his death they tied his delicate body⁴ to the feet of an elephant, and trampled him to pieces⁵ in the street of the camp, and issued orders forbidding the burial of his corpse,⁶ and appointed agents (to see to this). At that very time a vehement whirlwind arose and blow with so great violence, that people thought that the last day had arrived,⁷ and great lamentation and mourning⁸ was heard throughout the whole camp, and men were in expectation of the early⁹ downfall of the power of Islem Shāh.

And they say that in the course of the night such a wealth of flowers was scattered over the body of the Shaikh that he was completely hidden beneath them and was so to speak entombed in flowers.

After this event¹⁰ the power of Islem Shāh lasted barely two

¹ MS. (A) اکثر خلیقی. The bubonic plague appears to have been the epidemic here referred to.

² قبیله MS. (A) reads قبیله.

³ Qur'ān liv. 55. The full quotation is

إِنَّ الْمُتَّقِينَ فِي جَنَّاتٍ وَنَهَرٍ فِي مَقْعَدِ صَدَقٍ عِنْدَ مَلِكٍ مُّقْتَدِرٍ

Verily, the pious shall be amid gardens and rivers, in the seat of truth, with the powerful king.

⁴ MS. (B) reads بدن.

⁵ MS. (B) reads پاره پاره.

⁶ MS. (A) reads دفن نکنند.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read قیام قیامت.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read غلغلہ و ماتم.

⁹ MS. (B) omits منقریب.

¹⁰ A footnote to the text reads MS. (A) omits these words and reads و بعد ازین دولت اسلم شاهي.

The textual reading appears to be wrong.

years. It was in fact an exact counterpart of the affair of Sultān Jalālu-d-Din Fīroz Shāh Khiljī after the execution of Sīdī Maula,¹ save that the decay of the kingdom of Salīm Shāh was even more rapid than that of Jalālu-d-Din. People considered Mulla 'Abdullāh, who was always vexations to the holy men, to be the cause of all this heart-burning, and this was really the case.

This event took place in the year 957 H. (1550 A.D.) the writer of these pages was at that time ten years of age, and invented the two following chronograms: The first is *Zākīru-llāh*, the second *Saqāhum rabbuhum sharāban*.²

Among the events which happened in the reign of Islem Shāh was the murder of Khawāṣṣ Khān, of which the following is a brief account. When Khawāṣṣ Khān, after the battle with the Niyāzis fled to the foot of the hills, Islem Shāh appointed to that district Tāj Khān Karrānī who was the brother of Sulcīmān Karrānī, and the most learned and able of the whole Afghān line, and wrote a command from his camp at Bīn Bāū, that they were to induce Khawāṣṣ Khān, even if it were by means of treaty oaths, to come down from the hills, and put an end to him. However Tāj Khān was unable to effect³ anything owing to the impregnability of that mountain retreat, and accordingly sent Khawāṣṣ Khān the message of Islem Shāh promising him safety.⁴ He, relying upon the word of a Muslim, came⁵ and had an interview with Tāj Khān, who instantly⁶ had him put to death and sent his head⁷ to Salīm Shāh at the township⁸ of Bīn (Bāū), and after burying his body⁹ at the township of Sarastā, in the neighbourhood of Sambal, transferred it thence to Dihli. This event happened in the year 959 H. (A.D. 1551). As a chrono-

¹ MS. (A) *reada* کشتن.

² *Zākīru-llāh* ذاکر الله.
The mindful of God.

Saqāhum rabbuhum sharāban سقاہم ربہم شرابا.
May their Lord give them to drink a draught of wine.

Each of these gives the date 957, H.

³ MSS. (A) (B) گاری نقرانست ساخت.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) insert و.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) آمد و.

⁶ MS. (B) omits *خان* و تاج.

⁷ MS. (B) omits *د* and reads *سلیمان* for *سایم*.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) omits *قسمت*.

⁹ MS. (A) وجہ.

graphical record they invented the words *Musibat ba'alam shud*,¹ that is to say, A calamity for the world

One of his magnanimous acts was the following. On his arrival at Kalpi in the company of *Shir Shāh* he gave two *laks* of rupees to the sweetmeat sellers of that city so that they might send sugarcane to Rautanbhor without intermission. In the same way also he gave money to all the mango gardens of Baiāna, so that they might send mangoes day after day² to the halting-places for the poor and necessitous.

In the meantime *Shir Shāh* died, and *Salim Shāh* appointed persons who recovered the sum of twenty-four thousand rupees³ which remained of that money, and on receiving it put it into the treasury

In this same year *Shaiikh 'Abdu-l-hayy*, the son of *Shaiikh Jamāli Kanbāwī* of Dihli,⁴ who was adorned with excellencies of science and poetry,⁵ and was a devout man,⁶ and the boon companion and specially favoured intimate of *Ismā' Shāh*, delivered up the life entrusted to his keeping, and *Saiyyid Shāh Mir* of *Agra* invented the following chronogram:—

He said —

My name in itself would furnish the *tārīkh*

At such time as 'abd (the slave) was not in the midst of it⁷

Among the events which happened during the time that *Ismā' Shāh* was encamped at Bin was the following. One day in the

¹ A footnote to the text says that these words give the date 939 and that therefore there is some mistake.

It appears that the real reading should be *musibat ba 'am shud*, which would give the correct date, and this is in fact the reading in MS (A). The text should accordingly be corrected in accordance with this, and we should translate, A general calamity.

² MSS. (A) (B) روز بروز

³ MS. (B) omits هزار and reads را after روپیہ instead of او as in the text.

⁴ MS. (A) دهلي

⁵ MS. (A) reads شعری for شعری.

⁶ صاحب سخاوت. MS. (B) reads صاحب سخاوت a generous man.

⁷ The lines run thus : گفت نام منی شری قاریخ بنده وقتی که در میان نبود.

If we take the name *شیخ عبدالسی* and remove from it the centre word 'abd which means a slave we find the remaining words give the date 959 H.

interval between two times of prayer Islem Shāh was sitting at ease upon his readster,¹ and was proceeding with a small escort from the camp to visit the tent of Mān Garh,² which lies at a distance of five or six *krohs* or thereabouts, in accordance with his usual custom, when suddenly a man sprung up in front of him and blocking the road, holding a sword concealed in his armpit like the proverbial Taabata Sharran,³ under pretence of seeking redress (for some grievance) came forward and aimed a blow at him. Salim Shāh, however, with great adroitness caught the blow upon the head of his whip. The handle of the whip was cut through and a slight wound was inflicted upon his face. When the man raised his arm to strike a second blow Salim Shāh sprang forward and hurled himself upon that ruffian, and wrested the sword from his hand. At this instant Daulat Khān Ajyāra, the son of Sazāwal Khān, who was the chosen intimate and bosom friend of Islem Shāh, galloped up and dealt a blow at that 411
miscreant. Others also came up and enquired from him the reason for his action. Salim Shāh did not approve of this⁴ and said: 'This wretch will destroy the houses of numberless people, lose no time in taking due vengeance on him.' However he recognised that sword as the one he had given to Iqbāl Khān. This Iqbāl Khān was one of the scum and off-scourings of Hindustān who had rendered Shīr Shāh several services. He was so exceedingly ill-favoured,⁵ mean-looking, and odious in appearance that they used to call him Rahmatu-llāhi, which in Hindustan is the term

¹ Read *راستکار* for *راستکار*.

² MSS. (A) (B) *مناجرات*.

³ *تَابَتَا شَرَّان*. The surname of Sibt-bin-Jabor bin Saḥyān al-Fahmī, a famous Arab athlete and warrior, who was so called according to some because the sword never quitted him, or because he put beneath his arm-pit (*أُخْرَى*) a quiver of arrows, and took a bow, or put beneath his arm-pit a knife and came to an assembly of Arabs and smote some of them, see Lane s. v. *أُخْرَى*. According to the account in the Aghānī, he acquired his name from having slain a lion in a dark night in the midst of a violent storm of thunder and lightning; when morning came he brought the lion to his companions under his arm, and they said, *Laqadd taabata sharran*; "Verily he has put destruction under his arm."

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) *وَأَمَّا هَذَا فَقَدْ كَفَّتْ* MSS. (A) (B) *وَأَمَّا هَذَا فَقَدْ كَفَّتْ*.

⁵ MS. (B) omits *بسیار* MS. (A) omits *بسیار* inserting it after *مستقر*.

applied to a weaver.¹ Islem Shāh himself² had raised him from the very lowest of the low, and had given him a position of intimacy with the highest, so that he made him the envy of the noble Amīrs,³ and would not permit him to be out of his sight for one moment. From that day forward, when he recognised that sword, he deprived him of his rank, so that⁴ he made him an example⁵ of the saying: *Everything returns to its original state*; but in spite of the incitation of the Amīrs of the Afghāns that he should put him to death, he replied, "I am heartily ashamed to destroy the man of my own training."⁶

Verse.

Water cannot swallow down wood, knowest thou why?

It is ashamed⁷ to destroy that which it has reared.

Islem Shāh, who had for this same reason become distrustful of Afghāns, now became afflicted with complications of his disease, and increased the opium in his wine,⁸ and the snake-bitten one drank a draught of poison,⁹ and thirsting for the blood of the Afghāns, became more than ever¹⁰ set upon eradicating them. The crisis was as though it was saying to him:

Verse.

Thou hast laid a foundation, which will destroy thy family,
Oh, thou whose family is destroyed, what a foundation thou
hast laid!

¹ *jūlāhc*. MS. (A) reads *جوالا*. Either reading may be accepted. If we read *جوالا* as in the text the translation will be as above, with the implied meaning of that stupidity for which weavers are proverbially noted. See Fallon's Dictionary s.v. *جالا*.

If we read *جوالا* the meaning will be dull, apathetic, stupid.

² MS. (A) inserts *خود* and omits *اورا* inserting this after *آورد*.

³ MS. (A) omits *خود* here. ⁴ MS. (A) *گرفت تا*.

⁵ MS. (A) omits *مظهر*. ⁶ MS. (B) *تربیت* for *تربیت*.

⁷ MS. (A) reads *شربت* for *شرمش*. MS. (B) omit *ز*.

⁸ MS. (A) *سواب*.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) *مارزده*. The meaning appears to be that the opium he took as an anodyne acted as a poison, and increased the effects of the disease from which he was already suffering.

¹⁰ MS. (B) *بیشتر از پیشتر*.

After these events Islem Shāh returned¹ towards Gwāliār, which he had made his metropolis, and had arrived at Dihli² when tidings arrived that Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh had reached the banks of the Indus, with the aim of conquering Hindustān. Islem Shāh just at the³ very moment when this tidings arrived, had applied a leech⁴ to his throat, but instantly took it off, dashed some water upon his head,⁵ and binding up his throat with linen rags⁶ ordered his army to proceed, and⁷ the first day covering three *krohs*, encamped, and the rank and file of his army who were at the last gasp from drunkenness, involuntarily followed him as though led by a halter round their necks. Certain of the Vazīrs who were well-disposed to him⁸ represented that inasmuch as a powerful foe had come against him, and his soldiery were worthless, it would be just as well if orders were given for their pay to be issued to them. Islem Shāh replied that if⁹ he were to give them money at that particular time they would attribute it to his being weak and in straits, so I will wait, said he, till my return after this victory,¹⁰ when I will give them, with one stroke of the pen, two years pay. The soldiers had patience and without a murmur awaited what fortune Providence would bring them, at the same time expecting some sudden calamity,¹¹ and in spite of their state of unpreparedness arrived at the encampment. When it was reported to Islem Shāh that the artillery was ready, but that, as the bullocks¹² for the gun-carriages had been left at Gwāliār, they awaited his orders, he replied, 'What possible use are such a crowd of thousands of infantry and cavalry, are they to get their monthly pay for nothing?' accordingly he made them all do

¹ MS. (A) omits نمود here and inserts it after بود in the next line

² MSS (A) (B) omit توحده نمود چون. MSS (A) (B) read

بدلی رسید بود که خبر

³ Read در آن ساعت که این خبر رسید. MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ زلور گلوچسپا نیده بود. MS. (A) reads زیور probably a copyist's error for زلوری or زلورا.

⁵ Omits تا MS. (A).

⁶ ملیند litta. MS (A) reads

⁷ Invert و MS. (A) (B).

⁸ MS (A) insert بعد before بعضی.

⁹ MS. (A) put اگر before وقت not after it as in the text.

¹⁰ MS. (B) omit بازگشته.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads واقعه for آفت MSS (A) (B) read بوده for بودند

¹² Text گاوان ارابه MS (A) reads گارون. MS (B) عرب

'the work of bullocks,' and ordered them to drag the gun carriages, thus proving the truth of the following:—

Verce.

These whom you see are not all human beings,
Most of them are tailless oxen and asses.

Some of the large mortars were of such a size that it took one or two thousand men, more or less, to drag each one.¹ At this rate of speed they reached the Panjāb in the course of seven days. Humāyūn Pādshāh in person, in accordance with certain advantageous plans he had formed, advanced as far as Banbhar,² at the skirt of the mountain range to the north of the Kashmir frontier,³ and then returned towards⁴ Kabul. A short resumé of these events will be given in its proper place if the Most High God so will it.⁵

Islem Shāh also upon hearing this tidings⁷ fled⁸ with all haste from Lāhor to Gwāliār. In the course of his retreat arriving in the neighbourhood of the township of Anberī,⁹ he was occupied in hunting, when a band of ruffians,¹⁰ at the instigation of certain of the Amīrs, blocked his path, and meditated doing him harm, but a messenger arrived who informed Islem Shāh of this design, and he consequently entered the city by another road,¹¹ and after putting to death¹² a number of men, among whom were Bahān-d-Din and Maḥmūd and Madā,¹³ who were¹⁴ the fountain heads of the rebellion attempted by the

¹ Omit *دختر*. MSS. (A) (B). MS. (A) reads *اعتبار كود*.

² The text reads *هر کدام را هزار هزار کسی دو دو هزار کسی کمتر و بیشتر*. MS. (A) inserts after *کسی* and omit the second *کسی* replacing it by *و*.

³ At the foot of the Alidek range; See Rennell's map, Tiff., Vol. III. Behnbur. MSS. (A) (B) read *بنبر* Banbhar. The text reads *بنبر* Banhar.

⁴ MS. (A) omits *از حد کشمیر*. ⁵ MS. (B) reads *به کابل* to Kābul.

⁶ MS. (A) inserts *انشاء الله تعالى* between *خود* and *مذکور*.

⁷ MS. (A) omits *خبر*.

⁸ MS. (A) *فرار*.

⁹ This is the reading of the text but MSS. (A) (B) read *انتری* Antari.

¹⁰ *لوندان* Text MS. (B) reads *لوانید*. ¹¹ MS. (A) *براهی دیگر*.

¹² MSS. (A) (B) *رسانیده*.

¹³ MS. (B) omits these last names and reads *و غیره* and others.

¹⁴ MS. (A) *بودند* for *بود*.

mutineers, imprisoned all persons against whom he entertained suspicion, afterwards putting them to death. Then he threw open the doors of the treasury and issued a public order directing the issue of two years pay to the soldiery,¹ and sent written despatches to the Amirs of five thousand and ten thousand to this effect. Some of the troops received the pay, others did not. At this very time the army of Fate, who is the most powerful of all powerful foes, made an onslaught upon him.²

Verse.

That man owned a single ass, but had no pack-saddle.

He found a pack-saddle, but in the meantime the wolf had made off with the ass.³

⁴ Among the forces which overthrew him was, it is said, a carbuncle which appeared in the neighbourhood of his seat, others assert that it was cancer.

He was beside himself with pain and⁵ had himself bled, but without relief. Whilst in this state of distress and prostration, he used from time to time to say, 'I had no idea that God was so extremely powerful,'⁶ and while in this condition, as long as he retained consciousness he ordered Daulat Khān to sit facing him, and would not cast a glance in any other direction save on⁴¹⁴ his face alone.⁷

Verse.

Mahmūd gives not a soul to the Angel (of Death)

Until he sees him in the form of Ayāz.

Notwithstanding the fact that he had lapsed into unconsciousness, he would now and then open his eyes, and these words would

¹ MS. (B) سپاهیان.

² A footnote directs attention to a suggested variation in the text by placing *کے* after *سپاہ اجل* instead of before those words. This is the reading found in MS. (A) and is obviously correct.

³ A proverbial saying of this kind is—

جب چنے تھے تب دانت نہ تھے جب دانت ہوئے تب چنے نہیں

When I had pence I had no teeth, now my teeth have come I have no pence.

⁴ Omit *و مقدّم* MS. (A).

⁵ Insert *و*

⁶ MSS. (A) (B)

⁷ MS. (B) omits *در* before *جانب* MS. (A) reads *جانب* for *جانب*

come¹ to his lips 'Where is Ajyāra?'² They say also that although he found it excessively difficult to turn from one side to the other, yet he would not consent to their giving Daulat Khān the trouble of coming in front of him, but he would say, 'Please turn my face in his direction.'

One day he saw that Daulat Khān was absent and asked 'where can he be?' They replied he has probably gone to the house of one of his relatives. Then he knew that to all appearance he was playing a time-serving part with others. At that moment Daulat Khān arrived and Islem Shāh quoted this verse:—

Thou knowest my value, how faithful I am³

Stay! before thou seekest the companionship of other friends.

It is reported on excellent authority also that Islem Shāh had ordered⁴ the treasury-officer that he should give Daulat Khān every day for his personal expenses as much as a lak of tankas, as a matter of course and unasked,⁵ but that if asked for a larger sum he should produce it for his use. At last seeing that his condition became more grave day by day, nay, hour by hour, his physicians despaired of relieving him.

Verba.

In one small detail the whole of the philosophers have been found wanting,

For what can man do against the Eternal decrees.⁶

When the natural causes of the pulse depart from the fundamental movement,⁷

¹ MS (B) میگذشت.

² Daulat Khān Ajyara, who has been before mentioned. MSS. (A) (B) read احيارة Ajyāra, but the text reads (ق) حيارة Hīyāra with a note of interrogation. Ajyara is the right reading.

³ For چسانم. MS. (A) read چانم. ⁴ MSS. (A) (B) حکم کرده بود.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read نه پرسید for نه پرسید.

⁶ کنر فیکون. Qur'ān II, iii.

بَدَعَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَإِذَا قَضَىٰ أَمْرًا فَإِنَّمَا يَقُولُ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ

The originator of the heavens and the earth, when he decrees a matter he doth but say unto it, BE, and it is.

⁷ The modifying causes of the pulse are classified by Sadīdī thus (1) ماسک masak or constant such as animal force in the heart and vessels (2)

The foot of Afiatūn himself becomes fixed in the mire of helplessness.

When the conduct of nature turns towards disorder,
The Qānūn¹ of Bū 'Alī lies useless in the hand.

415.

At last he left this world of regrets, wounded by countless sorrows, and abandoned his kingdom to the desire of his enemies. The duration of his reign was nine years. His body was taken to Saharām and buried by the side of his father. This event occurred in the year 961 H.,² and by a coincidence it happened that in the course of this (self-same) year³ Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt, who had adorned the throne with justice⁴ and equity and the fear of God, drank the cup of martyrdom at the hands of his servant Barbān.⁵ Nizāmu-l-Mulk Bahri,⁶ the king of the Dakhan, also took his way to the ocean of non-existence, and Mir Saiyyid Na'matu-llāh, whose poetical name was Rusūlī,⁷ who was one of the incomparable learned men and a close companion of Islem Shāh, wrote this chronogram:—

Verse.

At one time came the decline of three emperors,
Whose justice made Hindustān the abode of safety

مغیر mughāyir or variable, such as age, sex, sleeping or waking; exercise, bathing—others of this class are external or accidental, such as, feverishness, and inflammations. The pulse says, he is necessary for the quieting of the natural heat, and for dispelling vapours. It is opposed by rigidity of the vessels and weakness of the animal powers. See Sadīdī, p. 64, et. seqq.

قانون فی الطب Qānūn-i-Bū 'Alī. This is the famous قانون فی الطب Qānūn f-i-fibb, canon medicine, by the celebrated Shaiḫ Abū 'Alī Husein bin 'Abdu-llāh commonly known as Ibn Sīna (Avicenna). See Hājī Khalīfah, No. 9354.

Abū Sīna was a famous Muhammedan physician who was born in Bakhārā, and died at Hamadān in July 1037 A.D., 427 A.H.

(H.K. says 428 A.H.). See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 20.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) both write *دست و شست* omitting *ویک* which is added in the text.

² MSS. (A) (B) *در مدت تک سال* MSS (A) (B). ³ MS. (B) reads *بمنقت*.

⁴ The text reads *لا برهات له* a punning comment on the servant's name which will not admit of translation.

⁵ See Beale, *O. B. D.* for an account of the Nizām-Shāhī dynasty.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) the text reads *رشوتی* Rishwati.

One was Mahmūd the Emperor of Gujerāt,
 Who, like his empire, was still in the pride of youth;
 The second was Islem Shāh, that mine of beneficence,
 Whose beloved son¹ was Sher Khān;
 The third was Nizāmu-l-Mulk Bahri
 Who as Emperor was seated on the throne of the Dakhan.
 If you ask of me a *ṭarīkh* for the death of these three²
 Emperors?
 I answer *Zawāl-i-khusrūn*³

410. Islem Shāh notwithstanding his not having read poetry had many apt quotations in his memory, and being a clever critic, used constantly to practise the art of versification with Amīr Saiyyid Na'mat Husūli,⁴ and used to compose many elegant verses and to enjoy listening to those of his fellow poet. Moreover he was highly esteemed by the learned and religious men⁵ of his time. They say that when he reached Alwar on his way to the Panjāb, he one day caught sight of Mulla 'Abdu-llāh of Saltānpūr⁶ who was at some distance coming towards him; addressing his attendants he said: "Have you any idea who this is who is approaching." They replied: "Who is it, please inform us."⁷ He said: "Bābar Padshāh had five sons, of whom four⁸ left Hindustān and one remained." They said "and who is that one?" He replied: "This Mulla who is approaching." Sarmaat Khān said: "What is the use of keeping up connection with such a vicious person?"⁹ He replied¹⁰ "What can I do, when I can find¹¹ no better than he?" And when Mulla 'Abdu-llāh came up he ordered him to sit upon his own throne, and bestowed upon him a bead-roll of pearls, valued at twenty thousand rupees,¹² which had at that moment arrived as

¹ MS. (A) reads عزیز

² MS (A) ابن هرويه.

³ *Zawāl-i-khusrūn*. *زوال خسروان*. The decline of the Emperors. The letters of *Zawāl-i-khusrūn* give the date 961 H. See note 2 *supra*.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B). The text as before reads Rishwati.

⁵ MS. (A) omits *و ملای*

⁶ MS (A) omits *یا*.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) *فرمای*.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) *چهار*.

⁹ Text reads *متفنی*. MS. (A) reads *مفتن* sedition. MS. (B) reads *متفنی* parasitic.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) *گفت*.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) *نمی یابم*.

¹² Omit *به* before *دیت*. MSS. (A) (B)

a present from some place. He never missed the public prayers, and never touched any intoxicants¹ not even *jauz*,² [and Shaikh Salim Chishtī of Fathpūr and Hāfiẓ Nizām of Badācūn were both of them his imāms].³

FIRŌZ SHĀH IBN-I-ISLEM SHĀH,

Who was called Firūz Khān, was raised to the throne in succession to his father at the age of twelve⁴ with the title of Padshāh.⁵ The affairs of the kingdom did not prosper in his hands, and Mubārīz Khān the son of Nizām Khān⁶ Sūr, who was brother's son to Islem Shāh,⁷ after three days attempted the life of that innocent one, and although Bibī Bā'i, who was the sister of Mubārīz Khān,⁸ and the wife of Islem Shāh, fell at his feet and besought him piteously saying: "Ah my brother, spare the life of this poor harmless boy, and let me take my own way and bear him away⁹ to some place where no one will have a trace of him, and where he will have nothing to do with sovereignty, nay, will not even mention the name of kingship."¹⁰ That pitiless tyrant would not heed her, but entered the palace and cut¹¹ off the boy's head under the very eyes of his mother. At this day his issue is cut off just as the line of Islem Shāh; and it is said that Islem Shāh

¹ MS. (A) reads *و از کیفیت معنی جوزم*. A variant given in a footnote to the text reads *و بغیر از کیفیت معنی جوزم*. On the whole the textual reading seems the best adding *معنی* as in the two readings given.

² *Jauz māḡal*. Datura, sp. alba. D. fastuosa N.O. Solanaceae called in Hindustānī *धतूरा* *dhatūrā*, and in Sanskrit *धतूरा* from *धृ* elegant, and *तू* injurious. (Wilson) Used as a narcotic and intoxicant. According to the *Mahānu-l-adwiyā* a wine is made from the juice of the leaves. An overdose is said to produce symptoms resembling *delirium et poise*, the patient raving and chasing imaginary animals along the walls of the room.

³ These words are not in the text but both MSS. (A) (B) read *و شیخ سلیم چشتی فتویہ داری و حافظ نظام بدایونی سردار امام او بودند*.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read thus *دوازده*. The text reads *دوازده*.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) *دوازده شد*. ⁶ MS. (B) reads *نظام سور*.

⁷ MS. (A) reads *دوازده شد* *و برادر زن سلیم شد* *بود*.

Who was brother's son to Sher Shāh, and uncle's son and wife's brother to Islem Shāh.

⁸ MS. (A).

⁹ MS. (A) *بجای پدرم که کسی*.

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits *هو*.

¹¹ MS. (A) *برید*.

had made several attempts upon the life of Mubārīz Khān, and used to say to his wife, "If you value your child keep clear of your brother,¹ and if you wish to preserve the one, take away all hope of life from the other." She used to say in a deprecatory way, "My brother spends all his time in amusing himself,² and the robe of royalty is in no way suitable to his standard of ambition; give up the idea of destroying him."³ Islem Shāh however, whenever he saw Mubārīz Khān used to say to his wife in a reproachful way, "In the end you will regret this at a time when regret will avail nothing." And at last the prophecy of Islem Shāh, which he had made by his judgment of physiognomy, was confirmed to the letter.⁴

Verse

Whatever the young man sees the mirror,
The old man sees that same in the unbaked brick.⁵

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD 'ĀDIL COMMONLY KNOWN AS 'ADLI,

Who was the son of Nizām Khān Sūr,⁷ and went by the name of Mubārīz Khān, ascended the throne with the concurrence of the principal Amirs and Vazirs, and caused himself to be addressed by the above title.⁸ The general public however used to call him 'Adli, and that name even⁹ they perverted to Andlī which has the commonly accepted signification of "blind."¹⁰ At the commencement of his reign, having heard of the conduct of Muḥammad 'Ādil ibn Tughlaq Shāh,¹¹ he used to imitate him in lavishing money, and having opened the doors of his treasury he

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit خود.

² Omit و لعل. MSS. (A) (B).

³ MS. (B) omits او.

⁴ In MS. (A) these words precede the verse, and read -

و ما لبثت الا امرهم چنان شد الخ. MS. (B) omits هم.

⁵ MS. (A) reads کهنه در خشت پخته آن پخته, a footnote variant reads کهنه (old) for پخته (baked). I follow the reading of the text, taking the meaning to be that the aged can see the tendency of the young as clearly as the young can see the reflection in a mirror.

⁶ See *Am-n-Albarī* II, (J.) 221 n. 2

⁷ MS. (A) reads این نظام خان سُر که omitting که and بود.

⁸ MS. (B) مخاطب کرد

⁹ MS. (A) omits نیز.

¹⁰ اندلی means "a blind woman."

¹¹ MS. (A) reads سلطان محمد تغلق را

nimed at securing¹ the goodwill of great and small: and he had made arrows tipped with² gold of a money value of five hundred tankahs and used to throw them. Whatever³ poor person's house they used to fall at, he then bestowed that amount in money upon him and used to take back the *kaliba-bāsh*, this sinful habit however quickly⁴ came to an end after a few days.

Verses.

Inorganic matter is one thing: spontaneous growth is another.

Verses.

If the tears flow down upon the cheeks,
True weeping is easily distinguished from false.

The rank of *Fazir* and *Fakir* was bestowed upon one *Shamaher Khān*, a slave who was the younger brother of *Khawass Khān* and *Dāulat Khān*, the "new-Muslim," a protégé of the *Luhānī*'s faction. He also gave uncontrolled authority to *Himūn* the greengrocer, of the township of *Rawārī* in *Miwāt*, whom *Iseem Shāh* had gradually elevated from the position of police superintendent of the *bāzārs* and confirmer of punishments, and had by degrees made into a trusted confidant.⁵ He now gave him the superintendence of all important affairs both military and civil.

Inasmuch as *Adli* had originally been accustomed to the profession⁷ of music and dancing, and was fond of a life of ease and luxury, and was otiose in his habits, he was by no means fitted for the conduct of military affairs, or the duties of civil administration; superadded to this was the murder of *Firūz Khān* and his unbounded confidence in *Himūn*. Accordingly these Amirs who were of true *Afghān* descent, evinced a great repugnance to obey him, and aroused such widespread feelings of

¹ MS. (A) ساخت.

² Text کتبه باشی. MS. (A) کتبه باشی. MS. (B) کتبه باشی.

The reading of the text is unintelligible. We should read کتبه باشی in the meaning of a bamboo shaft. Firsihta's reading is quite clear he says

Bo: Text, p. 139. کتبه باشی که پیکان آن یک توله طلا بود.

That is, *Katah*, a bamboo shaft, whose head was one tola of gold.

³ MS. (A) reads پشیمان.

⁴ MS. (A) زود برطرف شد.

⁵ MS. (A) نوحان.

⁶ MS. (A) صاحب اختیار.

⁷ MS. (A) reads پیشگی for پیشگی.

shame, that hardly had a month passed since his accession, when on all sides rebellions arose, and they became rulers of their several clans. Sedition awoke from its heavy slumber, the bonds of kinship with Sher Shāh and of orders passed by Islem Shāh snapped asunder, and disorder reigned supreme :

Verse.

When the heart of the times writhes, the bond of fellowship
snaps,

When a flaw appears¹ in the string, the pearls are scattered.

One day when, having summoned the most renowned Amīrs to the darbār hall of the fort of Gwāliār, 'Adli was engaged in distributing *jāgīrs*, he ordered that the Sarkār of Qanauj should be transferred from Shāh Muhammad Fārmālī, and given in perpetuity to Sarmast Khān Sarbanī. [Shāh Muhammad was ill],² whereupon his son Sikandar, who was a brave, handsome, and well built youth spoke fiercely with regard to this *jāgīr*. Shāh Muhammad however admonished³ him in gentle terms and forbade him to speak thus, but he answered his father "Once Sher Shāh placed you in an iron cage and kept you a prisoner for some years, while Islem Shāh made you the captive of his kindness and by intercession and influence obtained your release. Now the Sūr faction are attempting to destroy us, and you do not understand their infamous design ;⁴ thereupon he began to abuse Sarmast Khān with all the petulance of youth and the arrogant pride of race and said : "Now our affairs have come to such a pass⁵ that this dog-seller⁶ is to enjoy our *jāgīr*." Sarmast Khān, who was a tall, powerful man full of energy, placed his hand upon the shoulder of Sikandar intending to make him prisoner by underhand means, and said : "My boy, why are you saying all these bitter things," Sikandar however perceived his intention, clapped his hand to his dagger, and struck Sarmast Khān such a deadly blow over the shoulder blade, that he fell on the spot unconscious and died. Sikandar Khān also made some others of those⁷ hell-dogs so heavy of head

¹ MS. (A) reads *آزمودید*.

² MS. (A) adds the words in brackets *و شاع محمد بیماری داشت*.

³ MS. (A) *اصیحت میدهد*.

⁴ MS. (A) omits *را*.

⁵ MS. (A) *بجای رسید*.

⁶ MS. (A) *از این سگ فروش*.

⁷ Text *دورخیان*. MSS. (A) (B) read *دور چنان*.

and sleep-stricken¹ that they will never wake² till the morn of the great assembly, and certain others remained so intoxicated that they spent the remainder of their lives in recovering from it.³

Verse.

420.

Thine eye which was wonderful in slaying thy lovers
Would slay one and cast its glance upon another.

It was currently reported that from the time when⁴ the dagger was first invented in Hindustān no person can have ever used it in the way that Sikandar Khān did. A tumult arose among the people, and 'Adlī fled and entered the women's quarters and put up the chain on the inside. Sikandar after that he had killed some and wounded⁵ others, at last made towards 'Adlī and⁶ aimed a blow at him with a sword, which however struck a plank of the door: had he attacked him in the first instance he would have despatched him. The Amirs of 'Adlī's party shewed themselves in their true colours that day, as most of them cast away their swords⁷ and took to flight, and were going about distractedly, till at last, after Sikandar had done as much mischief as salt in the yeast,⁸ they attacked him simultaneously from all sides. This contest went on for three or four hours, when⁹ Sikandar fell to a blow from the sword of Ibrāhīm Khān¹⁰ Sūr, sister's husband to 'Adlī, and Shāh Muḥammad was struck down by the sword of Daulat Khān Lūhānī,¹¹ both of them taking their way to the city of non-existence. It so happened that on that day before the assembly of that meeting Tāj Khān Karrānī, the

¹ MS. (A) سرگران و خواب آلوده. MS (B) read سرگردان.

² MS. (A) بیدار نشود.

³ Read here بعضی دیگر شیرگیر مانند. This is the reading of MSS. (A) (B) and is far preferable to the reading in the text.

⁴ MS. (A) reads ازان زمان که.

⁵ MS. (A) مجروح ساخت.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) نمود و.

⁷ MS. (B) reads اکثری از سردیوارهای خود را انداختند. Most of them throw themselves from the walls. This is also the reading given in a footnote variant to the text.

⁸ The addition of salt to yeast is said to check its fermentative powers.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) و.

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits خان.

¹¹ MS. (A) انودانی.

brother of 'Amād and Sulaimān, who eventually became the autocratic¹ ruler of the province of Bengal, and gave himself the title² of Ḥaẓrat Ā'ālā, having left the audience hall of 'Adlī was going outside the fort, when on his way he met with Shāh Muḥammad Farmalī. They asked³ after each other's affairs, and Tāj Khān said: "I see signs of mischief, and consequently I am removing my manly footsteps outside this circle,⁴ and am going outside. Do you too come with me and follow my lead,⁵ for the scale has turned.

Verse.

When you see that your friends are no longer friendly,
Consider that flight is an opportunity to be seized.

But inasmuch as the hand of death had seized the skirt of Shāh Muḥammad and was dragging him to the grave,⁶ he would not consent to this advice and went to 'Adlī.

Verse.

When the appointed time of the quarry comes it goes towards
the huntsman.

And that which was written in his fate befel him. Tāj Khān in full daylight fled from Gwālīār towards Bengāl and 'Adlī sent an armed party in pursuit of him, and⁷ himself also started to follow him, in front of the township of Chhapramau⁸ in the district of Qannauj an engagement took place between the two parties. The stars in their courses fought for 'Adlī, and his army

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read صاحب استیلا and MS. (A) reads بیگانه for صوره بنگاله.

² MSS. (A) (B) و خطاب داد و should be omitted.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read پرسیدند which is better than the textual reading پرسیدند.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read (B) میروم } ازین دایره بدر نهاده بیرون
(A) میرویم }

⁵ MS. (A) reads wrongly مکن for بکن.

⁶ MS. (A) reads شاه محمد را and MSS. (A) (B) read کشان کشان.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) و خود نیز.

⁸ MS. (B) چهچرا مو. The text is without dots. MS. (A) reads چهچرا مو Chherāmau.

was victorious,¹ and Tāj Khān turning in flight made the best of his way to Ohhinār,² wherever he found the authorities favourable to 'Adli he made prisoners³ of them, and laid hands on whatever cash and valuables he could find. A hundred head of elephants also fell into his hands. Thus he proceeded till he joined hands with Suleimān and 'Imād and Khwāja Ilyās who held sway over certain parganas on the banks of the Ganges and other places. Then he openly sounded the note of rebellion. 'Adli arrived at Chunār,⁴ and the Karrānis on the banks of the river⁵ Ganges came out to fight with him. Himūn asked for a *halka* of elephants, that is to say, a hundred elephants, and fought a desperate battle with them gaining a victory. And 'Adli while in Chunār intended to seize⁶ Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of Ghāzī Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Khān, but the sister of 'Adli, who was married to him, became aware of this intention, and brought him down by a secret passage⁷ from the fort. Ibrāhīm Khān made his way towards Baiāna and Hindūn which was his father's jāgīr : 422. 'Adli despatched 'Isā Khān Niyāzī after Ibrāhīm Khān, and they fought a battle⁸ in the vicinity of Kalpī, the breeze of victory fanned the standards of Ibrāhīm Khān, and he gained the day. Then having assembled a large following, and entering that country, he proclaimed himself sovereign.⁹ 'Adli thereupon disengaged himself from the Karrānis, and came against Ibrāhīm Khān to attack him, and when he arrived near the river Jon, Ibrāhīm Khān made overtures,¹⁰ and sent a message saying: "If Rāi Husain Jilwānī,¹¹ and Bihār Khān Sarwānī, to whom Islam Shāh gave the title of Ā'zam Humāyūn, with some others¹² of the Amīrs noble and renowned, will come and reassure me,¹³ then will I in reliance upon their assurances agree to make

¹ The textual reading is wrong, omit *نور* reading with MSS. (A) (B) *فوج اور غالب آمد*.

² MS. (A) جٹار. MS. (B) چٹار. دستگیر ساختہ. MSS. (A) (B).

³ MSS. (A) (B). ⁴ دریای گنگ. MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ MS (A) مقید سازد.

⁶ MS. (A) reads *مجبوری از بالای قلعه* which is better than the text.

⁷ جنگ کردہ. MSS. (A) (B).

⁸ دم از استقلال زد. MSS. (A) (B).

⁹ درمیان. MS. (A) omits.

¹⁰ حلوائی. MS. (A) reads.

¹¹ دیگر. MS. (A) omits.

¹² بدست. MS. (B) reads.

submission to you." 'Adli¹ accordingly sent them, and no sooner had they arrived than they gave in their allegiance to Ibrāhīm Khān, giving him the title of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and thus putting² a different complexion upon the dispute, raised the standard of insurrection against 'Adli.

The *Khutbah* was read in the name of Ibrāhīm Khān in Āgra and certain other districts, while 'Adli, realising that he was not able to cope with him, left Gwāliar for Bhatta, and thence returned towards Chunār³ taking with him⁴ large amounts of treasure; many elephants and a large following.

423. After the death of Islem Shāh, at the time when the kings of clans arose,⁵ Ahmad Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Shāh, who had to wife the second sister of 'Adli, a man of distinguished bravery and endurance, sat in conference with⁶ the Amīrs of the Panjāb, and implanted in their minds all sorts of evil notions regarding 'Adli and of his unsuitness, (they being already ill-disposed towards him) and with the aid and assistance of Tātār Khān Kāsī,⁷ and Habib Khān, and Naṣīb Khān Taghājī, who had attained this title from Sher Shāh,⁸ declared open war against 'Adli, and⁹ assuming the title of Sultān Sikandar and reading the *Khutbah*, and entertaining hopes of still further increase of power¹⁰ proceeded to Dihli and Āgra.¹¹

On the other hand, Ibrāhīm having collected a large army confronted Sikandar at Farah,¹² which is situated at a distance of ten *krohs* from Āgra.

Most of the noted Amīrs, such as Hājī Khān Sultānī, Governor of Alwar, who was virtually a king, and Rāi Hussain Jilwānī¹³ and Mas'aūd Khān and Husnī Khān Ghulzāi were on the side of Ibrāhīm. To some two hundred of them Ibrāhīm had given royal

¹ Omit و. MSS. (A) (B).

² MS. (B) قرار داده ادای.

³ MS. (B) omits بسوی.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) omit در تصرف داشت reading خود.

⁵ MS. (B) omits both ملوک and شدند.

⁶ MS. (A) به امرای.

⁷ A footnote variant reads کالپی Kālpī.

⁸ MS. (A) reads یافتہ بودند.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) و.

¹⁰ چشم تازه زور MS. (A) reads روز in error.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) شد.

¹² MS. (B) مقابل شد.

¹³ MSS. (A) (B) فوراً.

¹⁴ MS. (A) حلوائی.

tents and standards, and ensigns¹ and kettle drums, and it frequently happened that to anyone who came and brought with him ten or fifteen horsemen he gave a sort of makeshift flag-staff with a bit of red rag wrapped round it, simply to gain favour and to attract people, bestowing upon him also a grant of dignity and a *jāgīr*.² In this way nearly eighty thousand men flocked to him; and on the day when Hājī Khān came from Alwar and gave in his allegiance to him, he shewed him great favour bestowing upon him a lofty and spacious tent covered on the outside with *sagirlāt*³ of Portugal, and on the inside with Frankish velvet, had it freshly pitched for him. Moreover he lavished upon Hājī Khān magnificent carpets, and vessels of gold and silver and all other requirements on the same scale: accordingly he entered the tent without hesitation and there took up his abode. This treatment occasioned great envy and jealousy⁴ among the Āmīrs of pure Afghān blood who became disheartened and spared not to express their discontent among themselves. Iskandar, who had a following of twelve thousand men, inasmuch as he estimated the army of Ibrāhīm as being more numerous than his own, shilly-shallied and made overtures for peace, and wrote a treaty in the following terms, that from Dillī to the eastern extremity of Hindustān as far as could be arranged,⁵ should belong to Ibrāhīm Khān,⁶ and that the country of the Panjāb and Multān as far as possible should belong to Sikandar, so that he might attain the object for which the Mughals came to Hindustān. The Afghāns of both

424.

¹ The text here reads *طوق*. MS (A) however reads *توق*. The true reading should evidently be *توق* which according to M. Pavet de Courtoilles means a standard composed of the tail of the *قطامي* (*qutās* or Tibetan *yak*), fixed to a pole.

² MSS. (A) (B) *وجایگیر*.

³ MS. (B) reads *سقرلات* *sagirlāt*. Dozy, however, gives no such form of the word and the word is probably *سقرلات* *siqlāt*, meaning a silken stuff broadened with gold. See Dozy s. v. See also Yule and Burnett Glossary s. v. *Suclāt* also, Skeat Etym: Dict. s. v. *Scarlet*.

⁴ Another instance of Badāonī's use of *غبطة* in this unusual sense.

⁵ We should apparently read here *تا آنجا که تواند بشود*. MS. (B) omits the words altogether. MS. (A) agrees with the text, which however does not seem satisfactory.

⁶ MS. (A) omits *خان*.

armies, who were blood-relations or connections of each other, were pleased at the prospect of a peaceful settlement, and Kālā Bhār¹ the brother of Sikandar, and the Amīrs of the *Panj Bhaiya* which means "the five brothers," who were² with the sword the marvel of the age, made this additional stipulation that if after that Ibrāhīm (Khān)³ gets possession⁴ of the treasury of 'Adli and the kingdom of Bhatta, which is near being realised, he shall make us partners in both of these gains, then all well and good,⁵ but if not we will annul the peace. Sikandar agreed to this proposition,⁶ and the majority of the Amīrs of Ibrāhīm (Khān)⁷ impressed upon him that there was no danger to be apprehended from agreeing⁸ to this proposal, inasmuch as the treasury and kingdom of Bhatta would certainly be theirs, "and then," said they, "it will require a man to oppose⁹ us (successfully), while for the present, at any rate, we shall have tided over this difficulty satisfactorily:

Verse.

Be not proud, for I hold the staff of wisdom in my hand,
The arm of riot is long (and)¹⁰ a stick has two ends.

Ibrāhīm came round to this view but Mas'ūd Khān and Husain Khān Ghilz'ai with some of the new Amīrs said: "Seeing that in the end the matters in dispute between us and Sikandar will one day have to be decided by the sword, now that our party has increased, while his following is exceedingly small, why should we not decide¹¹ the matter at once,¹² and not desist until we have secured ourselves against a repetition of this in the future. To agree to peace now will be a confession¹³ of weakness on our part, and an admission of the bravery of our enemies."¹⁴ Upon 'Adli

¹ MSS. (A) (B) so also Firīšta. The text reads کال پھار Kālā Pahār.

² MS. (A) reads بود.

³ MS. (B) adds خان.

⁴ MS. (B) reads بدست آورد which seems better than the text.

⁵ MS. (A) omits بہتر.

⁶ MS. (B) reads رای for معنی.

⁷ MS. (B) ابراہیم خان.

⁸ MS. (B) omits قبول.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) read کہ بمقابلہ ما در آید.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) omit و. That is to say, a staff is a weapon both of offence and defence.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads برسانیم but the textual درسانیم is better.

¹² MS. (B) reads قضیہ را بنفاصل فیصل.

¹³ MS. (B) omits دلیل.

¹⁴ MS. (B) reads اعدا می شود.

also, who has crept like a rat into his hole, with all his elephants and retinue, the desire of conflict with us is creeping, and that peace which had been concluded has been confounded." Ibrāhīm Khān put off fighting till after the arrival of Miyan Yahya Tūran, governor of Sambhal, who was famous both as a warrior and as a man of sound judgment. Miyan Yahya in the year 961 H. during the disturbances, gave battle in Badāon to twenty of 'Adli's Amirs who had been appointed to the district of Sambhal, and defeated them; he then fought a great battle on the plain¹ of the township of Kandarkhi with Rāja Matar Sen Kaktariya, who was the former ruler of Sambhal and had collected a great force, and defeated him. The author of this *Muntakhab*, who was at that time accompanying his father, now deceased, was in the twelfth year of his age,² and had gone to Sambhal to study, wrote this chronogram: *Ohi bas khūb kardā and*³ (How well have they done)! Before that he could convey the news to his teacher,⁴ the prince of learned men, the guide of connoisseurs, the exemplar of the intelligent,⁵ the master of masters, the Miyan Hātim of Sambhal, this⁶ tidings had already reached him. At the time when he was by way of benediction and blessing giving instruction in the *Kanz-i-Fiqh*, he said, "Count the letters of this *tārīkh* which I have spoken without forethought, *Fathhā-i-āsmānī shūd*."⁷ I replied nine hundred and sixty, which⁸ is one unit short. He answered,⁹ I said it with the *hamza* of *Izāfat*, that is to say, *Fathhā-i-āsmānī*, which is in conformity with the ancient spelling in respect to the value of letters: and in this way it is correct.¹⁰ He gave his blessing, and fixed a time for the lesson, and adding

¹ MS. (B) reads در موضع. ² MS. (B) reads در سنه and قیل.

³ MS. (B) reads Ohi bas khūb kardā and. A footnote to the text points out that this gives the date 962 H. whereas the event chronicled occurred in 961 H.

⁴ Read مدرسی. MS. (B).

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read مقتدای جهانگیر instead of مقتدای جهانگیر.

⁶ MS. (A) reads این خبر.

⁷ MS. (A) reads فتنه آسمانی شد. *Fathhā-i-āsmānī shūd*. They were heaven-given victories. Read with *hamza* this gives 961 H.

⁸ MS. (A) reads ۶۵ for ۶۰. MS. (B) reads ۶۰.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) read میفرمودند که.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads wrongly دست. According to this the value of *hamza* is 1, and it is taken as equivalent to *Alif*. The *hamza* of *izāfat* is said to be

a few pages, written with his own hand to the pages which I had written containing the instruction of the Qāzī, gave them to me as a souvenir, and entrusted my instruction to Mīyān Shaikh Abūl Fath, the son of Shaikh-allahdiyah¹ of Khairābād, may God be merciful to him, who is now seated on the throne of instruction and guidance in the room of his father; and inasmuch as Mīyān Yahya after taking forcible possession of² the country of Kānt³-o-Golah and that district, going by way of Badāon had built a bridge across the Ganges at the townshp of Ahār,⁴ and had gone towards Ibrāhīm Khān, I accompanied my father, now departed, may he rest in peace, to Amroha,⁵ and was thus separated from that army;⁶ and being introduced to the presence of the late Mir Saiyyid⁷ Muḥammad Mir 'Adl, may God have mercy on him,⁸ with whom he had some hereditary connection, remained some time under his instruction. In short on the day on which Mīyān Yahya joined Ibrāhīm Khān, on that very morning Ibrāhīm Khān had drawn up his army and placed Mīyān Yahya in the command of the advance guard, while he appointed Hājī Khān to the command of the left division, and Rū Husain Jīlwānī with the Ghilz'ais to the right division. He himself taking the centre drew up in line of battle. On the other side Sikandar Sūr

an abbreviated س (Platta Persian Grammar, p. 43), but if this were the case its value would justly be 10 and not 1. It thus appears more probable that the hamza of izāfat is in reality hamza, and does not represent an original س .

¹ MS (A) ولد شيخ الهدية See J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 118.

² MS (B) reads بضبط آورده

³ Kānt Town in the Shāhjahānpur District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I G vii 437. Kānt-o-Golah in Shāhjahānpur according to Blochmann, J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 122

⁴ Ahār Ancient town in the Bulandshahr District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I G i 81.

⁵ Amroha Town in Moradabad District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I G i. 266.

⁶ MS (A) reads از ان لشکر جدا شده و با سرودن رفتاد

⁷ See J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 126, and *Am.-i-Afghan*, (B) I. p. 268. The Mir 'Adl was the officer entrusted with the duty of carrying out the finding of the Qāzī, see *Am.-i-Afghan*, III. (J) 41

⁸ MS (A) reads رحمة الله عليه

retracing his steps thence he proceeded by continuous marches as far as Sihhind,¹ he eventually fought a battle there and was defeated. Ibrāhīm leaving there went to Sambal, and collecting an army procured a fresh gold-embroidered canopy, and a month later crossed (the river) with a force of three² thousand sowārs by the ford of Kistī,³ and (?) made towards Kalpi in order that having collected a fresh army,⁴ he might fight 'Adli again. At this juncture 'Adli had appointed Hīmūn the grocer, who was his vazīr and uncontrolled agent, and had sent him from Chindhār with certain eminent Amīrs, and five hundred elephants like storm clouds (for blackness), and unlimited treasure to proceed to Āgra and Dilhī.

Hīmūn, regarding Ibrāhīm as his own especial prey, considered it essential to overthrow him; ⁵ Ibrāhīm came out to oppose him ⁶ ready for battle, and taking up a strong position shewed a resolute determination to withstand him, such as perhaps Rustam, if any-one, displayed before.⁷ But for all this, by the decree of the Almighty⁸ he was not successful.⁹ He was the possessor of all the praiseworthy qualities which should belong to kings.⁹ He was well formed and well spoken, modest, cultured and refined,¹⁰ daring and liberal, but success in war is God-given,¹¹ and it is not in mortals to command it, it was not his fate ¹² to win. Accordingly in this space of two years of disorder he must have fought ¹³ sixteen or seventeen battles, and on every occasion after gaining a success } met with a defeat. *God preserve us from failure after success.*¹⁴

¹ MSS. (A) (B) نأ عاقبت.

² MSS. (A) (B) مائه هزار.

³ MS. (A) كني kanī (?), MS. (B) گیسې gīṣī (?).

⁴ MS. (B) جمعني.

⁵ MS. (A) reads دفع for واقع.

⁶ MS. (B) reads بمقتله.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read نهایش for همان قدر.

⁸ MS. (A) reads بونیاید.

⁹ A footnote to the text says that the word با is superfluous, MS. (A) omits با.

¹⁰ MS. (B) reads wrongly توضع for تواضع and متعق for متخلق.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) موهبتی.

¹² MS. (B) reads again بصیقة for نصیب.

¹³ MS. (A) supplies فقرات.

¹⁴ نعوذ بالله من السوء بعد الكور. A tradition, meaning we have recourse to God for preservation from decrease or defectiveness after increase, or redundancy. See Lane s. v. حورية.

Ibrāhīm Khān after this¹ defeat, leaving Kalpi made straight² for Baiāna with all speed, and Himūn pursuing him arrived at Baiāna. Ibrāhīm Khān taking a body of the Nuhānī³ and Afghān cultivators⁴ and landholders of Baiāna, again⁵ went out to meet Himūn, and, making a night attack upon him, the following morning fought a fierce battle with him near to the township of Khānwah, ten krohs distant from Baiāna, but could not prevail against his destiny, and Himūn said 'It is easy to smite a stricken foe' and rolled him up and inflicted a defeat upon him, so that⁶ he was compelled to fortify himself in the fortreas of Baiāna, which is a fort of exceeding loftiness and strength. Himūn thereupon, making that fortress the centre of his operations, attacked it continuously every day, subjecting the fort to a heavy bombardment;⁷ Ghāzi Khān the father of Ibrāhīm Khān⁸ kept the fort provided⁹ with supplies by way of the mountain passes to the westward of Baiāna. Himūn kept up the siege of this fort for three months, and made inroads on the districts of Baiāna on all sides, pillaging and destroying.¹⁰ Nearly all the books which my late father¹¹ possessed in Bagāwar¹² were destroyed. A severe famine prevailed throughout the eastern¹³ portion of Hindūstān, especially in Āgra, Baiāna, and Dihli. It was so severe a famine that one ser of jawārī¹⁴ grain had reached two half-tankahs, and was in fact not to be had (even at that price). Men of wealth and position had to close their houses, and died by tens or twenties or even more in one place, getting neither grave¹⁵ nor shroud. The Hindūs also were in the same

¹ MS. (A) این.

² We should read here یاک انداز yak andāz MS. (A).

³ MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) زرغون. The text reads ارغون which has no meaning.

⁵ MS. (A) بارى.

⁶ MS. (A) قبال ضرورت.

⁷ MS. (A) omits خان.

⁸ MS. (A) فارت می نمود MS. (B) فارت کرده.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) والد مرحوم.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) ممالک شرق رویه.

¹¹ The ser is approximately two pounds. Jawārī is the Hindustānī name for the small variety of millet also known as chhota jowār. (Andropogon sorghum).

¹² MS. (A) reads in error مذکور for نه گور.

¹³ MS. (A) آتشبازی.

¹⁴ MS. (B) reads میفرستاد.

¹⁵ MS. (B) omits بساور.

plight, and the bulk of the people were fain to live on the seeds of the *Mughailān* thorn¹ and on wild herbs,² also on the skins of the oxen which the rich slaughtered and sold from time to time; after a few days their hands and feet swelled³ and they died. As a date for that year the phrase *Khāsh-m-i-Īzād*⁴ (Divine wrath) was invented.⁵ The writer of these pages, with these guilty eyes of his saw man eating his fellow-man in those terrible days. So awful was their aspect that no one dared let his glance rest upon them, and the greater part of that country, what with scarcity of rain, and shortness of grain,⁶ and desolation, and what with the constant struggle and turmoil, and two years continual anarchy⁷ and terror, was utterly ruined, the peasantry and tenants disappeared, and lawless crowds attacked⁸ the cities of the Muslims. Among the strange⁹ incidents of the year 962 H., during the time of the war between Sikandar and Ibrāhīm, was the fire which occurred in the fort of Āgra. The following is a short account of this incident. During the time when Āgra¹⁰ was emptied of the troops of 'Adlī,¹¹ one of the Amirs¹² of Ghāzī Khān Sūr entered the fort of Āgra and took up his abode there,¹³ to make certain preparations and to take charge of the supplies, while he was engaged in inspecting¹⁴ the rooms of the warehouses, he happened to go early one morning into one of the rooms,¹⁵ and was going round¹⁶ carrying an open lamp,¹⁷ a spark from which fell in one of the rooms which was full of

۱ *Mughailān* for *مغیلائن* *Urru ghailān*. According to the *Makhran-i-Adawiya* This is the tree called in Hindi *khar* or *babul* (*Acacia Arabica*) see also Ibn Baṭṭā (South) I 82, according to whom it is *Spinna oxyptiaca*. *Mimosa gummifera*. See also Drury, useful plants of India who states that the seeds and pods are used as food for sheep when grain is scarce.

۲ *ورم می کرد و* MS. (B) adds *حشیش جنگلی* MS. (B)

۳ *Khāsh-m-i-Īzād* Gives the date 962 H.

۴ *یافتند شد* MS. (B)

۵ MS. (B) omits *غله*.

۶ MS. (B) omits *فتنه*.

۷ MS. (A) omits *می* reading *تاختند* MSS (A) (B) *عماری*

۸ MS (B) omits *آگر*

۹ MS. (B) reads *عدل خان* 'Adl Khān

۱۰ MS. (A) reads *امیری از*.

۱۱ MSS (A) (B) *قیام می نمود و*

۱۲ MSS. (A) (B) *میدید* MS (A) *درون* MSS. (A) (B) *میکرد*

۱۳ *چراغ* *chirāgh* is an open lamp with a naked flame generally consisting of a small earthenware saucer of oil with a wick.

gun powder. In the twinkling of an eye an explosion occurred,¹ and the flames shot up to the sky, attended with a violent shock, which led the people of the city to imagine that the judgment-day had arrived, and starting from their sleep they began repeating the formula of *Tauhid* (Declaration of Unity),² and *Taubat*³ (Repentance), and *Istighfār* (seeking for pardon). Heavy slabs of stone and massive pillars were hurled⁴ through the air to a distance of several *krohs* across the river Jamna, and great number of people were killed,⁵ in fact human hands and feet, and the limbs of all kinds of animals were thrown five or six⁶ *krohs*. As the name of the citadel of Āgrā was originally Badal Garh, the words *Āgh-i-Badal garh*⁷ made a chronogram to record the date.

In the days when Hīmūn blockaded the fortress of Baiāna God's people were crying for bread and taking each other's lives,⁸ a hundred thousand sacred lives were as nought for a single grain of barley, whereas the elephants of Hīmūn's army, which numbered five-hundred, were fed solely upon rice, and oil, and sugar; the senses⁹ were shattered by anguish upon anguish in that terrible time:—

Verses.

We cherish enemies, we also destroy friends,

What mortal has the power to question our decisions.

On one occasion Hīmūn was one day presiding at a public banquet, and summoning the *Āghān* Amīrs¹⁰ into his presence,

1 MS (A) آتش در گرفت که

2 The formula of *Tauhid* is *Lā illāha illa Allāh waḥdhu lā shurīka lahu*. There is no god save God. He is one, He has no partner.

The other formula is *Istaghfiru-llāh wa atūbu ilāhi*. I ask pardon of God and to Him I repent.

Both these formulas are used on occasions of sudden alarm and peril.

3 MS. (B) omits و توبه. 4 MS (B) reads بریده instead of پریده.

5 MS. (A) تلف شد. 6 MS. (B) omits و شش MS. (A) omits و.

7 *Āgh-i-Badalgarh*. The fire of Badalgarh. These words give the date 962 H.

8 I read here with MS (A) نهن می گفتند و جان می گرفتند. Although MS. (A) also reads in the margin می دادند, the other reading is more probably correct, and is a further statement of the terrible straits to which the garrison of Baiāna were driven.

9 A footnote variant reads خلق. MS (A) reads عاقل.

10 MS. (B) omits افغانان

to the head of the table¹ urged them to partake of food, saying "Help yourselves to the largest morsels," and if he saw anyone of them eating slowly no matter who he was,² he would address him³ in terms of the foulest abuse saying "How can such a nondescript nonentity as you who are sluggish in eating your victuals hope to contend against your own son-in-law, the Mughul in battle." As the fall of the Afghān power was near at hand,⁴ they had not the courage to say a word to that foul infidel, and laying aside all that disregard of superior force⁵ for which they were renowned, swallowed his insults⁶ like sweetmeats, either from fear or hope,⁷ this had become a regular practice with them.

Verse.

Lay not your hand obsequious on my foot,
Give me but bread, and brain me with your boot !

In the meanwhile news reached Hīmūn that Muḥammad Khān Sūr, Governor of Bangāla, had assumed the title of Sultān⁸ Jalāla-d-Dīn, and was marching with an army⁹ like the ants and locusts for multitude from Bangāla, and having reduced Jaunpūr was making for¹⁰ Kalpi and Āgra. Just at this juncture an urgent summons¹¹ arrived from 'Adlī to Hīmūn in these words, "At all costs come to me at once as I am confronted by a powerful enemy." Hīmūn thereupon abandoned the siege, and when he arrived at Mandāgar,¹² which is distant six krohs from Āgra, Ibrāhīm (Khān)¹³ like a hungry hawk which leaves¹⁴ its nest and pursues the crane, pounced upon him, and hurled against him in

¹ MS. (B) omits *سر*

² MS. (B) omits *شوکہ می بود*

³ MS. (A) reads *بر او* for *بزرگان* (Text).

⁴ MS. (B) insert *و* unnecessarily.

⁵ I read here *جہل دستبرد* *Jahl-i-dastburd* instead of the textual reading. MS. (A) gives reason to think that this is correct, it reads *جہل دستبرد* which making allowance for conversion of *د* into *ز* in writing gives the reading adopted. The textual reading has no meaning.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) *دشنام اورا*

⁷ MS. A omits *از اعادہ*

⁸ MS. (B) omits *مملکتان*

⁹ MS. (A) omits *عظیم*

¹⁰ MS. (A) *شد*

¹¹ Omit *نیز*. MS. (A)

¹² MS. (A) reads *منداکر*. *Mandākar*. MS. (B) *منداکڑ* *Maudāgarh*

¹³ MSS. (A) (B) omit *خان*

¹⁴ MS. (B) reads *پریدہ*

battle, but being defeated went towards Alwar. Then, after obtaining¹ reinforcements from Hāji Khān Alwarī,² he again set about³ accomplishing his own objects, and Himūn detailed⁴ his brother's son named Thar Yāl⁵ with a fully equipped army to pursue him. Thar Yāl⁶ marching with restless haste pursued Ibrāhīm for two stages, and joined Himūn; Hāji Khān was not pleased at Ibrāhīm's coming, nor would he send him any assistance. Ibrāhīm being disheartened⁷ turned aside, and bidding farewell to his father, brothers, and all his blood-relations, left them in Hindūn, and, with a small band of followers took the road to Bhatta. Eventually Ghāzi Khān a short time after, fell a prisoner into the hands of Haidar Khān Chaghta in Baiāna, relying upon assurances,⁸ and great and small of his party were put to death, and not a single one of that line was left, as will be related in its proper place,⁹ if God Most High so will it; and now that kingdom and empire, and the independence of that family have become as an idle tale. How wonderful are the ways of God!

Masnawī.

The world is a juggler decrepit and bowed,
It brings to pass one thing but promises another;
It calls you with kindness but drives you away with rancour;
All its dealings are invariably of this nature.
If it calls you know not whither it calls you,
If it drives you forth you know not whither it drives you.
All of us, old and young, are destined to death,
No one can remain in the world for ever.

Inasmuch as everyone liked Ibrāhīm Khān who was considered by all to have a wonderful fortune in store for him, in a short time large numbers gathered to him from all parts. He fought 43 with the army¹⁰ of Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhatta, but was

¹ کومک گرفتہ MS. (A) reads کومک گرفتہ.

² MS. (B) omits الحری.

³ MS. (B) کود.

⁴ MS. (A) فرمود.

⁵ MS. (B) reads نیر پال. Nahar pāl.

⁶ MS. (B) reads نیر پال. Nahar pāl.

⁷ Read here نا امید. MS. (A) reads تو امید (?). MS. (B) نومیدہ.

⁸ MS. (A) reads تعہد.

⁹ MS. (A) reads محکم for محل.

¹⁰ Read ... MS. (A) reads ...

forced to flee¹ and was taken prisoner. Rājē Rām Chaud, in accordance with the customs of landholders,² made him a present of a bow, and treated him with the utmost honour and respect,³ and in a personal interview⁴ presented him with a royal tent, with the apparatus of royalty, and attendants: then seating him upon the throne, standing humbly as a servant, performed the offices of attendance.

Ibrāhīm Khān⁵ spent some time there, till Bāz Bahādur the son of Sazāwal Khān, Ruler of Mālwa, who eventually read the *Khubāh* in that country, became involved in a quarrel with the Miyānī Afghāns, who summoned Ibrāhīm Khān⁶ and raising him to the supreme command, sent him against⁷ Bāz Bahādur. Rānī Durgāwatī the ruler of the country⁸ of Kara Kataṅka also, who was embroiled with Bāz Bahādur on account of the proximity of her kingdom, rose up⁹ to assist Ibrāhīm, and went out to fight against Bāz Bahādur, who made overtures for peace¹⁰ and dissuaded the Rānī from assisting Ibrāhīm. She, accordingly, returned to her own country, and Ibrāhīm, not considering it advisable to remain there any longer, went off bag and baggage to Orissa, which is the boundary of Bangāla, and lived on good terms with the *zamīndārs*. Sulaimān Karrānī, when he took possession¹¹ (of Orissa), made terms with the Rājā, and sending for Ibrāhīm with assurances of safety, slew him treacherously in the year 975 H.

Verse.

Fix not thy heart on this world, for it has no foundation,
 Speak not of life, for that too is ruined.
 The tent of life which thou placodst at first,
 Death¹² will surely uproot, were it of solid steel.

¹ MS. (A) omits فرار نمودن.

² MS. (B) reads است for میبایست.

³ MS. (B) omits و آداب MS. (A) reads ادب.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) دید.

⁵ MS. (A) omits خان.

⁶ MS. (A) omits خان.

⁷ Read سرور داشت MSS. (A) (B); for میبردند (Text).

⁸ MS. (B) omits ولایت.

⁹ MS. (A) برخواست و.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads استیلا.

¹¹ MS. (B) reads wrongly در مقامات.

¹² اجل. MS. (A) reads حل.

Himūn proceeded by rapid marches till he joined 'Adli¹

'Adli and Muḥammad Khān Gauria were at that time sitting down over against one another, with the river Jamna between them, at a place called Chhappar Khatta, fifteen *kohs* from Kalpi. 433

Gauria, confidently relying upon his superior force to overcome the forces of 'Adli, had drawn up his cavalry and infantry and elephants to a number surpassing all computation, and was every moment² expecting victory, when suddenly the scale turned against him, and Himūn swept down upon him like a comet, and no sooner did he reach the ranks of the picked elephants after crossing the river Jamna,³ than he swooped down upon the army of Gauria, taking them unawares as does the army of Sleep, and making a night-assault gave no one time so much as to lift his hand.

They were in such utter confusion⁴ that no man knew his head from his heels, nor his turban from his shoes. The greater part of his Amīrs were slain, while the remnant who escaped chastisement took to flight. The wretched Gauria was so effectually concealed that up to the present not a trace of him has been found, and all that retinue and paraphernalia of royalty⁵ and grandeur became "like the scattered moths and like flocks of carded wool,"⁶ and became in a moment the portion of the enemy. The kingdom is God's, the greatness is God's.

Verse.

In one moment, in one instant, in one breath,⁷

The condition of the world becomes altered.

After this heaven-given victory and unforeseen triumph, 'Adli proceeded to Chinhār and appointed Himūn,⁸ who who was the commander-in-chief of his army, with abundant treasure and a countless host, elephants of renown, an ornament to the army

¹ MS (A) عدل ² MSS (A) (B) read دمیدم. The text reads در میدان.

³ MS. (A) omits پایاب

⁴ Literally: Crying, where shall I put the cup, where shall I put the case?

⁵ MS (A) omits سلطنت و

⁶ Qur'ān II. 4

⁷ MSS (A) (B) read یک ساعت یک لنگه یک دم. MS. (B) reads لنگه for لنگه.

⁸ MS. (A) میمون و

and a terror to the enemy, to repel the forces of the Mughal which had taken possession of the country as far as Itāwa and Āgra, as will be presently related if God Most High so will it.

Just at this juncture *Khizr Khān*, the son¹ of *Muhammad Khān Gauria*, who had been killed, succeeded his father in Kor,² assuming the currency and reading the *Khubāh* in his own name, with the style and title of *Sultān (Muhammad)³ Bahādur*, and collecting a huge army to revenge his father's death, came up against 'Adli, who notwithstanding his distress⁴ fought bravely on that field, and contrary to expectation met with fierce resistance. After fighting manfully 'Adli was killed, and joined *Muhammad Khān* whose life-blood was yet freshly spilled, fighting in hot blood. This event occurred in the year 962 H. and *Gauria bikusht*⁵ was its chronogram.

Verso

My soul, do thou look at the world and take what it gives to
thy heart's desire ;

Live at thine ease therein a thousand years like *Nūh*.⁶

Every treasure and every store which kings have laid by,

That treasure and that store seize⁷ and take for thine own.

Every pleasure which the world contains do thou consider as
made for thee ;

Every fruit which grows in the world⁸ do thou taste and
take.

In the final round which brings the end of thy life,

A hundred times seize the back of thy hand with thy teeth
and gnaw it (in despair).

¹ MS. (B) reads *ولہ* for *ولد*.

² MS. (A) omits *در کور*.

³ MSS. (A) (B) omit *محمد*.

⁴ The text reads *با وجود آن تنگدلی*. MS. (A) reads *تنگدلی* (sic.) MS (B) reads *تنگدلی*. The meaning is not very clear.

⁵ *گوریہ بکشت* *Gauria bikusht*. A footnote to the text points out that these words give 963 as the date. Thomas (*Pathan Kings*, p. 416) gives 964 H. as the date of 'Adli's death.

⁶ A footnote variant gives *چرخ*.

⁷ MS. (B) reads *دست* for *چنگ*.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read *دنیا* for *عالم*.

'Adli was so highly skilled in singing and dancing that Miyān Cānsī, the well-known *kalān-wat*¹ who is a past master in this art² used to own to being his pupil, and Bāz Bahādur, son of Sarāwal Khān, who was also one of the most gifted men of his age and had no equal in this life-wasting accomplishment acquired the art (of music) from 'Adli.

Verse.

They owned no rival, but surpassed them all,
May God *He is exalted and glo-ified*, pardon them.

One day a performer from the Dakhan brought into his assembly an instrument called *paḥlūwaj*,³ which is in length⁴ equal to the height of a man, so large that the hands of no man could reach⁵ the two ends of it, as a sort of challenge to those who were present, and all⁶ the performers of the kingdom of Dīhli were unable to play it; 'Adli, however, found out by his knowledge of other instruments how to play it, and placing a cushion on the floor beat⁷ the drum now with his hand and now with his foot. The assembled people raised a shout and all the skilled musicians owned their allegiance to him, and praised him exceedingly; and at the time when he was an Amīr, and as a commander of twenty-thousand held a *jāgīr*,⁸ a Bhagat boy⁹ handsome and comely who had acquired perfection in his art, used to come to his assembly from some of the villages near Badāon, and used to play.¹⁰ 'Adli was so fascinated by his beauty and skill that he kept him in his own service and took pains to educate him, giving him the name of Mujāhid Khān.¹¹ When he attained to kingly power

¹ See *Ain-i-Akbari* I, (B) 612, note 1. *Kalān-wat* or *Kalāwant* is a Hindī word meaning a singer or musician. MS. (A) reads *كلانوات* *Kalān waht*.

² Badāonī uses the word *وادی* *wādī* a valley or desert, apparently to show his disapproval of the art.

³ A large kind of drum. See *Ain-i-Akbari* (J.) III, 255.

⁴ MS. (B) reads *كلاني* for *درازي*.

⁵ MS. (A) *رسيد*.

⁶ MS. (A) omits *همه*.

⁷ MS. (A) omits *می*.

⁸ MS. (A) reads here *احاون* *Ahāwan*. MS. (B) reads *اجاون* *Ajāwan*. So also footnote variant to text.

⁹ *بہکت پیری*. The Bhagatiya are "a caste of loose people who pass their time in buffoonery, singing and dancing." Sherring I, 276

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) *بازی کرد*.

¹¹ MS. (A) *خان*.

he made him a commander of ten thousand. His natural elegance and refinement were such that one day upon returning from the polo ground of Badāon¹ he said, "I am hungry" Ghāzi Khān Sūr whose tent² was at the head of the road said "What I have ready is at your service." Adli, for politeness sake, felt constrained to accept his hospitality; first they brought some fried sheep's liver.³ No sooner had he smelt it than he leapt from his seat, and was so disgusted that he left the company⁴ and drew rein nowhere till he reached his house; they say also that the sweepers used to gather up the remains of camphor of the finest quality two or three times daily from his dressing-room, and whenever a necessity arose⁵ he would first grow red, then pale and livid,⁶ and would faint while his countenance changed. In spite of all this leisure and luxuriousness, his fasts and prayers were never duly performed;⁷ he had entirely given up the use of intoxicants, and the day he left the world the treacherous time even gradged him two yards of cloth, and it was never known where his corpse went.⁸

Verse.

Oh ye lords of wealth beware! beware!
And you, ye lords of state, beware! beware!⁹

After him, the kingdom fell away from the race of Afghāns and returned to its original holders, and right once more became established.

¹ The text reads *اجاون* with a footnote variant *بداون*. MSS. (A) (B) read *بداون*.

² MS (B) omits *که دیر*

³ MS. (A) *قلیہ پوتی* The text reads *پوتی* meaning scraps of meat

⁴ The text reads *غشیان* *ghashyan*. MS (A) reads *قشیان* *ghurayān*. If we take the reading of the text it will be 'he felt faint.'

⁵ *تقاضای گرفت* MS. (A).

MS. (A). *بر می آمد*

⁷ MS. (A) *تقاضا شد*.

⁸ He was, as has been described, killed in battle

⁹ MS (A) reads *خداوند مال* in the first line, and *خداوندان حال* in the second MS. (B) reads *حال* in the first and *مال* in the second.

NASIRU-D-DIN MUHAMMAD HUMAYŪN PĀDŠĀH GHĪZĪ,

Returning from Kābul, a second time fought a fierce battle with Sikandar, and being favoured by fortune¹ with victory and conquest, restored to the imperial throne fresh lustre, glory and fortune. The following is an epitome of these events: After that the kingdom of Hindūstan slipped from the grasp of that Pādshāh glorious as Jamshīd, like the ring from the hand of Suleimān,² and the opposition and strife between his brothers was not changed to amity and concord,³ and each one took his own way and sought his own asylum, considering his own interests by consultation with advisers, as has already been briefly related,⁴ Humāyūn crossed from the Panjāb and attempted to seize Bakkar,⁵ making his camp at the township of Lohri,⁶ which is near to Bakkar. Mirzā Hindāl having left Sind proceeded to the township of Pāṭar,⁷ which is fifty krohs distant from Bakkar, on account of the abundance and cheapness of grain. Humāyūn sent a robe of honour and a horse with a message to Mirzā Shāh Husain Arghūn, governor of Tatta, saying, "I have arrived here driven by necessity and have fully determined upon the conquest of Gujrāt,⁸ and this undertaking is dependent upon your advice and guidance." 437. Mirzā Shāh Husain spent five or six months⁹ in temporising, and brought Humāyūn by specious pretexts from the Bakkar territory to the neighbourhood of Tatta, with the intention of doing whatever might be advisable later on.

¹ A footnote says that one copy gives *دستور*. MS. (B) has this reading.

² See ante p. 205, note 3.

³ Read *ابتلاف* for *ابتلاف*, MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ MS. (A) omits *در*.

⁵ See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz., Ind.*, Vol. III, also Tieff. I, 117, Bakkar. See *Proceedings*, A. S. B., April, 1895, p. 69.

⁶ See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz., Ind.*, Vol. XI, Rohri. Firsihta writes *لوهري* Lohri. See Bombay text, p. 409.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read *پاٿر* Patar. I can find no mention of any place of this name.

⁸ MS. (B) reads *فتوح گجرات مصمم و این موقوف الخ*. Firsihta says "asked for assistance in the conquest of Gujrāt," Bombay text, p. 409.

⁹ Omit *و* read *پنجم شش* MSS. (A) (B).

In this year, 948 H.,¹ Humāyūn married Hamida Bānū Begam, and coming to Pūptar returned to Lohri. Mīrzā Hindāl started for Qandahār in answer to the summons of Qarācha Beg,² the governor of that district, and Yādgar Nāṣir Mīrzā,³ who had encamped at a distance of ten *krohs* from (Humāyūn's) camp also intended to proceed to Qandahār. Humāyūn thereupon sent Mīr Abūl-Baqā,⁴ who was one of the most distinguished of the learned men of the time, Persian commentator on Mīr Saiyyid Sharif, and author of other compositions, to advise him and dissuade him from his purpose, ⁵ At the time of crossing the river a party sallied out from the fortress of Bakkar and rained showers of arrows upon the people in the boats. The sainted Mīr was struck by the soul-melting arrow of Fate, and was drowned in the ocean of martyrdom. This event took place in the year 948 H. and the chronogram *Surūr-i-kāināt*⁶ was invented to commemorate it.

Mīrzā Yādgar Nāṣir hearkened to this advice and counsel and remained in Bakkar, and Humāyūn proceeded to Tatta, whereupon many of his soldiers left his camp and joined Mīrzā (Yādgar) and spent their days⁷ in comfort by reason of the increased pay they received. In this way Mīrzā gathered strength, and Humāyūn crossing the river laid siege to the fortress of Siyāhwān.⁸ Mīrzā Shāh Husain kept sending⁹ reinforcements

¹ The text reads 947 H. (٩٤٧) with a footnote saying that one MS. reads 948 H. and another 947-948. MSS. (A) (B) both read 948 H. and this is the correct date.

² MSS. (A) (B) *روان شد*. Firishṭa, Qarācha Khān, Bombay text, p. 409.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read *میر ابوالبقا* MS. (A) omits *و*.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) add *و*.

⁵ MS. (A) *شد*.

⁶ *سرور کائنات* *Surūr-i-kāināt*. Joy of created things. These words give the date 948 H.

⁷ MS. (A) *گذرانید* MS (B) *گذرانیدند*.

⁸ Firishṭa says *سیهوان* *Sihwān*. Sihwān or Schwān is in the Karāchi district of Sind, lat 26° 26' N. long 67° 54' E. The river Indus formerly flowed close to the town but has now quite deserted it. The fort of Schwān is ascribed to Alexander the Great. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz*, XII. 305; but Tiefenthaler (I. 123) attributes it to Husain, son of Shāhbeg Arghūn.

⁹ MSS (A)-(B) *آزودند*.

and supplies¹ to the garrison,² and embarking on a boat, and³ coming near to the camp blocked the avenues of supplies (to Humāyūn). The siege lasted for seven months, and victory seemed as far off as ever, while great distress was felt from scarcity of grain⁴ and want of salt⁵ 436.

Verse.

Every feast which is prepared⁶ by the hand of heaven
Is either altogether without salt or is altogether so salt (as
to be uneatable).

The soldiers were reduced to such extremities,⁷ that they were forced to give up grain and content themselves with the flesh of animals, and finally⁸ they had to abandon the hope of even this.

Verse

The hungry-bellied fastened his eyes on skins,
For fur is the near neighbour of flesh.

Then he sent messengers a second time to Bakkar to summon Mīrzā⁹ Yādgār Nāsir, so that in conjunction with him he might repel Mīrzā Shāh Husain and gain possession of the fort. He sent a reinforcement, which was however of no service,¹⁰ and hearing of the distress which prevailed in the camp he saw no good in going there, so remained in Bakkar.¹¹ Mīrzā Shāh Husain played upon his ambition by false promises of the rule of that kingdom, and of having the *Khaṣṣāh* read and the currency issued in his name; he also promised to obey him, and also that he would give him his daughter in marriage, and thus misled him into

¹ MS. (B) می فرستاد.

² This is the statement of one author, but Firsihta says "The siege lasted for seven months Mīrzā Shāh Husain Arghun also came with boats and blocked the road by which supplies of grain came, in consequence of so great scarcity of food ensued that they had to live on the flesh of animals." Bombay text, 409.

³ MSS. (A)(B) و.

⁴ MS (B) قحطی غله.

⁵ بی نمکی.

⁶ Footnote variant دست ساز

⁷ MS. (A) omits سر.

⁸ Text reads آخر. MS. (B) reads اکثریہ را most of them.

⁹ MS. (B) omits میرزا

¹⁰ MSS. (A)(B) read بیاید.

¹¹ Footnote variant بهکر Bakkar

opposing Humāyūn.¹ He further took possession of all ² the boats belonging to Humāyūn, who, in consequence of all these obstacles, any one of which was a sufficient reason,³ seeing the distress and misery of his army, abandoned the siege ⁴ of the fortress, and all unwillingly saying, "Retreat is the wisest course,"⁵ turned back towards Bakkar, and remaining several days inactive for want of boats, at last by the help of two *zamīndārs* recovered two boats which Mīrzā had sunk, and reached ⁶ Bakkar. Mīrzā, as a means of covering ⁷ the shame he felt, before he came to pay his respects,⁷ marched by forced marches against Mīrzā Shāh Husain and putting to death or taking captive large number of the people of Tatta, who in ignorance of his intentions had left their boats, did a good deal to repair ⁸ his former defections. Then with shame and confusion he came and had an interview (with Humāyūn) and brought in countless heads of the enemy. His faults were overlooked, but in consequence of certain events which occurred, he again became rebellious, and being deceived by the wiles of Mīrzā Shāh Husain, prepared for war. Mun'im Khān who eventually became *Khān-i-Khānān* also meditated flight. Both of them, however, became ¹¹ aware of the folly of their design, and realising its heinousness abandoned their iniquitous intention. The men of Humāyūn's force were day by day going over to the side ¹² of Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir. In the meantime Maldeo, Rāja of the kingdom ¹³ of Mār wār, who was distinguished above all the *zamīndārs* of Hindūstān on account of the strength of his following ¹⁴ and his exceeding grandeur, again sent letters of summons. Humāyūn not thinking it advisable to remain ¹⁵ any longer in the vicinity of Bakkar and Tatta, proceeded by way of Jaisal'mir towards Mār wār. The Rāja of

1 MS. (A) reads با پادشاه مخالفت ساخت.

2 MS. (A) omits بتمام.

3 Thus the text: MS. (A) reads که کدام علتی مستقل بود از برای و درانی لشکر.

4 MS. (A) از سر قلعه.

5 MS. (B) رسید.

6 MSS. (A) (B) دفع.

7 Footnote variant بدفع.

8 MS. (B) reads از گشتی بدر آمده بودند.

9 MS. (B) reads تلافی.

10 MS. (B) اراده.

11 MS. (B) مطلع شد.

12 MS. (B) جانب.

13 MSS. (A) (B) ملک.

14 Omit و read قوت جمعیت MSS. (A) (B).

15 MS (A) omits خود after بودن.

Jaisalmir blocked the road by which his army was to pass, and fought a battle in which he was defeated. In that waterless desert Humāyūn's army suffered terrible distress, so much so that¹ around the wells blood was spilled in place of water among his followers, and most of them² from the violence of their thirst cast themselves into the well as though they had been buckets, till it became choked.

In this state of affairs Humāyūn quoted the following *maṭla'*, whoever is the author of it:—

Verse.

So many rents did the heavens make in the garments of the
afflicted ones,

That neither could the hand find its sleeve, nor could the
head find its opening.

From Jaisalmir proceeding by forced marches to Mārwar he 440.
sent Atka Khān to³ Māldeo, and halted for several days in the
vicinity⁴ of Jodhpūr, awaiting his arrival. Inasmuch as in
those⁵ days, Nāgor ha⁶ fallen into the hands of Sher Shāh, and⁶
had inspired Māldeo with the utmost awe of the majesty and
power of Humāyūn; accordingly Māldeo, fearing the wrath of
Sher Shāh,⁷ was afraid to obey that summons, and detaining
Atka Khān by some trick, sent a large force under the pretence
of welcoming him, with the intention of treacherously attacking
Humāyūn and taking him prisoner.⁸ Atka Khān [becoming

¹ MS. (A) چنانکہ.

² A footnote reads : بعدی کہ تشنه لبان از فروغ عطش خود را اینج To such
a height (did their sufferings rise) that the thirsty-lipped ones from excess
of hunger (cast) themselves (into the wells). MS. (B) has this reading
omitting the word لبان.

³ MSS. (A) (B) نذر.

⁴ MS (B) omits نواحی.

⁵ MS. (A) omits در ایام writing بن

⁶ MS (A) و.

⁷ A footnote variant to the text, agreeing with MS. (B) runs thus :

باز خوف غضب شیر شاه ملاحظه نموده از آن طالب

This is the reading adopted. it seems preferable.

⁸ This is according to the text. A footnote variant (and MS. (B)) reads

بقصد غدیر و مکر کمر عناد محکم بسته بطلب پادشاه فرستاد

Sent. "with treacherous design, and girding the loins of rebellion."

aware of their treachery from its outset] ¹ returned without asking permission, and informed Humāyūn of the real state of affairs. He on the instant started with all haste for Amarkot. It so chanced that two of Māldeo's spies had arrived at that same place, and Humāyūn gave orders for them both to be put to death. In their despair one drew a knife, and the other a dagger, ² and fell upon (their enemies) like boars wounded by arrows, and killed ³ a large number of living things, ⁴ men, women and horses, whatever came in their way. ⁵ Among the number was Humāyūn's charger: Humāyūn thereupon asked Tardi Beg for a few horses and camels, ⁶ he however behaved meanly, and Humāyūn mounted a camel. After a while ⁷ Nadīm, his foster-brother, ⁸ gave the horse which his mother was riding to the king, he himself going on foot in his mother's retinue through that bare desert, which was like an oven for heat. ⁹ His mother afterwards rode on the camel, and they traversed that road ¹⁰ which was so terribly difficult, amid constant ¹¹ alarms of the attack of Māldeo, [and with intense labour and distress. ¹² In the middle of the night they reached a place of safety; by chance the Hindūs of Māldeo's army] ¹³ pursuing them through the night, missed their

¹ The words in brackets are not in MSS. (A) (B).

² Read گارد یکی و خنجر دیگری کشیده MS. (A).

³ هلاک ساختند و بقتل رسانیدند MS. (A). This is the preferable reading.

⁴ Read معاندان for جانداران MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ هرچه پیش می آمد MS. (B) آید MS. (A).

⁶ This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads جند است شیر (sic).

Firishta says that Humāyūn's horse showed signs of tiring, (مستی نمود) so that he asked Tardi Beg for a horse, who unkindly refused, and as every moment tidings kept arriving that Māldeo's army was near at hand, Humāyūn had no alternative but to mount a camel (Bo. Text, p. 410.)

⁷ Text تا آنکه MS. (A) omits. Firishta writes با آنکه whereupon.

⁸ Firishta writes ندیم کوکه خود.

⁹ Firishta gives a slightly different version of this: stating that Nadīm himself went on foot and placed his mother on his own horse leading it, afterwards mounting her on a camel. (Bo. text loc cit).

¹⁰ MS. (A) آن راه را MS. (B) reads روز.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit و هر دم ¹² Omit را after مشقت MS. (A).

¹³ All this passage from شایب to بود is omitted in MS. (B).

way,¹ and in the morning, in a narrow pass, came upon the rearguard of the army, who were two and twenty in number. Mun'im Khān and Roshan Beg² Koka, and another³ party of men who belonged to that side having arrived, a battle ensued. In the very first onset the leader of the Hindūs went to hell from an arrow-wound, and a large number were killed. They could not withstand the attack, and many camels fell into the hands of the Muslims. This victory was the occasion of great rejoicing.⁴ Marching from thence and being without water,⁵ after three days they arrived at a halting-place, where, on account of its depth⁶ a drum had to be beaten at the mouth of the well, so that its sound might reach the place where the oxen for drawing the water were.⁷ For lack of water, a crowd of people in their distress were lost, and⁸ disappeared like water in that sandy plain, which was a very river of quicksand, while many horses and camels

¹ According to our author's account it seems as though Māldeo's men lost their way; but Firishta's account is as follows: "When the tidings of the approach of the infidels arrived Humāyūn ordered certain of his officers who were with him to follow him in close succession, while he himself started with a small party of not more than twenty-five; when night came on the officers lost their way and went in another direction; towards morning the ranks of the enemy's army became visible, and in accordance with (Humāyūn's) orders Shaikh 'Alī and the rest who were in all not more than twenty-five men repeated the creed, then turned and with stout heart gave battle. Fortunately the very first arrow struck the leader of the infidels in the breast, he fell headlong to the earth and the rest fled. The Muslims pursued them and captured many camels. Humāyūn returned thanks to God and alighted at a well which contained a little water where the Amirs who had lost their way came up."

² MS. (A) omits بیگ.

³ MS. (A) omits دیگر.

⁴ MS. (A) reads خوش رفتی.

⁵ آب برداشته, is the reading of the text and both MSS. (A) (B) but it does not tally with Firishta who writes "Marching thence, for three stages water was absolutely unprocureable, and the people were in great distress, on the fourth day they reached a well, &c." Perhaps we should read از آب برداشته. Putting up with the want of water.

⁶ MS. (A) omits آب.

⁷ The rope was so long that before the bucket reached the mouth of the well the oxen used to draw it up, had gone so far that the sound of a drum was necessary to warn their drivers that they must stop. MS. (A) reads دراهن also دراهن for دراهن.

⁸ MS. (B) omits و غایب.

drinking water after their long and unaccustomed drouth; died¹ from surfeit of water. And inasmuch as that desert, like the midday mirage,² was as interminable as the troubles of the hapless³ wretches of the army, perforce they turned aside by a circuitous route⁴ towards Amarkot, which lies at a distance of a hundred *krohs* from Tatta. The governor of Amarkot, named Rānā, came out to meet them accompanied by his sons, and did all in his power⁵ to render fitting service.

Humāyūn bestowed⁶ all that he had in the treasury upon his followers, while to supply the party who had not yet arrived,⁷ he borrowed from Tardī Beg and others by way of assistance, and gave it them. He also made presents of money, and sword-belts⁸ to the sons of Rānā, who, for the reason that his father had been put to death by Mirzā Shāh Hussain Arghūn, collected a large force⁹ from the surrounding country,¹⁰ entered the service of Humāyūn, and leaving his baggage and camp equipage in¹¹ Amarkot under the care and protection of Khwāja Mu'zam, the brother of Bogām,¹² he (Humāyūn) proceeded towards Bakkar.¹³

1. On Sunday, the fifth of the month Rajab, in the year 949 H. the auspicious birth of the Khalīfah of the age Akbar Pādshāh occurred in a fortunate moment at Amarkot. Tardī Beg Khān conveyed this joyful tidings to Humāyūn at that halting-place, who after giving (the child) that auspicious name,¹⁴ proceeded

1 MS. (A) حالی گشتند. MS. (A) reads سیراب سراب.

2 بلادیدگان اردو. The calamity-stricken of the army.

3 راه گردانید. I can see no other meaning for this expression.

4 MS. (A) reads حسب المقدور. MS. (B) reads حسب مقدور.

5 MSS. (A) (B) بخش فرمودند. 7 MS. (A) رسید.

8 کمر خنجر. MS. (A). 9 MSS. (A) (B) omit و.

10 از اطراف کرده آورد. MS. (B). The text is correct.

11 MSS. (A) (B) در. 12 MSS. (A) (B) omit پادشاه.

13 It was now that Akbar was born, according to Firighta, before Humāyūn left for Bakkar. See Bo. text, p. 411. Briggs, II, 95; but from our author's text it appears that Humāyūn had left Amarkot before his son was born, and only saw him at Chaul.

14 The text and both MSS. (A) (B) read این نام سعادت فرجام مائده which is not capable of satisfactory interpretation. It is suggested that we should read نهاده instead of مائده.

with all haste towards Bakkar. At the camp of Chaul¹ he sent for the Prince of auspicious mien, and was rejoiced by the well-omened sight of his son. His soldiers, in whose nature the craft of unfaithfulness was as firmly planted as is deceit in the nature of the times, were one by one, including even Mun'im Khān, deserting.² At this time Bairām Khān³ came from Gūjrāt and tendered his allegiance. Considering it unadvisable to remain in that country Humāyūn determined to make for Qandahār. Mīrzā Shāh Husain thinking this an opportunity not to be lost, in accordance with a requisition⁴ sent thirty boats and three hundred camels, and Humāyūn crossed the river Indus. At that time Mīrzā Kāmran⁵ had taken Qandahār⁶ from Mīrzā Hindāl and had left it in charge of Mīrzā 'Askarī, and having given Ghaznia to Mīrzā Hindāl had read the *Khutbah* in his own name. After some time, however, he changed that also.⁷ Mīrzā Hindāl having given up all royal dignity in Kābul used to live like a *darvesh*,⁸ and Mīrzā Kāmran yielding to the instigation of Mīrzā Shāh Husain wrote to Mīrzā 'Askarī saying, "Seize the road by which the Pādshāh will proceed and take him prisoner in any way you can contrive." Accordingly when he arrived at the camp of Shāl Mastāng,⁹ Mīrzā 'Askarī¹⁰ marched by forced marches from

¹ چول Chaul or Chora, a village situated on the route from Amarkot to Jaisalmer, eight miles north-east of the former place. See Thornton's *Gazetteer*, I. p. 143, and map. Lat. 25° 25' Long. 69° 51'. See also Keith Johnston's Atlas.

² MSS. (A) (B) با منعم خان نیز یگان بگان فراری نمودند. So also Firishṭa who says "But after a short time the army began to scatter and nothing could be accomplished, Mun'im Khān also fled, &c."

³ See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, I. (B) 315, No. 10.

⁴ MS. (B) omits حسب.

⁵ MS. (B) omits میرزا کامران.

⁶ MS. (A) omits را.

⁷ MS. (A) reads آنرا نیز تغیر نمودند. MS. (B) reads آنرا تغیر نمودند.

⁸

⁹ The text reads شال مشانگ *Shāl Mashāng*, but both MSS. (A) (B) read سال مستان منزل اردو بود *Sāl Mastān manzil-i-Urdū būd*. Firishṭa Bo. text, p. 411, line 10 reads سال و مستان *Sāl Wahsanān*, which is probably a copyist's error for شال و مستان *Shāl-o-Mastān*. We should therefore read *Shāl-o-Mastāng*, understanding by it Mastung which lies S. S. W. of Quetta or Shāl, at a distance of about 25 miles. See Thornton's *Gazetteer*, II. pp. 65 and 168. The distance from Qandahār to Shāl is about 150 miles.

¹⁰ A footnote variant reads میرزا هندال *Mīrzā Hindāl*. Not in MS. (A) or (B).

Qandahār and sent Chūli¹ Bahādur Uzbakī to reconnoitre.² He however, went straight off and informed Bairām Khān, whose camp he reached at midnight, and Bairām Khān went with all
 448. haste behind the royal tent and represented the state of affairs. Accordingly he gave up all idea of Qandahār and Kābul, and in opposition to his brothers, uttering the formula³ of separation, took the road to 'Irāq, accompanied by twenty-two men, among whom were Bairām Khān and Khwāja Mu'azzam. These two he sent to bring the Queen-consort and the young prince, asking Tardi Beg for the loan of a few horses, who, however, again branding himself⁴ with the stigma of meanness and disgrace, refused to comply with this request, and further declined to accompany him. Humāyūn left the young Prince, who was an infant of only one year, in the camp under the charge⁵ of Atkah Khān⁶ on account of the great heat and the scarcity of water along his route, but took the Queen-consort⁷ with him and journeyed by way of Sistān.

Mirzā 'Askari just then arrived at the royal camp,⁸ and alighting and tearing the veil of humanity from the face of modesty, set about appropriating the valuables. He also placed Tardi Beg⁹ in rigorous confinement, and carried off the young

¹ Footnote variant جوكي Jūkī.

² MSS. (A) (B) فرستاده. MS. (B) omits گيري.

³ MS. (A) omits كلمة. See Qur'ān xviii. 77.

⁴ MS. (B) reads كشوده for كشیده.

⁵ اتابكي atabakī. The word atābak or atābek is a Turkī word signifying "grand-père, precepteur, instituteur du fils des Sultāns." (Pavot de Courteille).

⁶ Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atgah Khān. See Āin-i-Akbarī I. (Bl.) 321. No. 15 where we learn that it was he who assisted Humāyūn to escape drowning after the defeat of Qanauj. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (anāgah) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Jī Jī Anūgah."

The word atā means a mother in Turkī, while anākāh or anākā means a nurse, as atā means a father; the word atākāh would mean foster father, and this is probably the name given to Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, not Atgah or Atka.

⁷ MS. (B) omits پادشاه after بیگم. MSS. (A) (B) read گرفتند for بردند.

⁸ دیوانخانه عالی Diwān Khāna-i-'Alī.

⁹ The words be-hilm do not seem to convey any definite meaning, we should perhaps read be-hilm .

Prince¹ to Qandahār, and handed him over to Sultān Begam, his own wife, with injunctions to take every care for his kind treatment and protection.² In that journey important events took place,³ which, although they were fully and elaborately detailed in the original,⁴ do not admit of relation in this place; and must be rapidly passed over as he did that long stretch of road. These events took place in the year 950 H. (1543 A.D.). In short, leaving Sistān and journeying to the city of Khurāsān, he had an interview with Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā, the elder son of Shāh Tahmasp, who held the rule of that country under the tutelage⁵ of Muḥammad Khān Taklū,⁶ and receiving all the necessaries of royalty, and requisites for his journey,⁷ with all honour and ceremony reached the sacred city of Mashhad (Meshed); and at each successive stage, by order of the Shāh, the governors of the provinces hastened to welcome him, and made all preparations for entertaining him and showing him hospitality, escorting him from stage to stage. Bairām Khān proceeded to do homage to the Shāh, and brought with him thence a letter congratulating Humāyūn upon his arrival. The two monarchs met at Pulāq-Sarīq⁸ and exchanged the customary honours and courtesies.

In the course of conversation the Shāh asked what had led to his defeat; Humāyūn incautiously⁹ replied 'The opposition of my brothers.' Bahrām Mirzā, the brother of the Shāh, who was

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit ب.

² Omit و, MSS (A) (B).

³ در آن سفر MS. (A).

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) در نسیب اعلیٰ That is to say, in the *Tabagāt-i-Akbarī*. See Elliot and Dawson, V. 217, et seqq.

⁵ اتالیقی *Atāliqī*. The termination *liq*, *liq̄*, *lāq*, or *lāq̄*, indicates either relationship, as in this instance; an abstraction, as in چو قلوق *chūqlūq*, abundance; or possession. See Pavet de Courteille s. v.

⁶ The word *patronage* would more etymologically represent *atāliqī*, but in modern usage this word has become perverted from its true sense.

⁷ Called by Nizām-d-Dīn, Ahmad Muhammad Khān Sharfa-d-Dīn Ughlī Taklū (E. and B., v. 217). The word تكلو *Taklū* means "can qui coule d'une vallée et des flancs d'une montagne; lieux humides et verdoyants" (P. de C.).

⁸ MS. (B) reads دید و ما احتاج سلطنت گرفته This reading is also given as a variant in a footnote to the text.

⁹ The text has ابلق سورق (Sic) (ابلق ؟) *Ilāq Sārtaq*, but both MSS. (A) (B) read پلای سورق *Pulāq Sārīq*.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) omit the article, reading خالی دشمن.

present, was grieved at this speech, and from that day¹ forth sowed the seeds of enmity against Humāyūn in his heart, and set himself to overthrow his enterprise, [nay more to overthrow Humāyūn himself as well],² and impressed upon Shāh Tahmasp saying, "This is the son of that self-same father who taking so many thousand Qizilbāsh soldiers to reinforce his army, caused them to be trampled under foot by the Ōzbaks, so that not one of them escaped alive."³ This was a reference⁴ to that affair in which Bābar Pādshāh took Najm-i-Awwal from Shāh Ismā'il with seventeen thousand Qizilbāsh cavalry,⁵ and led them as an auxiliary force against the Ōzbaks, and at the time of the siege of the fortress of Nakhshab, otherwise known as Kash,⁷ (?) wrote the following verse upon an arrow and discharged it into the fort:

Verse.

I made Najm Shāh to turn the Ōzbaks from their path,
If I did wrong, (at any rate) I cleared (my own) path.

The following day when the two armies met⁸ he withdrew⁹ to one side, and the Qizilbāsh troops met with the treatment which was in store for them; that circumstance¹⁰ is notorious.

However, to return from this digression, Sultān Begam¹¹ the sister of the Shāh, whom he regarded as an adviser equal to the

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read ازان روز باز

² MS. (B) omits the words in brackets. MS. (A) reads ضایع ساختن cf. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, Elliot, v. 218.

³ MSS. (A) (B) زند و بدر نیامد

⁴ The text is correct تلخیص MS. (A) reads یلمخ

⁵ In the Memoirs of Bābar, (Erskine, p. 243), he is called Nijim Sanī Isfahāni. (Nojam-i-Sānī Isfahāni)

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) omit سوار

For an account of this see Erskine (*Memoirs of Bābar*), pp. 242, 243.

⁷ MS. (A) reads کسی kas (?)

⁸ *Nakhshab*. "In Mawarān-nahr between the Jaihūn and Samarqand, but not lying on the road to Bokhārā, is kept on the left in journeying from Bokhārā to Samarqand, also called Nasif, situated three stages from Samarqand." See Yāqūt, s. l. l. نخشب and نسب. In Bokhārā, see Kesh (Keith Johnston's Atlas), or Shchū-i-Sabz

⁹ MS. (B) reads التقای for تلافی

⁹ MS (A) کشیدی

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) قضیه. Text reads قصه

¹¹ MS. (A) reads سلطانم Sultānam. So also *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*.

promised Mahdī,¹ (who in the belief of the Shī'ahs lies concealed in a subterranean dwelling in the city of Sāmīrah, otherwise known by the name of Surra-man-ra'ā,² and when necessity arises will emerge from thence and inaugurate an era of equity), and with whose opinion and advice all the affairs³ of State were bound up,⁴ dissuaded him from that mistaken step,⁵ and by the use of rational argument brought him back⁶ to an attitude of kindness and manhood, and induced him to help and assist. His Majesty (Humāyūn) wrote a *rubā'ī* (quatrain) of which the following is the last verse.⁷ 445.

Verse.

All kings desire the shadow of the Humā,⁸

Behold! the Humā has sought thy shadow.

On a certain occasion he interpolated this verse into a fragment from Salmān,⁹ and sent it to the Shāh.

¹ The promised Mahdī, or Leader who is to appear before the Resurrection. See *Mishkāt-ul-Maṣṭih*, xxiii. also Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, 805.

² Sāmarrā, in 'Irāq. Founded by Al Mu'tasim b'illāh eighth Khalīfah of the house of Abbās. See *History of the Caliphs* (Jarrott), p. 350.

Its name was changed by Al Mu'tasim for the sake of good augury into Surra-man-raā meaning "Who sees it rejoices." Sāmarrā was at one time the capital of the Caliphate, but became once more merely a provincial town when the seat of government was removed to Baghdād, remaining however a place of pilgrimage to the Shī'a Muslims, for here were to be seen the tombs of two of their Imāms, also the Mosque with the underground chamber, from which the promised Mahdī, Al-Qāim is to appear. See J. R. A. S., 1895, p. 36, for the article from which this note is abridged, a translation from the Arabic of Ibn Serapion, by Mr. Le Strange.

³ MS. (A) مهابات.

⁴ MS. (B) omits بود.

⁵ Text کبیانده. MS. (A) reads از آن وادی گردانیده.

⁶ MS. (A) آورد.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) بیت آخرین این است.

⁸ Humā, see p. 57 of this work, and note 2.

There is an allusion here to the name Humāyūn in its etymological sense of relation to the Humā or bird of royal augury.

⁹ Read قطعه سلمان. MS. (A).

Salmān Sāwajī. Jamāla-d-Dīn, a native of Sāwah. Shaikh 'Alāu-d-Daulah of Samnān said, "I have never seen in all the world the equal of the verses of Salmān or the pomegranates of Samnān." He died in the year 669 H. *Majma'u-l-Fuzuh*, II. 19. See Beale O. B. D., p. 235, where Salmān is said to have died in 779 A.H. See also H. K. 6946 Firāqnama. The date of his death given in the *Majma'u-l-Fuzuh* must be incorrect, as Salmān was the panegyrist of Amir Shaikh Hasan and of his son Sultan Awais Jalayer the latter of whom died in 776 A.H. See *Am-i-Akbari*, I. (B) 100 n. 6.

Verse.

I hope that the Shāh will out of kindness treat me,
As 'Alī treated Salmān in the desert of Arzhan.¹

The Shāh was extremely pleased, and after innumerable banquets and associations in travelling, and hunting expeditions,² arranged all preparations on a scale of regal magnificence in Humāyūn's honour, and took much trouble in giving his assent to the religious tenets of the Shi'ahs, and to that which the later writers of that persuasion say regarding the blessed companions of Muḥammad, may God be pleased with them, and Humāyūn after³ much ado said "Bring them written upon a sheet of paper." Accordingly they wrote down all their religious beliefs, and Humāyūn read them with a view to copying them, and gave precedence⁴ in the Khutbah, after the custom of 'Irāq, to the recital of the twelve Imāms.⁵ Shāh Murād, the son of the Shāh, an infant at the breast, with ten thousand⁶ cavalry under the command⁷ of Bidāgh Khān Qizilbāsh Afshār,⁸ was nominated⁹ to reinforce Humāyūn, and it was determined that the Qizilbāsh should march

¹ One day Salmān was in the desert of Arzhan which is between Bushiro and Shirāz and swarms with lions. Suddenly a lion confronted him, and in his helplessness he called upon 'Alī for aid who appeared and drove away the lion. There is a spot known to this day as the *Muqām-i-Salmān*. He is buried at Madām. See *Jabab*, II. p. 221. Salmān Abū 'Abdī-llah al Fārsī, called in Persian Rūzbih.

MS. (A) reads instead of the first line given in the text

آمید وارم هست آید آنکه لطف با ما آن کند MS. (B) reads

² Omit و and read ترتیب داد و MS. (A). بعد التیا و المتی ³

⁴ Read here تقبل نمودند for نقل نمودند. MSS (A) (B).

⁵ The Shi'ahs apply the term *Imāms* to the twelve leaders of their sect whom they call the true Imāms. They are on this account called the Imāmiyah and the Isnā 'Ashariyah. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, 203 and 572.

⁶ MS. (B) reads دوازده هزار 12,000.

⁷ باتایقی Bidāgh Khān was according to *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī* the Prince's tutor. Hence apparently the use of this word.

⁸ See *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī* (Elias and Ross), p. 214 n. Afshār is the name of one of the seven Turkī tribes who had been the chief supporters of Shāh Ismail, and whom he distinguished by a particular dress, including the red cap from which the Qizilbāsh derive their name.

⁹ MS. (A) باعز شد و

by one route and Humāyūn by another,¹ and that Humāyūn should, after gaining the victory, hand over Qandahār to Shāh Murād. Taking leave, and marching rapidly through Ardabil and Tabriz, (Humāyūn) again went to Mashhad the holy city,² and succeeded in visiting the shrine of the fountain-head of light.³

At the time when one night he was walking alone in that sacred enclosure, one of the pilgrims said in a low voice⁴ to his fellow, "This is not Humāyūn Pādshāh."⁵ The other replied "Yes it is." Then coming close, he said in the ear of Humāyūn "So! you are again laying claim to omnipotence!" This was a reference to the circumstance that Humāyūn used generally in Bangāla to cast⁶ a veil over his crown, and when he removed it⁷ the people used to say, Light has shined forth! He also washed his sword in the river and said⁸ "Upon whom shall I gird the sword?" When he arrived at Āgra he imposed upon the populace a new self-invented form of salutation, and wished them to kiss the ground (before him). At last Mir Abūl Baqā with the Amīrs and Vazīrs paid the due respects, and the Amīrs of the Qizilbāsh coming (by another road)⁹ arrived at Garmsīr and took possession of the whole of that territory, and had encamped within view¹⁰ of Qandahār, when¹¹ after five days Humāyūn arrived, and Mīrzā 'Askari was besieged, and for three months continuously¹² fighting was kept up, and a large number were daily killed on both sides. Thereupon Bairām Khān was sent to Kābul as an ambassador to

¹ MS. (A) reads *قرار یافت که پادشاه قندهار را گذارند*. It was settled that Humāyūn should hand over Qandahār (to Shāh Murād). MS. (A) omits *مراد*.

² MS. (A) inserts *مقدس*.

³ At Mashhad (Meshed) is the tomb of 'Alī, son of Mūsā ar-Rajā. See Moynard Dict. de la Persie, p. 306 s. v. *طوسی*. See also *Khān-i-Akbarī*, (J.) III. 50. Firishṭa reads (Bo. Text, p. 212).

متموجه مشهد مقدس امام علیه السلام القیمة.

⁴ Insert *آهسته* after *دیگری* instead of after *زیران* MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ MS. (A) reads *نیست* for *است*.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) *می انداختند*.

⁷ Read *برمی داشتند* MSS. (A) (B).

⁸ Supply *که*. MSS. (A) (B).

⁹ *از راه دیگر*. MS. (A).

¹⁰ MS. (B) reads *در ظاهر* and *ساختند*.

¹¹ Omit *درین* MS. (A).

¹² Insert *پیایی* after *نامه*. MSS (A) (B).

Mirzā¹ [Kāmrān in whose behalf Mirzā 'Askarī was fighting and Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā] Suleimān Badakhshī and Mirzā Yādgār Nāsir² who had arrived from Bakkar in a wretched plight;³ and [since]⁴ the idea of the Qizilbāsh was that no sooner would Humāyūn arrive than the Chaghatai would submit to him⁵ and would all come in.⁶ This, however, did not happen, and the siege became very protracted, and a large⁷ number were killed. It was also currently reported that Mirzā Kāmrān was coming to the assistance of Mirzā 'Askarī, they accordingly lost heart and meditated a return to their own country.⁸ It so happened that just at that very time certain Amīrs deserted from Mirzā Kāmrān, namely, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, Ulugh Mirzā, and Mirzā Husain Khān with other noted commanders, and offered their services to Humāyūn. Mu'yaḍ Beg, who was a prisoner in the fortress of Qandahār, escaped⁹ from the fort and had an interview with him, meeting with very kind treatment. Mirzā 'Askarī in his alarm, sued for quarter, and joined¹⁰ the ranks of Humāyūn's followers; his faults were pardoned and he was distinguished by especial marks of favour.

¹ The words within brackets occur in both MSS (A) (B) which read

میرزا کامران که میوزا عسکری از جانب او محاربه
می کرد فرستادند و میرزا هندال و میرزا سلیمان الخ

This also tallies with the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* See Elliot and Dowson, V., 219

² MS. (A) reads ب but it seems to be in error.

³ Omit فرستاد in this place, MS (A).

⁴ MS. (A) omits چون.

⁵ ایل شدن - چغتیہ ایل خواهند شد. *Il shudan*. To become submissive. See Pavet de Courteille, s. v. ایل.

⁶ Read here همه خواهند در آمد MSS. (A) (B). The word با طاعت seems unnecessary and tautological, possibly it is an interpolation by a scribe who failed to understand the word ایل *il*, taking it in its ordinary sense of "tribe"

Regarding the Chaghatai, see *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, (Elias and Ross, pp. 2, 3.)

⁷ MS. (A) کثیر.

⁸ MS. (A) omits می before خواستند and reads

که بدیار خود مراجعت نمایند.

⁹ The text read پایان آمده having come down The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says "managed to escape by stratagem, and let himself down from the walls by a rope" E. and D. loc. cit.

¹⁰ MS. (A) شده.

Verse.

There's a sweetness in forgiveness which there is not in revenge.

He also ordered the Amirs of Qizilbāsh that for the space of three days they should abstain from interference with the families of the Chaghtā tribe,¹ and the inhabitants of the city, so as² to allow of their all coming out; and although Humāyūn had no territory in his possession, yet on account of the promise which had gone forth he brought Bidāgh Khān and Mīrzā Murād into the fort and made over the whole of that country to them

Verse.

If a man fulfils the obligation of his promise

That man rises superior to any estimate you may form of him.

With the exception of Bidāgh Khān and two or three other Amirs,³ no one remained in the service of Mīrzā Murād, while the remaining Amirs of the auxiliaries, all returned to 'Irāq.

Humāyūn was induced by the coming on of the winter winds, to ask Bidāgh Khān to provide shelter for the followers of his army within the walls of the city, but that inhuman being invariably sent strangely rough answers.⁴ On this account some of the Chaghatai Amirs began⁵ to take to flight towards Kābul; among them was Mīrzā 'Askari, who was seized in the way and brought to Humāyūn, who imprisoned him. Many stirring events⁶ happened in those days, which⁷ led to the delivery of Qandahār from the hands of the Qizilbāsh. First among these was this, that the Chaghatai Amirs urged upon Humāyūn the necessity of seizing Qandahār, on account of the coldness of the weather, saying

۱ *Ulās-ı-Chaghtā* *الوس چغتای*. The word *Ulās* is a Turk'sh word, it is not found in Redhouse's dictionary. In Farukh Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary its meaning is given as *قبيلة بزرگ* *qabila-ı-buzurg*, a large tribe.

The title of *Ulās-begī* "chief of the tribe" was a very old one among the Mughuls. See *Tarikh-i Ruzhi* (Elias and Ross), p. 132 n. 1.

² MS. (A) reads wrongly *یا* for *و*.

³ Bidāgh Khān, "Abul-Fath Sultān Afshār, and Sūfī Walī Sultān Kadāmū." *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī* E. and D., v. 221.

⁴ Read *مستحکم باد* MSS (A) (B).

⁵ MS (B) reads *نهادن کردند*.

⁶ MS (A) reads *از قضا قضا* چند. The text is correct.

⁷ Omit *بعضی* MS. (A)

148. that after the conquest of Kābul and Badakhshān he ought¹ to bestow the greater portion of that place again upon the Qizilbāsh as compensation, so that due requital might be made them.

Secondly, the passing of Mirzā Murād on that very day,² by a natural death, from the world of existence and trouble.

Thirdly, the tyranny and oppression inflicted by Qizilbāsh *canaille* on³ the inhabitants of the city, and their preventing the Chaghatai from entering the fort, upon any pretext whatever.⁴

Fourthly, this incident, that a fierce⁵ *Tabarrā*, in accordance with

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit باید but it seems to be necessary.

² MS. (A) inserts قرارداد after روز "the very day of the agreement."

³ Omit نسبت MS. (B). ⁴ MS. (B) omits مطلقاً.

⁵ MS. (A) reads برای تندي. The word here seems to mean one who is anathema i. e., a Sunnī.

The following long note is necessary as no book I can find explains the word تبرا *Tabarrā*. This word means enmity (as opposed to تولا *Tuwallā*, affection) and is a technical term in use among the Shī'ahs. In defining *tabarrā* a distinction is to be made between مخالفت *mukhālafat* opposition, and عداوت *'adāwat* enmity, the former not necessarily involving the latter, for instance two men may be in opposition (*mukhālafat*) on worldly matters, and yet be in thorough amity (*maḥabbat*) in matters of faith, or may be opposed to one another in questions of philosophy and yet be unanimous in religious questions. Thus enmity includes opposition, but opposition does not necessarily imply enmity. And yet it is held that محبت *maḥabbat*, affection, and عداوت *'adāwat* enmity may occasionally co-exist: for the reason that عداوت *'adāwat* is of two kinds, religious, as for instance the *'adāwat* of Muslims and Infidels, who regard each other as enemies on the ground of the fundamental differences in their faith: and, worldly, as the *'adāwat* between one Muslim and his fellow Muslim on account of some conflict of worldly interests. Thus it is conceivable that *'adāwat* and *maḥabbat* may co-exist. Or again one Muslim may have an affection for another Muslim *quā* Muslim, but entertain a hatred for him as an adulterer, while he may love even a *kāfir* (Non-Muslim) for his good works such as alms, &c, while he hates him as an Infidel: his love being merely of a worldly nature in no way connected with religion.

The co-existence of *'adāwat* and *maḥabbat* in one person due to one consideration is however impossible.

Again, the *'adāwat* which true believers entertain against each other on account of worldly considerations is not injurious to the faith, however reprehensible it may be.

Moreover, the essential origin of *'adāwat* in religious matters is کفر (infidelity), therefore one must consider every *kāfir* as an enemy: thus although there may be lawful ties of worldly affection (*maḥabbat*) between a

Muslim and a Kāfir, such as the relation of father and son, or brotherhood or other blood relationship or friendship, get all these considerations must be cast aside from the exigencies of religion, and 'adāwat must be based upon their kufr. Again religious affection is centred in imān (faith of Islām), we must therefore from religious considerations love all the brethren of this faith whether they are obedient or contumacious.

Maḥabbat and 'adāwat between a true believer and an unbeliever (Kāfir) has different degrees, just as there are differences of degrees in the love which any reasonable being entertains for his different relations. So also in religious love there are degrees The highest is that for the Prophet Muḥammad, next to this love for the assembly of believers who have close connection and intimate relation to the Prophet; and that assembly is confined to three parties: First, the children and relations of the Prophet who are his members; secondly, his pure spouses who are in a way his members, thirdly, his companions who elected to serve him and gave their lives for his cause.

If among the believers there be any devoid of faith (imān), or guilty of any sin which destroys their former works, and in accordance with the dictates of the Qur'ān become worthy of 'adāwat (واجب العداوة) they are excepted (from the rights of maḥabbat) and enquiry should be made into their faith or absence of faith. Inasmuch as fīsq (immorality) does not necessarily exclude imān (faith), it is not lawful to curse such an one, nor to display tabarrā against him, but rather to pray for his pardon; as long as he retains imān it is lawful to entertain maḥabbat for him, and 'adāwat on religious grounds is unlawful, inasmuch as tabarrā and sabḥ (reviling) are only justifiable when maḥabbat for a person no longer remains, which is restricted to death in infidelity.

Now we must consider the words of the Shī'ah divines who consider opposition to and contention regarding the Khilāfat of 'Alī as kufr, according to the words of Khwāja Naṣir Ṭūsī "Mukhālifūhu fasaqah wa muḥārribūhu kafarah." "Those who oppose him are immoral and those who fight against him are infidels."

Accordingly a section who have contented themselves with opposition are not deserving of tabarrā, because their extreme fault is fīsq (immorality) and the fāsiq (immoral man) may be a true believer.

The above is translated from the *Tuhfa-i-Isnā 'ashariyyah* of Shāh 'Abdu-l-'Aziz of Dihli.

The gist of the matter appears to be this that Tabarrā is not justifiable for immorality, but only for infidelity. It seems therefore to take the place in Muslim Theology of the excommunication of the Christian Code. It is more than excommunication, inasmuch as death in infidelity is made the test of tabarrā which thus implies final separation and curse.

The use of foul abusive language against the companions of the Prophet would be held to be loss of imān (faith) and hence to render the reviler liable to tabarrā provided he died in that state. As the person referred to in the story was killed by Mirza Yādger Nāsir he is called tabarrāi

their notoriously brutal manner, in the presence of Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā¹ [who had fled in concert with Hindāl Mirzā from Kāmran Mirzā] and come thither, uttered foul² and improper abuse against the companions of the Prophet,³ *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, and may God be pleased with them*; Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir could not endure this, and struck him such a blow with an arrow which he had in his hand that the arrow penetrated his chest up to the wing, and passing through him struck the ground.⁴ Hājī Muḥammad Khān Kūki with two servants first of all entered the fortress of Qandahār together with a train of camels laden (with supplies), and put the guards to the sword; a second party following him, came up, Mirzā Ulugh Beg and Bāirām Khān were of that number.⁵ The Qizilbāsh were astounded,⁶ and utterly confounded,⁷ and the proverb was exemplified,⁸ "Qāzi, I am an old woman,⁹ and if you don't believe me, I can scream just like one, listen!" Their haughtiness was humbled, and Humāyūn¹⁰ entering the fort¹¹ allowed Bidāgh Khān, who had come to him¹² in trepidation and anxiety, to proceed towards Irāq. Notwithstanding this, all the inhabitants of the city, who were heartily sick of them, killed the Qizilbāsh in every street. After he had settled Qandahār to his satisfaction,¹³ he made over charge of that district to Bāirām Khān, and determined to attempt the conquest of Kābul. Mirzā Kāmran also came out to meet him with the intention¹⁴ of fighting. Every day one or two¹⁵ of his noted Amirs deserted and joined the army of Humāyūn. In very truth the greater

¹ MS. (B) omits the portion in brackets.

² MS. (A) omits *ی فاحش*. ³ MSS. (A) (B) omit *الله*.

⁴ MS. (A) reads *ازار بر زمین رسید*. MS. (B) reads *آزاد بیفتاد*.

⁵ *ازان جماعت* MSS. (A) (B) read *ازان جمله*.

⁶ Omit *و* MSS. (A) (B).

⁷ Literally, lost their hands and feet.

⁸ *بکار آمد* MSS. (A) (B).

⁹ The text reads *قوز بقة* a footnote gives two variants *قازی من قوز بقة ام* and *قازی من قوز بقة ام*. The latter is the reading of MS. (A). I read for *قوز بقة* *qūrbaga*, the word *قورقنا* *qūrtaghā*, which is Tarkī for 'an old woman.' See Pavet de Courteille.

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits *پادشاه*.

¹¹ MS. (B) insert *دیده* after *آمد*.

¹² MS. (A) omits *و دیده*.

¹³ MS. (B) omits *خاطر*.

¹⁴ MS. (B) *بعزیمت جنگ باستقبال برآمد*.

¹⁵ MS. (A) *یک دواز*.

part of the inhabitants of the world¹ are like a flock of sheep, wherever one goes, the others immediately follow.² Mīrzā Kāmārān, losing the clue of all independent action, availed himself of the services of the *Shaikh* and *Ulamā* to sue for pardon. Humāyūn, upon condition of personal submission, effaced the record of his transgressions from the page of his mind with the water of forgiveness. Mīrzā, in accordance with the saying "The traitor is a coward,"³ would not consent to an interview, and took refuge in the citadel of Kābul, where he entrenched himself, and fled thence in the dead of night to Ghaznī. The whole of his army⁴ came over to the camp of Humāyūn, who appointed Mīrzā Hindāl to pursue him, and came himself to Kābul, and the hidden meaning of the sacred word "Verily, He who hath ordained the Qur'ān for thee will restore thee to thy returning place"⁵ was revealed, and he refreshed to the full his eyes with the sight of the noble Prince his son. This victory was gained on the tenth of the month of Ramazān the blessed,⁶ in the year 952 H. (A.D. 1545),⁷ and the following hemistich was written as a record of the date:—

Ba jang girift mulk-i-Kābul az wai.⁸

"He took the kingdom of Kābul from him without fighting." And inasmuch as others are responsible for the relation of these events, and the compiler of this *Muntakhab* has only adapted his record from them, now however much he may desire to epitomise,⁹

¹ MS. (A) عالم مردم, MS. (B) omits عالم حکم

² MS. (B) می آوردند

³ الخائن و الخائف *Al-khānu wa khāf*. MS (B) reads الخائف

⁴ MS. (A) reads سپاهیان

⁵ Qur'ān xxviii. 85.

⁶ MS. (A) omits المبارک.

⁷ The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Elliot and Dowson, v. p. 222) says: "The victory was accomplished on the 10th Ramazān, 953 H. when the Prince was four years, two months and five days old. Some place the event in the year 952. but God knows the truth." A footnote (I, page 223) states that the *Akbar-nāma* (vol. I. p. 823) makes the date 12th Ramazān, 952.

⁸ بی جنگ گرفت ملک کابل از وی. These words give 952 H. Firihtā also gives this same hemistich. (Bo. text, p. 418).

⁹ Text که کتاب اطاب را کشیده دارد. Lit. to draw tight the tent cords of prolixity. MSS. (A) (B) omit را; MS. (B) reads سخن for کتاب

the thread of his discourse¹ has involuntarily become lengthened (in accordance with the saying). *Narration has many bye-paths.*²

To make a long story short when Mirzā Kāmrān proceeded to Ghaznī and was unable to enter it,³ he departed towards Bakkar, and Mirzā Shāh Husain, who had given him his daughter (in marriage), came forward to assist him.

150. Humāyūn put to death Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir who was meditating flight, and proceeded with the intention of conquering Badakhshān. Sulaimān Mirzā gave him battle, and was defeated, and Kāmrān Mirzā coming up in Humāyūn's absence took possession of Kābul, placing guards over the ladies⁴ of high degree, and over the young Prince.

Humāyūn, after relieving Mirzā Hindāl of the government of Badakhshān, wrote a patent conferring it upon Mirzā Sulaimān, and making over⁵ the government of that country to him returned with all speed to Kābul. Mirzā Kāmrān, after the defeat of his forces, remained entrenched in Kābul, and when he found himself in straits, out of sheer cruelty several times gave orders for the young Prince to be placed upon the ramparts of the fort within range of both artillery and musketry fire, but Māham Ānka⁶ made her own body a shield for him against the arrows of calamity.

Verse.

If the sword of the world leaps from its sheath,
It can sever no vessel till God permits.

¹ MS. (A) omits *بی اختیار* MS. (B) omits *مستن*.

The proverb is *الحديث ذو شجون* *Al-hadīṭu zu-shujūn*, and is used to express one story reminding the narrator of another, see *Arabum Proverbia*, Freytag, I. p. 350, n. 29.

The text reads wrongly *الحديث شجون* and a footnote calls attention to the correct reading. MS. (B) reads *شجون*.

² MS. (A) *و در آنجا*

³ *بر حضرات عالیات بیگمان* *Bar hazarāt-i-'āliyāt-i-Begamān*.

⁴ MS. (B) reads *تقریض نموده* for *سپرده*.

⁵ Māham Ānka (or Anagah) was one of Akbar's nurses and attended on Akbar from his cradle to his accession. See *Ain-i-Akbari*, I. (B) p. 323.

Ānākā or Anākā in Turkī signifies nurse (P. de C.) Tazlu-llāh Khān gives *انگه* *Anagah* in the meaning of foster-mother *شیر مادر* *shir mēdar*. Read the account given by Nizām-ud-Din. (Elliot, v. p. 227).

The Sardārs and Amīrs, on account of the heat of the contest in which they were engaged, began to traffic in hypocrisy,¹ and kept coming backwards and forwards, now in one direction now in another. Many of them on both sides were killed. At last,² Mīrzā,³ having made a hole in the wall of the fort, came out in disguise,⁴ and when Hājī Mīnhammed Khān, who had been detailed with a party of men to pursue him, came up with Mīrzā,⁵ Mīrzā said to him "What if I have killed your father Bābē Qashqa?" Hājī Mīnhammed Khān, who was a veteran soldier, energetic and experienced, pretending not to understand him, returned, and the Prince reached his father Humāyūn safe and sound, and the part returned to the whole.⁶

Mayest thou live a thousand years, and a thousand years⁷ beside,

For in the prolongation of thy life are a thousand advantages.

And Mīrzā Kāmran took refuge with Pir Muhammad Khān, Governor of Balkh, and asking his assistance⁸ seized certain of the provinces of Badakhshān without a struggle from Sulaimān Mīrzā and his son Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, and took possession of them; and Qurācha Khān,⁹ who had done notable service, together with certain other grasping¹⁰ Amīrs, entertained extravagant expectations from Humāyūn, and when their iniquitous desires were not realised betook themselves to Badakhshān and Kābul.

Within those few years the earth had quitted its accustomed state of repose, and had undergone tremblings and agitations. A certain witty writer¹¹ says with reference to this:

¹ MS. (A) omits را; i.e., to make feints.

² Read آخر مرزا MS. (A).

³ Mīrzā Kāmran.

⁴ Text صورت ناشناس MS. (A) (B) read مان.

⁵ MS. (A) بدختر رسید.

⁶ Text reads و جزء به کل رجوع نموده MS. (A) has the better reading جزو بکل رجوع نموده.

⁷ A footnote variant reads هزار معنی را for a thousand objects, so also MS. (A).

⁸ Text مدد خواسته MS. (A) (B) مدد طلبیده MS. (A) reads مان.

⁹ MS. (A) reads خام طمع شد و نموده و اغراض.

¹⁰ Text و طریقی دران باب گفته This admits of translation also "a certain

The fortress of Kābul which in height surpasses the seventh heaven;¹

Like the Kite which is six months female and six months male.

On several occasions it happened that Mirzā Kāmran came to pay his respects to Humāyūn and had a personal interview with him. Humāyūn, out of natural kindness and innate good-will pardoned his shortcomings, and cleared his heart of all rancour against him,² and after he had sought permission to leave to make the pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, bestowed upon him the country of Badakhshān,³ and himself going up against Balkh, fought with Pir Muḥammad Khān and 'Abu-l-'Aziz Khān, the son of 'Abdu-llah Khān,⁴ the Ozbak king, and defeated them after a sharp engagement. But following the bad advice of his Amīra, who were treacherous hypocrites,⁵ and in alarm about Mirzā Kāmran, he turned back and came to Kābul.⁷ Mirzā Kāmran⁸ once more broke⁹ his treaty obligations, and inasmuch as the untrustworthy leaders on both sides began to practise unfaithfulness, and led him out of the way,¹⁰ and he had to fight numerous battles,¹¹ he eventually sought

Zarīf." There was a poet of that name, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan of Isfahān. See *Majma'u-l-Fuṣṣṣā*, II. 345.

¹ کویون Kaiwān. The planet Saturn which is in the seventh heaven.

² See ante p. 352 n. 1.

و صینه مانی شدند.

⁴ See Elliot, v. 229, 230.

⁵ MS. (A) reads حیدر اللہ خان, 'Ubaidu-llāh Khān.

The *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī* calls him 'Abid Khān, Elliot, v. p. 230.

⁶ MS. (A) reads امرای موافقی منافقی.

⁷ The account given by our author is explained by that of the *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī* which says that on the night before Balkh would have fallen, some of the Chaghatai chiefs whose wives and families were in Kābul, became alarmed because Mīrzā Kāmran had not joined the army, so they met together and advised Humāyūn not to cross the river of Balkh, but to fall back upon Datta Gaz taking up a strong position; then, after a short time the garrison of Balkh would surrender. Humāyūn agreed to this, and both friends and foes imagined that a retreat to Kābul was intended. The Ozbaks took courage and followed in pursuit. A battle ensued in which Humāyūn was personally engaged, but cut his way out, and reached Kābul in safety. See Elliot, v. p. 231.

⁸ MS. (A) omits کامران.

⁹ MS. (A) کرد.

¹⁰ او را از راه میبردند.

¹¹ Read نمودند for نمود.

aid from Islem Shāh, but, meeting with disappointment,¹ and returning thence, was delivered into the hands of Humāyūn by the machinations of Sultān Adam Ghakkar at Pashāla.² Notwithstanding all his repeated rebellions his life was spared, but the jewel of sight was taken from him,³ (as has already been stated), and he was permitted to depart for the sacred Makka. He had the good fortune to make the *Hajj* four times, and thus made amends for his past evil deeds, and there delivered up the life that had been entrusted to him. 452.

Verse.⁴

Never in the garden of Faith has a blade fulfilled its promise,
 Never has a shaft aimed by Heaven failed to strike the mark.
 The tailor of Fate has never clothed any man in a garment
 which it has not afterwards torn from him.
 The Age has never given any coin which it has not changed.
 The Time has never played any piece without practising
 deception with it.
 Whom has the Heaven placed in safety beneath the Sun,
 That it has not made short-lived like the shining dawn.
 Khāqānī! cast dust into the eyes of the world,
 For it has caused thee pain in the eyes and has given thee
 no remedy.

1 MS. (B) reads از اسلم شاه مایوس گشته.

2 Our author is very brief in his recital of this portion of the history, for a fuller account see Elliot, v. 232 to 234. MS. (A) reads یرحاله *Yarhāla*.

3 Mirzā Kāmrān was blinded by the stroke of a lancet, see Elliot, v. 144 and 235 in the year 960 H. Firishṭa gives the *tārīkh* written to commemorate it.

چشم پوشید ز بیداد سپهر *Chashm پوشid zi bedād-i-sipahr*. He closed his eyes to the injustice of heaven. It is clear that Humāyūn in destroying his brother's eyesight was only choosing the lesser of two evils, the Chaghatai leaders clamouring for his death. Firishṭa also says that he made the pilgrim (Hajj) three times, dying on the 11th of Zū Hijjah 964 H. (Bo. Text, p. 455) October, 1557 A. D.

4 Khāqānī, whose name was Afzal-u-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī an-Najjār, a famous poet, was originally a pupil of Abul 'Alā Ganjawi; he took the name Haqqiqi, as his *takallūs* and entered the service of Shīrwān Shāh the great Mughal, from whom he received the title of Khāqānī. Having absented himself without permission, he was captured and imprisoned in the fortress of Shādarwān, where he wrote many poems. After his release he hastened to Makka and wrote the *Tuhfat-i-Iraqiyyin* while on the way. He

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī¹ wrote this *tārīkh*.

Verse.

Kāmrān,² than whom no man has been found more fitted for
sovereignty,
Went from Kābul to the Ka'bah, and there committed his soul
to God, and his body to the dust.
Kāhī spake this as a *tārīkh* to commemorate his death,
*Pādshāh Kāmrān died at the Ka'bah.*³

And the poet Waisi⁴ wrote :

Verse.

Shāh Kāmrān the renowned Khusrū,
Who in majesty raised his head to Kaiwān.
Faithfully served the holy temple four years
And entirely freed his heart from worldly bonds.
After performing his fourth pilgrimage
In pilgrim garb, he yielded up his soul to his Lord.

died soon after his return, and was buried in the cemetery of Surkhāb in Tabriz in the year 582 H.

Majma'us-s-Fuṣṣah, I, p. 200. See also Beale, *O B D.* s. v. *Khāqānī*.

¹ MS. (B) reads مولی. MS. (A) reads مولی قاسم کاتبی

² This also means, Happy is he than whom &c.

³ *Pādshāh Kāmrān baka'bah bimurd*. The letters of this line give the date 968 H. instead of 984 H.

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī otherwise known as Miyyān Kālī Kābulī. Our author (see vol. III. p. 172 of the text), stigmatises his poetry as crude and wanting in originality, although he acknowledges that it possesses a peculiar quality unshared by any other author. He was skilled in astronomy, as well as in rhetoric and Sufism, and had also some skill as a composer of music. Badāonī laments the fact that notwithstanding all his advantages Kāhī spent his life in infidelity and impiety. The *Atash-Kada* (p. 190, Bombay Edition) says, that he sprang from the Gulistāna Saiyyids; one of his ancestors came out of the city to pay his respects to Tīmūr and joined his army, whose fortunes he followed until the birth of the Saiyyid aforesaid in Turkistān. He was brought up in Kābul whence he acquired his name. He went to Hindustān in the time of the Emperor Humāyūn, where he held a position of trust and honour. No date is there given for his death, which occurred in 988 H. See *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 566 n. 1; also Beale, *O.B.D.*, p. 144.

⁴ MS. (B) reads دبسی *Dabṣī* for وایسی *Waisi* (Text).

One night as Waisi was holden with sleep,
 He visited him and called him towards himself,
 And said, "If they ask thee concerning my death
 Reply, "The pardoned Shāh remained in-Makka."¹

Mīrzā Kāmran was as a king, brave and ambitious, liberal and good-natured, sound of religion and clear of faith. He used always to associate with the 'Ulamā and learned doctors. His poems are well-known. At one time he held such strong views of probity that he gave orders to exterminate grapes from his kingdom, but afterwards became such a slave to wine that he was not ashamed of the after effects of debauch; eventually he left the world penitent and devout. All's well that ends well.²

This event took place in the year³ 964 H.

Mīrzā 'Askari, after Qarrācha Khān was slain in the last battle before Kābul, fell a prisoner into the hands of Humāyūn's soldiery, and Khwāja Jalālu-d-Dīn⁴ Maḥmūd Dīwān conveyed him to Badakhshān and made him over to Mīrzā Suleimān. He was kept in confinement for some time,⁵ and then was released, and Mīrzā Suleimān despatched him to Balkh, by which route he purposed journeying to the two sacred cities⁶. When he reached a valley which lies between Shām⁷ and the sacred city of Makka, without accomplishing his object he hastened from⁸ that desert to the true Ka'bah which is the bourn of all mankind. The following is the *tārīkh* of that event:—

'Askari pādshāh-i-daryādil.⁹

٢٠١

Verse

Why dost thou soil thy fingers with the blood of the world?
 For honey is oft mingled with deadly poison¹⁰

¹ *Shāh-i marḥūm dar Makka mānd*. This line gives the date 964 H.

² *الأمر بالعواقب*. *Al amru bil 'awqāb*. Lit Events are according to their terminations.

³ MS. (A) omits *سال* ⁴ MSS. (A) (B). ⁵ MS. (A) *٢٥١*.

⁶ *حرمين شريفين*. *Haramain i-Sharifain*. Mecca and Medina.

⁷ Syria. Nizamu-d-Din Ahmad says "in the country of Rūm," Elliot v. 234.

⁸ MS. (A) reads *٢٥١*

⁹ i.e. 'Askari the bountiful king. These letters give the date 922 H.

¹⁰ In the *Mishkāt* (xxi. Part I) we read that honey was prescribed by Maḥammad. "A man came to his majesty and said 'Verily my brother has a

1. The end of Mirzā Hindāl was on this wise, that after Mirzā Kāmran had suffered defeat in the final engagement, and had taken refuge with the Afghāns, and Hājī Muḥammad Khān¹ Kūki was executed² on account of his numerous misdeeds, one night Mirzā Kāmran made a night attack upon the camp.³ By chance that night the dart of death struck Mirzā Hindāl in a vital spot, and he drank the draught of martyrdom. This event took place⁴ in the year 958 H. and *Shabkhūn* was found to give the date.⁵

purgings.' And his highness said: 'Give him honey to drink' and it was done. Then the man came to his highness and said: 'I gave him honey to drink, which has increased the purging,' then his majesty said to him thrice: 'Give him honey.' And the man came a fourth time and said: 'it increaseth the purging.' And his highness said: 'give him honey.' Then the man said: 'I have and it increaseth the purging.' Then his highness said: 'God has said truly, there is a cure for man in honey, and your brother's belly lied, by not accepting of the cure.' Then the man gave his brother honey to drink again and he got well."

Honey was held in high estimation as a drug among ancient physicians. The poisonous qualities of honey gathered from certain plants is well known; for instance, we find in the *Makhzanu-l-Adwiyā* that honey shed by bees which have lighted in the herb Absantin (*Absinthium*) and the like acquires a bitter taste, and causes diseases of the stomach and liver, while another kind of honey causes fainting and cold sweats and loss of consciousness. So also the poisonous honey of Heraclea, supposed to owe its poisonous properties to the aconite plant.

Quite recently well authenticated cases of honey poisoning have been reported in the United States. The honey in one instance was found to be impregnated with gelsemine. It is generally believed that two varieties of aconite, *Kalmia latifolia* some *Rhododendrons* *Azalea pontica* and certain other plants of the N. O. Ericaceæ, have poisonous properties which are communicated to the honey of bees lighting on them. It is said that the *Azalea pontica* was the plant which yielded the poisonous honey noticed by Xenophon in his account of the retreat of the Ten Thousand. The active poison andromedotoxin has been found in many Ericaceæ. The symptoms of honey poisoning are briefly described as vomiting, purging, acute gastric and abdominal pain and cramps, with surface coldness and pallor, and the general signs of collapse. See *Ind. Med. Gaz.*, January, 1897, p. 27. See also *Med. and Surg. Rep.* September, 1896.

¹ MS. (A) omits خان. ² MSS. (A) (B) omit پادشاهی after سیاست.

³ Road شہزادوں پر آورد. ⁴ MS. (A) روی نمود.

⁵ شہزادوں. *Shabkhūn*. Night assault. The letters of this word give the date 958 H. The *Tabaqāt-i-Aktārī* gives another *tarīkh*. See Elliot, v. 284, which however gives 959 H.

Verse.

When Fate made such a night attack¹ with the forces of the world

That the zenith became red like the twilight from bloodshed,
Hindāl the world-conqueror left the world,

And abandoned the world to Shāh Humāyūn ;

The young plant-like stature of that shapely palm-tree

Was like a lamp to the sleeping-apartment of the sky.

Wisdom sought for a *tārīkh* of his death,² I said,

Alas ! a lamp has been extinguished by reason of a night attack.

Mirzā Amānī also wrote³ the following :—

Shāh Hindāl the cypress of the rose-garden of beauty,

When he left this garden for that of Paradise,⁴

The wailing ring-dove uttered this *tārīkh*,

“ A cypress has gone from the garden of glory.”⁵

And Maulānā Hasan ‘Alī Kharās⁶ wrote :

Verse.

Hindāl Muḥammad Shāh of auspicious title

Suddenly was martyred by Fate in the heart of the night ; 455.

Since a night assault (*shabkhūn*) caused his martyrdom,

Seek the *tārīkh* of his martyrdom in *shabkhūn*.

Humāyūn bestowed the horses and retinue of Mirzā Hindāl upon the young Prince, the asylum of the world, and confirmed to them Ghaznīn with its dependencies as *Iqtā'* grants.⁷

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read *شبا خونى*. ² MSS. (A) (B) omit *و*.

³ MS. (A) reads *مانى* Mānī for *امانى* Amānī (Text). MSS. (A) (B) read *آف* for *ياقوت* (Text).

⁴ Read *بخت* for *مخت*. MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ *مروى از بوستان دولت رفت*. *Sarve az būstān-i-daulat raft*.

To arrive at this *tārīkh* we take the value of the words *Būstān-i-daulat* which is 959, and then take from this the value of the *sarve* (a cypress) used here for the letter *Alif*, which is straight and erect like the cypress, and has the value, 1, thus we obtain 958 H.

⁶ MS. (A) reads *آف*.

⁷ See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) II. 115.

The Afghāns could no longer protect Mīrzā Kāmran, and it so happened that Mīrzā went to Islem¹ Shāh; in the meanwhile the hidden purposes of Heaven were made manifest, so that after hearing the tidings of the death of Islem Shāh, and of the occurrence of extreme confusion and turmoil between the Afghāns, of Hindustān and the tribal chiefs, Humāyūn definitely determined upon the attempt of the conquest of Hindustān.² In the meantime the lovers of contumacy, that is to say, the envious and riotous, so distorted the appearance of the sincere loyalty of Bairām Khān, in the clear mirror of the mind of Humāyūn, that it was inverted and he was represented by them as hostile. Accordingly an attack was ordered in the direction of Qandahar. Bairām Khān came out in person to receive³ Humāyūn and with all ceremony offered due service. Thereupon the disloyalty of his traducers became apparent. On this occasion Humāyūn was furnished, by the good offices of Bairām Khān, with the opportunity of meeting that Scion of the Walis, the offspring of the Saints, the seal of the Shaikhs of the Naqshbandī⁴ sect, Maulānā Zayn-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar.

The following is a fuller account:—

The aforesaid Maulavī was from Bahdā,⁵ which is a village of the dependencies of Kharāsān,⁶ and had attained to the companionship of many of the Shaikhs, *may God sanctify their spirits*, especially Maulavī Maḥdūmī ‘Ārif Jāmī, and Maulavī ‘Abdu-l-Ghaffūr Lāi, *may God He is exalted*⁷ *sanctify their spirits*, who supported themselves by giving instruction and making illustrations, and Bairām Khān having opened tutorial relations with him, used to go to take lessons from him, and now and then when he was reading Yusuf and Zulaikha and other books, they used to say,

¹ MS. (A) reads سلیم شاه Salīm Shāh. ² MS. (A) هندوستان.

³ MS. (A) باستقبال برآورد.

⁴ The Naqshbandī Shaikhs were the followers of the renowned saint Khwāja Bahāu-d Dīn Naqshband of Bokhārā. See Aīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, 423 n. 2 where the meaning of Naqshband is said to be the occupation of this man and his parents, who used to weave Kamkhābs adorned with figures (naqqh). See also for a long account of the Naqshbandī School. Aīn-i-Akbarī (J.) III, 368, et seq.

Kamāngar means a bowmaker.

⁵ Footnote variant بهداین Bahdāyan.

⁶ MS (A) reads قندھار Qandahar.

MS (B) omits تعالی.

"Oh, Bairām what is your wish! You yourself are as Ynsuf and Zulaikha¹ in the world." And Humāyūn having ordered a banquet in honour of the sacred illuminated spirit of the asylum of the seal of prophecy, may the blessing and peace of God be upon him, invited the *Ākhūnd*,² and with his own hands took the ewer, while Bairām Khān took the basin, intending to pour the water over his hands; seeing this the *Ākhūnd* indicated Mīr Ḥabībullah, the grandson of Mīr Saiyyid Jamālu-d-Dīn the traditionist, and said,³ "Do you not know who that person is?" Humāyūn thereupon perforce carried the ewer to the Mīr, who, with the utmost confusion, poured half of the entire contents of the ewer over his hands, after which the *Ākhūnd* without scruple washed his hands, to their heart's content. At this time Humāyūn enquired,⁴ "How much water is enjoined by the *Sunnat* to be poured over the hands?" They replied, "so much as is necessary to clean the hands;" then first Bairām Khān poured water over the hands of the remainder of the assembly, and was followed in this service by Husain Khān the relation of the Mahdī, son of Qāsīm Khān. At last the food was eaten, and Humāyūn found very great delight in their society, and was much benefited thereby. Afterwards he sent a piece of coined gold by the hand of Bairām Khān, saying, "This is a present."⁵ Inasmuch as it was his custom not to take a present from anyone, after great deliberation he accepted it, with excessive reluctance and disgust, and in return for it sent into the presence of the king several bows of his own fashioning, with something over and above (the value of the gold) saying, "Presents⁶ must be given on both sides."

The story goes that one day Bairām Khān caused a garment to be made of handsome Kashmir *shawls*,⁷ and brought it to him. 457 He took it in his hand and praised it⁸ saying, "What a valuable thing this is!" Bairām Khān said, "As it is a suitable garment for a *darvesh*, I have brought it as an offering for you." He thereupon made a sign⁹ with two of his fingers, as much as to say I have two of them, come give this one to some one more

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit دیگر

² *آخوند* a tutor, teacher, preacher.

³ MS. (A) reads نه میدانید.

⁴ MS. (A) reads پرسید.

⁵ MS. (A) reads که این تذراست.

⁶ MS. (A) omits هدیه.

⁷ Shawls.

⁸ Text کرده MS. (A) فرموده. MS. (B) آید.

⁹ MS. (A) omits اشارت.

deserving of it than I. Many¹ miraculous acts are related of him. Some few of these Shaikh Mu'īnu-d-Dīn, the grandson of Maulānā Mu'in Wāiz, who by the order of the Khalifah of the time was for some time Qāzī of Lāhor, wrote in a separate treatise: among them this is written, that when archery practice was going on, he used in opposition to his usual habits to come every day² to the butts, and give instruction in archery. The youths used to urge and incite Bairām Khān to practise³ archery, saying that it would surely be useful to him some day. As a fact, the very first⁴ defeat of the Afghāns occurred in the fight at Māchiwāra,⁵ when the victory was entirely gained by the archers and in all probability that eagerness and instigation had this very end in view.

In that collection of stories also is the following, that when Bairām Khān, after making over Qandahār to Bahādur Khān the brother of 'Alī Qulī Khān Sistānī, came to Kābul, he appointed on his own part a tyrannical Tarkomān, so that the people groaned under his oppressive hand, and made many complaints to the Ākhūnd, till he became ill as they desired, and they enjoyed a few days' respite from his oppression, and used to bring tidings of him every day to the assembly of the Ākhūnd. At last one day, as one of them was⁶ saying "He has risen from his bed," the Ākhūnd also, looking him in the face, said angrily, "Perhaps he may rise on the morrow of the resurrection." Three or four days afterwards he again fell ill, and removed the disgrace of his tyranny from the world. It is a saying of theirs that the Turk when sleeping is an angel, but when he sleeps the sleep
8. of death he is superior to the archangels.⁷

¹ MS. (A) reads خیل صدق است.

² MS. (B) reads هر وقت و هر روز. ³ Read روش for روزش. MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read ماچھی واره کس شکست.

⁵ Māchiwāra. On the banks of the Sutlej in the Ludhiānā District of the Panjāb. See Tieff. I, 112. Āin-i-Akbarī (J.) II, 310; III, 69.

At page 315 of Blochmann's Āin-i-Akbarī (I), we read "The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bairām. He gained the battle of Māchiwārah and received Sambhal as jāgīr."

⁶ MS. (A) omits می. The hint given by the Ākhūnd was in true Oriental fashion.

⁷ MS. (B) reads بهتر از فرشته خواهد بود. MS. (A) reads مهین for مهین and omits بهتر.

Verse.

I saw a tyrant sleeping at mid-day
I said, this is a calamity; It is best that sleep should take
him

And that man who is better when sleeping than when waking
For such an evil liver death were preferable.

Hamāyūn, at the time of his return, had some intention of taking Qandahār from Bairām Khān and giving it to Mun'im Khān. Mun'im Khān, however, represented that now that the conquest of Hindustān was on, the topic a change of governors would be a source of dissension in the army, and it would be better to wait till after conquering Hindustān, and then to act as circumstances might demand. Accordingly Qandahār was confirmed¹ to Bairām Khān, and Zamindāwar to Bahādur Khān. Then coming to Kābul he prepared his army with transport and commissariat, and in Zū Hijjah 961 H. set out from Kābul to march against Hindustān.² And the following *qita'h* was written which gives the date in two ways.

Qita'h.

Khusrū Ghāzi Nasir-u-d-Dīn Hamāyūn Shāh
Who without question excelled all former kings,
Advanced from Kābul for the conquest of Hind;
The date of his advance is *muh sad wa shast wa yake*.³

At the halting-place of Parshāwar⁴ Bairām Khān arrived from Qandahār⁵ and presented himself before the king. By continuous marches they crossed the river Indus⁶ and Bairām Khān and Khizr Khwāja Khān, with Taidi Beg Khān and

¹ MS. (A) عقرو صاند.

² MSS. (A) (B) عازم هند گشتند.

³ نهصد و شست و یکی. Nine hundred and sixty-one. The value of the letters taken separately also gives 961. This is the explanation of the statement in the text that this *qita'h* gives the date in two ways. Footnote to the text says یعنی صوری و معنوی that it is both in form and in literal value.

⁴ The text reads پر شادر Parshādur, in error. MSS. (A) (B) read پر شاور Parshāwar.

⁵ MS. (A) omits بر.

⁶ MS. (B) omits سند.

459. Iskandar¹ Sultān Osbak forming the advance party, went forward² and Tātār Khān Kūsī, governor of the fortress of Rohtās, evacuated the fort³ and fled. Adam Ghakkar did not present himself on this occasion.⁴

When they arrived at Lāhor, the Afghāns of that place also not being able to withstand him dispersed, and the commanders of the vanguard⁵ started off towards [Lāhor and Thānesur]⁶ Jalandhar⁷ and Sirhind. That country was taken possession of without any trouble; Shahbāz Khān and Nasir Khān Afghān however fought a battle near Dipālpūr with Shāh⁸ Abū-l-Ma'ālī and 'Alī Qulī Shaibānī, who was eventually Khān-i-zamān,⁹ and was defeated. So great was the terror inspired by the Mughuls that thousands¹⁰ upon thousands of Afghāns would flee at the sight of ten of the huge-turbaned horsemen (even although they were Lāhoris), and never looked behind them. Before Humāyūn's army crossed the river Indus, Sikandar Afghān Sūr gained the upper-hand of Ibrahim Sūr, and having conquered him¹¹ formed the intention of leaving Itāwa and marching to attack 'Adli. Suddenly, however, tidings arrived that Humāyūn had crossed

¹ MS. (B) adds خان.

² MS. (A) reads پیش می آمدند MS. (B) reads پیش می آمدند.

³ Read قلعه omitting the hamza.

⁴ The *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri* says "Adam Ghakkar although he owed service, did not join the army." Elliot, v. 237.

⁵ امرای منقلاي Umarā-i Manqalāi. MS. (A) reads Umarā-i-mutafarriq. The text is correct. منقلاي manghalāi or مانگلاي māngalāi is a Turkī word signifying forehead (front) or advance-guard of an army. See P. de C. s. v. so also Fāizullāh Khān who gives only the meaning پیشانی pishāni forehead.

⁶ These words in brackets should be omitted apparently. They are absent from MS. (A) and also from the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* which mentions Jalandhar and Sirhind. Besides the commanders were already in Lāhor.

⁷ MS. (B) omits جلندھر Jalandhar.

⁸ MS. (A) reads شاهپور شاه ابولمعالی in error.

⁹ 'Alī Qulī Khān was the son of Haidar Sultān Osbak-i-Shaibānī, who had been made an Amīr in the Jām war with the Qizilbāgh.

It was in the early days of Akbar's reign that he obtained the title of Khān-i-Zamān. See Badāonī, Vol. II, p. 12. Lowe's Translation, p. 5. He had defeated Hīmūn near Pānīpat. See *Āin-i-Akbari*, I, (B), p. 319.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads هزار هزار.

¹¹ غالب شد MS. (A).

the Indus, and the Afghāns, wherever they were, set about planning how to save their wives and children; however one did not help the other, each one occupied himself with his own necessities, and they knew well that it was only Islem Shāh who could successfully contend against the Mughals, no other person had the power. Notwithstanding this however, Sikandar, in the neighbourhood of Jalandhar, first¹ appointed² Tātār Khān Kāsi with Habib Khān and Naṣīb Khān Taghūchī with thirty thousand cavalry, to oppose the troops under Humāyūn which had been collected in that district, and he himself came on in their rear.

The Chaghātai Amirs³ crossed the river⁴ Sntlej, and the Afghāns followed them; at sundown the two lines met and a fierce battle ensued⁵. The Mughals set their hands to their bows with such effect that every arrow which they fired from the bowstring bore the message of death to the ears of one or other of the enemy, and the Afghāns, whose weapons of offence ran short,⁶ took refuge in⁷ a ruined village, and with the object of gaining a better view of the Mughul troops⁸ they set fire to the roofs⁹. The result, however, was the very reverse¹⁰ of what they desired, and their stratagem had this result, that the Afghāns remained in the light, while the Mughals were in the darkness and riddled the Afghāns with arrows. A cry went up from among them, and shouts of Flee! Flee!¹¹ rose on all sides, and the victory was gained with such ease that but few Mughals were

1 MS. (B) omits اول. نامزد کردو MS (A).

2 MS. (A) امیر چغتای. So also *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* Text reads امرای چهار. واقع شد MS. (A).

3 MS. (B) omits آب.

4 MS. (B) omits آب. که لوتاه سلاج بردند. *Ki lotah silah bārand.* A footnote variant reads *salah* which would mean "who were ill-advised" this is the reading of MS (B) but the other is preferable.

5 Text در MS (A) و دیبی.

6 Read نظر MSS (A) (B) for در نظر.

7 The true reading is a little uncertain here. The text reads چنبرها *chanbarhā* which may be taken in the meaning of a roof; MS. (A) reads *chambarhā* while MS (B) reads چنبرها (?).

8 The account given in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Elliot, v. 237-238) differs, and makes it appear as though the Mughul troops used fire-arms or fire-arrows. The author's account appears more reasonable.

9 MS. (A) (B) افرا. 11 MS (B) omits.

slain, and horses, elephants, and spoil beyond all computation fell into the hands of Humāyūn's troops. The news of this victory reached ¹ Humāyūn in Lāhor; thus the whole of the Panjāb and Sirhind and Hissār Filāza was entirely ² subjugated. Thence he marched by forced marches straight for the environs of Dīhli, and Sikandar Sūr with eighty thousand cavalry, and elephants of note, and a strong force of artillery, collected round him the Afghāns from every direction, and came to Sirhind, digging a trench round his camp ³ after the custom ⁴ of Shir Shāh. This he fortified, and took up his position; the Amīrs of Humāyūn's army holding a council of war, fortified Sirhind, and as far as they could, shewed they were prepared to defend it, and sending despatches to Lāhor begged Humāyūn to come in person, and then awaited his arrival. Humāyūn with all speed ⁵ marched and came to Sirhind, ⁶ and every day fierce contests ⁷ took place between the more venturesome spirits on both sides. Sometime passed in this way, till the day when the command of the advance-guard of the army fell to the turn of the young Prince of the world; ⁸ seizing his opportunity he drew up his line of battle. On one ⁹ side was the Prince, the Asylum of the world; and on the other side Bairām Khān, Sikandar Khān, 'Abdu-llāh Khān Osbak, Shāh Abūl-ma'ālī, 'Alī Qālī Khān and Bahādur Khān made manly onslaughts. The Afghāns also, as far as they were able, ¹⁰ behaved with due bravery and valour, ¹¹ but could not contend ¹² against an adverse fate, and after a conflict beyond his strength Sikandar turned and fled. ¹³ The victorious hosts pursued the enemy for a long distance, reaping a rich harvest of slaughtered Afghāns; wealth and booty beyond all bounds, together with horses and countless elephants fell into their hands: then they turned back and erected with the heads of their enemies a column

¹ Supply رسید after پیاد شاد. MSS. (A) (B) ² MS. (A) یک قلمه.

³ MS. (B) reads لشکر for معسکر. ⁴ MS. (B) reads بطور for دستور.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) omit تمام.

⁶ The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* states that Humāyūn sent Akbar.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read مقابله for مغاللة. Text.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read جهانیان.

⁹ MS. (A) omits یک.

¹⁰ MS. (A) حسب امکان.

¹¹ MS. (B) reads مردانگی دادند.

¹² MS. (B) reads بسی بونیامند.

¹³ MSS. (A) (B) روی بفرار نهاد و.

to which Bairām Khān gave the name¹ of Sar Manzil, which (name) is in existence at the present day; Time has many memorials of this kind and still more will follow.²

Verce.³

On the road on which thou seest those particles of dust,⁴
Thou seest (it may be) the dust of Suleimān⁵ brought
thither by the wind.⁶

Another says -

Verae.

Every particle of dust which the whirlwind carries away
May be either a Fāridūn or a Kaiqubād.⁷

The words *Shamshīr-i-Humāyūn*⁸ were found to give the date of this victory, as they say in this *Rubā'i*.

The wise writer sought for an auspicious omen,
He sought for the writing of speech from his well-balanced
nature;

When he came to record the conquest of Hindustān,
He sought the date in the words *Shamshīr-i-Humāyūn*.

Sikandar then proceeded towards the Siwalik hills, while Sikan-
dar Khān Osbak turned towards Dihlī, and the royal camp went
by way of Samana to the direction⁹ of the capital of Hindustān,
and a party of the Afghāns¹⁰ who were in Dihlī, fled hot-foot¹¹
for their lives, and were scattered on all sides like a flock of
sparrows into whose midst¹² a stone has fallen, and every one
was saying to himself, "He who escapes with his head, verily he
is fortunate;" and the hidden¹³ meaning of the words "the day 462

¹ MS. (A) نام نهاد.

² MS. (A) adds هم after هنوز.

³ MS. (B) reads منوي for نظم (Text):

⁴ A footnote to the text recites the reading of MS. (B) وزرهای گرد.

⁵ MS. (A) reads سليمان ثاني.

⁶ MS. (B) reads باد for یاد.

⁷ Cf. The dust of Alexander turned to clay

May stop a hole to keep the wind away.

⁸ شمشیر همایون *Shamshīr-i-Humāyūn*. The sword of Humāyūn. These letters give the date 962 H.

⁹ MS. (B) reads بجای پای تخت هند.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) omit ال.

¹¹ Read پانگ. MSS. (A) (B) instead of the reading in the text.

¹² MS. (B) inserts در after معرکه.

¹³ Supply سر MS. (A).

when man shall flee from his brother and his mother and his father and his spouse and his sons" ¹ became evident.

Shāh Abū-l-Ma'ālī was detailed ² to pursue Sikandar, and in the month of Ramazān the blessed, in the year 962 H. the city of Dīhlī became the seat of the imperial glory and majesty, and most of the regions of Hindustān for the second time enjoyed the honour of the *khutbah* and *sikkah* of Humāyūn. No king before this time had ever been so fortunate as to attain to the glory of imperial power a second time, ³ after having suffered defeat; whereas in this case the power of God whose glory is supreme was plainly shewed. And in this year Humāyūn apportioned the greater part of his territories ⁴ among his faithful adherents, and vowed the *pargana* of Mustafābād, the revenue of which reached the sum of thirty or forty *laks* of *tankas*, as a votive ⁵ offering to the Spirit the author of victories, the guardian of prophecy on him and on his family be blessings without end. He also gave Hissār Fīūza as a reward ⁶ to the Prince, just as Bābar Padshāh also had conferred it, in the commencement of his victories, as a reward, ⁷ upon Muhammad Humāyūn, and the whole of the Panjāb he bestowed upon Shāh Abū-l-Ma'ālī, and nominated him to oppose Iskandar the Afghān, who, not being able to stand against him, shut himself up in the northern hills, and Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī having reached high rank ⁸ was living in great pomp in Lāhor; on this account the crow of conceit made its nest in his brain, and brought matters to this pass ⁹ that after the affair of (the king) whose dwelling is in Paradise, the queen shewed signs of contumacy and rebellious

¹ Qur'ān lxxx, 34-35.

² MSS. (A) (B) ناعزد گشت.

³ The reading of MS. (A) is preferable to that in the text. MS. (A) reads. مرتبة دیگر بقدر سلطنت برسد. A footnote variant reads به قدر سلطنت رسید.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) ولایات را.

⁵ Text نذر MS. (A) صدقة.

⁶ Faizullah Khān gives this word as چلدو Childā in the sense of انعام In'ām. In the Farhang-i-Anandī the word is given as jildā or juldā in the same sense. Pavet de Couvteilles does not give the word.

⁷ MS. (B) omits به تمام رسید.

⁸ MS. (B) reads مرتبة تمام and omits بشوکت تمام.

⁹ Text بانجام رسید MS. (B) reads بانجام رسید.

intentions,¹ as will shortly be described, if God-He-is exalted² so will it. And since Abū-l-Ma'ālī had treated badly the Amīrs who had been sent to support him, and had (occasionally)³ interfered in their *Aqūd*'s, and not only in these but even in the public treasury and in the government lands, the Amīrs became disheartened, and Sikandar daily waxed stronger; Bairām Khān was appointed⁴ to the office of tutor (*Atāliq*) to the young prince, and was sent to oppose Iskandar. Shāh Abū-l-Ma'ālī was appointed to Hissār Firūza, but had not yet started when Qabā Khān Gang was appointed to Āgra, 'Alī Qulī Khān to Mirāth and Sambal, and Qambar Diwāna to Badāon, and Haidar Muhammad Khān Akhta Begī⁵ to Baiāna. Haidar Muhammad Khān kept Ghāzī Khān Sūr,⁶ the father of Ibrāhīm Sūr, for sometime besieged in the fortress of Baiāna.⁷ And inasmuch as the good fortune of the Afghāns was, like their good sense, on the decline; although before the siege and after it also, thoughtful and experienced men urged him to march on Rantambhor and thence to Gujrāt, he would not listen to them, and fell like a fish into the net.

Verse.⁸

God carries the vessel whithersoever He will.

Though the ship master rends his garments on his body.

The *zamīndārs* of the fortress of Baiāna sued for quarter, and had an interview with Haidar Muhammad Khān, binding themselves by oaths⁹ to certain treaty conditions, and bringing Ghāzī Khān with his family and relations out of the fort, bestowed him in a safe place in the camp,¹⁰ and¹¹ the following day having made a careful examination of the wealth and treasures,¹² put all the

1 آثار خلاف و تخیلات فاسد زود منقضی ظهور شدافت The text reads wrongly
خلاف MS. (B) reads خلاف.

2 MS. (A) تعالی 3 MS. (B) ۴۵.

4 MS. (B) reads مقرر فرمودند و بدفع اسکندر تعیین نمودند.

5 MS. (B) omits آخته بیگی. Haidar Muhammad Khān Begī was an old servant of Humāyūn who had given the Emperor his horse when Humāyūn's horse had been shot in the defeat near Bulkh. See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, (B) 1, 384.

6 MSS (A) (B) 7 MS. (A) omits قلعه and reads محصور for محصور.

8 MS. (A) reverses the order of these two lines.

9 MS (B) reads پیمان for پیمان 10 MSS (A) (B) read معین کرد.

11 The text has a superfluous و here. 12 MS. (A) اموال و دقایق.

inhabitants to death from the full-grown man to the babe at the breast,¹ sending² the heads to the Emperor, who, however, was displeased with this;³ accordingly⁴ he despatched Mīr Shihābu-d-Dīn⁵ Nishāpūrī *Bakhshī*, who received the title of Shihābu-d-Dīn 64. Aḥmad Khān, to Baiūnā to verify the wealth of Ghāzī Khān. Haider Muḥammad⁶ concealed the valuable jewels and shewed only ordinary⁷ things. Qambar Diwāna had collected a large following in the vicinity of Sambal and was saying 'What has Qambar to do with Sanbal, while 'Ali Qulī Khān has a lien on the revenue of Sanbal? It is as though the land belonged to one man and the trees to another.'⁸

And before that 'Ali Qulī Khān could go to Sanbal Qambar Diwāna went to Badāon, and from thence passing by Kānt o Gola⁹ he fought with Rukn Khān Afghān, and gained the day, occupying the country up to the vicinity of the township of Malāūn?,¹⁰ but was subsequently defeated by the Afghāns, and having given up a large number to death in that fort¹¹ arrived at Badāon, where he exercised great cruelty and oppression; and although 'Ali Qulī Khān sent to summon him,¹² he refused to yield to him and said, "My relations with the Pādshah are more intimate than yours,¹³ this head of mine is twin brother of the imperial crown." 'Ali Qulī Khān upon his arrival besieged Badāon, and that madman

¹ MS. (B) reads همگی را تا اطفال شیر خواره. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.

² MS. (B) فرستادند.

³ MS. (B) reads این معنی پسند نیامد.

⁴ MS. (A) omits بناء reading و. ⁵ MS. (B) reads میر شهاب Mīr Shihāb.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B). ⁷ اشیای سهل را نمود. *Ashyā-i-sahl rū numūd.*

MS. (A) omits را.

⁸ Read here سنبل و قمبرچه. MSS. (A) (B). The reading in the text has no meaning.

⁹ Shāhjahānpūr. MS. (B) omits گانت.

¹⁰ The text reads ملانوا Malānūwah (?) MS. (A) reads لاو (?) Malāūwah. MS. (B) reads ملانوا Malāūwah. I am quite uncertain as to the correctness of the suggestion in the translation. Malāūn (See Hunter, *Imp Gaz.* ix. 237) is a hill fort in the Panjāb lat. 31° 12' N. long 76° 52' E. .

Firighta makes no mention of this.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads جا. MS. (B) omits کسی.

¹² MS. (B) omits نزد خود. MS. (A) reads طلبیده.

¹³ MS. (B) reads زیاده از آنست.

(Diwāna)¹ who know no moderation, was at that very time preparing to tyrannise over the people even more than before, taking by force the daughter of one and the property of another; and in consequence of his want of trust² in the people of the town, used himself to go the rounds by night³ from bastion to bastion, and see to the proper state of the defences. In spite of this his imagination used to run riot,⁴ and his ideas, in consequence of his infatuation, were excited to such a degree, that he used to go for half the night into an empty⁵ room and lay his ear upon the ground, and going on⁶ from there a few steps would spy about, and then return to his original post; suddenly he called the pioneers and said, "A noise has reached my⁷ ears, dig up⁸ the ground in this spot." When they excavated they discovered a mine⁹ which 'Ali Qulī Khān had laid from outside the fortress. The people who saw those¹⁰ mines said that from the side¹¹ of the fort in whatever direction they struck¹² into the mine they found the foundation of the wall of the fort reached the water, with iron rods, and pillars and baulks of sāl¹³ wood arranged under its foundations, bound together¹⁴ for the purpose of strengthening them, with the sole exception of this place which had been excavated.

In fact, had not Qambar been vigilant, the men under 'Ali Qulī Khān would have blown down the wall by sheer force and have effected an entrance by way of that breach. 'Ali Qulī Khān was

¹ The word دیوانه. *Diwāna* means a madman.

² MS. (B) reads اعتمادی. The text reads اعتیادی. an incorrect form by *imla*.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read شبها after خود omitting شبها before میگشت.

⁴ This appears to be the meaning, though the word غراست is used in a somewhat strained and unusual sense. A footnote variant to the text says that the textual reading is found in one MS. and in two others مستوحشه.

Both MSS. (A) and (B) are the same as the text which seems correct.

⁵ A footnote variant reads بقالی for خالی. The text is correct.

⁶ MS. (A) omits پیشتر.

⁷ MS. (B) omits من.

⁸ MS. (B) reads بکارند.

⁹ Text. MS. (A) reads نشت.

¹⁰ MS. (B) omits آن.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads طرف for اطراف.

¹² Text. شروع در آنکه نمودند. MS. (A) reads کردند for نمودند.

¹³ چربهای سال. *Chābhā-ī-sāl*.

¹⁴ Read بود. MS. (A).

astonished at this degree of vigilance,¹ and the people of the city by common consent despatched a message to 'Alī Qulī Khān saying, "On such and such a night let the besiegers make an attack² up such and such a bastion, so that we may bring them into the fort by the help of nooses and scaling-ladders." Accordingly this they did, and having admitted the soldiery of 'Alī Qulī Khān, Shaikh Ḥabīb Badāonī, who was one of the most notable men³ of the place, took his place at their head, and leading them to the bastion of the Princes,⁴ who were the relations of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī of Fathpūr, set fire to it. On the morrow when the sun rose, the sombre-fated Qambar, wearing over his head a black blanket which was an emblem of his wretched fate,⁵ came out of the city. They seized him as one would a jackal and brought him in, and although 'Alī Qulī Khān spoke gently to him,⁶ saying "Bow thy head,⁷ that I may spare thy life," that madman, fed on dog's brains gave him an abusive answer, so that he was sent to join the dogs of hell. His tomb is well-known in Badāon. He used to spread plentiful feasts and say (to his guests) "Eat! for wealth is the wealth of God, and life is the life of God, and Qambar Diwāns is the cook of God."

When the despatch from 'Alī Qulī Khān reached the Court together with the head of Qambar, the king, whose refuge is the mercy of God, was extremely annoyed. Just about this time, on the seventh of the month of Rabī'ūl-Awwal, in the year 963 H., when⁸ Humāyūn had ascended to the roof of the library which he had built in the fortress of Dīpanāh in Dīli, as he was coming down, the mu'azzin⁹ uttered the call to prayer, and he knelt out of

¹ MS. (B) omits او.

² MS. (A) reads حمله for حمله.

³ Text از مشاهیر. MS. (A) reads از اعیان.

⁴ MS. (A) reads شینخزاده.

⁵ MS. (A) باو بملایمت گفت.

⁶ Text reads که از گلیم بخت وی نشانه بود, but it seems as though we should read گلیم in the sense of wounded, stricken. MS. (B) omits بود.

⁷ Text فرود آورد. MS. (A) reads فرود آورد. ⁸ Supply که MSS. (A) (B).

⁹ واذن Mu'azzin. The crier whose duty it is to utter the azān or summons to prayer. The Azān was instituted at first when the Moslems came from Makka to Madīnah; some proposed the lighting of a fire, others the blowing of a trumpet, but the former was objected to as being a Jewish custom, and

respect for the *Āzān*; and as he rose his staff glanced aside and his foot slipped, and he rolled down several steps¹ to the ground. When he recovered a little,² *Nazar Shaikh Jūli*³ was sent to the *Panjāb*⁴ to summon the Prince and to tell him exactly what had happened, and on the fifteenth⁵ of the same month (*Humāyūn*)⁶ bade farewell to this inconstant world and took his way to the abode of eternity;⁷ and this *tārīkh* was written to commemorate the event

Since by the mercy of God he passed to his rest within the garden of *Rizwān*

Bihisht āmad maqūm-i-pāk-i-ū gives the date.⁸

and *Manlānā Qāsim Kāhī* wrote as follows:—

*Humāyūn, Pādshāh of the kingdom of reality,
No one remembers such an Emperor as he;
Suddenly he fell from the roof of his palace,
And from that fall his precious life was lost.
Kāhī made a calculation for the tārīkh of that event,
Humāyūn Pādshāh az bām uftād*⁹

the latter as being the custom of the Christians. Then *Billāl* was ordered to repeat *Allāhu Akbar* twice in a loud voice as a signal for prayer.

The forefingers were ordered to be put into the ears while repeating the *Āzān* to strengthen the voice; probably this was due to the subjective sensation of increase of sound of the voice when the external meatus is closed. The *Āzān* has special virtues attached to it, for those who uttered it. Thus it is said "The callers to prayer may expect paradise on the day of the resurrection," and again "Whoever acts as *Mu'azzin* seven years to please God, will be redeemed from hell-fire" See also *Hughes' Dict. of Islam*, s.v.v., see *Mishkāt* iv, Chapter 5, 6

¹ MS. (B) omit پاده ² *Firishla* says that he was taken up unconscious.

³ Footnote variant جماعی *Jum'ā'ī*. ⁴ MS. (A) پنجاب.

⁵ *Firishla* says the eleventh. (Bo. Text 459).

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) omit پادشاه غفران پادشاه.

⁷ MSS (A) (B) دار بقا.

⁸ بهشت آمد مقام پای او. These words give the date 963 H. The meaning is, Paradise became his para resting-place.

⁹ همایون پادشاه از بام افتاد. The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is, *Humāyūn Pādshāh* fell from the roof.

The following was also found to give the date :¹

Be not ignorant of the year of his death—See!

*Humāyūn kujā raft wa iqbal-i-ū.*²

The following *tārīkh* was also found:

*Al! Ah! Pādshāh-i-man az bām uflād.*³

Verse.

That capital city of the kingdom which thou sawest is laid waste,

And that Nile of whose bounty thou heardest has become a mirage,

The sky gave the head of Muḥammad Yahya to ruin,

And calamity attended Sinjar the lord of slaves.

The fourth heaven became a house of mourning

The spirit of sanctity came to condole with the Sun.

His age was fifty-one years, and the duration of his reign⁴ was twenty-five years and a fraction. He was a man of kingly proportions, adorned with all excellencies and perfections, both of appearance and reality, unequalled in the sciences of astrology and astronomy and all abstruse sciences.⁵ He was the preceptor of the followers of excellence and perfection, the refuge of the seekers after piety and rectitude. Fond of poetry and⁶ of poets, he used himself to compose good verses; he never remained for an instant without the *wuzū'*,⁷ nor did he ever

¹ MS. (A) reads here *أيضا*.

² *همایون کجا رفت و اقبال او*. The value of these letters is 903. The meaning is "What has become of Humāyūn and his good fortune."

³ MSS. (A) (B) insert this before the preceding *tārīkh*. Its value is also 903 H. and its meaning is 'Alas! Alas! my king fell from the roof.'

We must read *افتاد* as in Text and MS. (A). MS. (B) has *افتاد*.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) *سلطنتش*.

⁵ MS. (B) reads *و دیگر فنون غریبه*.

⁶ MS. (A) omits *و*.

⁷ *وُزُو' Wuzū'*. Ceremonial washings before prayer. There is a saying attributed to Muḥammad "Wuzū' is half the prayer," and another "When a Moslem uses Wuzū' it washes from his face those faults which he may have cast his eyes upon; and when he washes his hands, it removes the faults they may have committed, and when he washes his feet it dispels the faults

take¹ the name of God nor of the prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, without *Tihārat*; ² and if it chanced³ that the necessity arose for mentioning a name⁴ compounded of this word 'Abd, or one of the *Asmān-l-ḥasna*⁵ such as 'Abdu-llāh or the others, in such a case he would confine himself to the word 'Abd (servant), for example he would call 'Abdu-l-Haiyy, 'Abdul simply. In this same way in writing letters in place of the word " *ḥuwa* " ⁶ when the necessity arose he used to write two Alifs side by side

towards which they may have carried him; so that he will rise up in purity from the place of ablution." Again "The key of paradise is prayer and the key of prayer is ablution." The prophet also said "Verily my sects will come on the day of resurrection with bright hands and feet because of Wuzū'.

For a full account of Wuzū' and the acts requiring its performance, see *Miḥkāṭu-l-Muḥabbih* II, 34, also see Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art. *Wuzū'*.

¹ MS. (A) *بجسب اتفاق*.

² *طهارة* *tihārat*. This term includes all the various methods of purification enjoined by Muhammadan law.

See Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art. *Purifications*.

³ MS. (A) *بر زبان براندى*.

⁴ The text here gives some verses which are not found in MS. 'A).

They are given here as they interrupt the continuity of the text :

• قطعه •

اعتقادي درست دار چنانک - اعتمادت بدین نگردد مست
بنده را بی شک از مذاب خدای - نرھاند جز اعتقاد درست

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,

Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a lively faith.

MS (B) reads

نامي اعتمادی درست دار چنانکه - اعتمادت بدین نگردد مست هرگز

⁵ *Asmān-l-ḥasna* The best of names. See *Miḥkāṭ*, xxii. 8. Verily the best of names, in the sight of God, are 'Abdu-llāh (the servant of God) or 'Abdu'r-Rahmān (the servant of the Merciful One).

⁶ *Ḥuwa*. The name of the Almighty, written at the commencement of a document by devout Muslims, meaning, *He alone is God*. It is the third person of the Arabic personal pronoun. By some commentators the word is supposed to stand for the *Ismul-'azam* or most holy name, which according to Muslim divines is known to God alone. See *Qur'ān* III, 1. *La Allāha illa Huwa*. There is no God but He.

thus (11), whose letters thus arranged¹ have the same value as those of the word "Huwa." [In all matters he observed the same reverential caution which was as it were a part of his nature].² He always spent his evenings in company and was never niggardly in entertainment, the revenues of the whole of Hindustān would not have sufficed for his expenditure. His *vakils*, for fear of (being thought to be greedy for) reward, would never mention the name³ of gold in his presence, and like his father he was not engrossed in amassing wealth; no improper word or term of abuse ever passed his lips, and if he were ever very wrath with any person he used just to say 'You stupid,' and not a word more.

Whether in the house or in the mosque even by mistake he never placed his left foot down before the right, and if any one placed the left⁴ foot in his house he would say, "It is the left foot," and would make him turn back and bring him in again. From his excessive reserve he never opened his lips in a smile, nor did he ever cast an angry glance at any one. They say that Shāikh Ḥamid, the commentator of Saubal, on the occasion of the conquest of Hindustān, for the second time went to Kābul to receive him, and in spite of the extreme confidence which Humāyūn had in him, one day he fell into a passion and said "My king, I see the whole of your army are Rāfiẓī⁵ (heretics)." Humāyūn replied, "Shāikh. why do you say such a thing, and what have you to say about it?" He answered "Everywhere the names of your soldiers are of this kind⁶ I find they are all Yār 'Alī (Friend of 'Alī), or Kafsh 'Alī (Shoe of 'Alī), or Haidar 'Alī (Lion of 'Alī), and I have not found a single man bearing the name of any other Companion." Humāyūn was indignant at this, and dashing his drawing pencil⁷ upon the ground in anger, said "The

¹ The value of ۛ being ۛ and of و being ۛ, the word هو is equivalent to eleven; Two Alifs placed side by side (11) also stand for eleven

² MS (B) omits the sentence in square brackets.

³ MS. (A) omits نام and reads نیارودی.

⁴ MS (B) omits چپ.

⁵ رافضی Rāfiẓī. This term was originally applied to the Shī'ahs who joined Zaid ibn 'Alī but forsook him upon his refusing to curse Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the first two Sunnī Khalīfahs: but it came afterwards to denote any sect of Shī'ahs. MS (B) alone reads رافضی. The Text and MS (A) have رافضی.

⁶ MSS (A) (B) read این مرتبه omitting در.

⁷ قلم تصویر Qalam-i-tasvīr. Text and MS (A) MS. (B) has تصویر taken writing, instead of tasvīr (drawing), so also a footnote variant.

name of my grandfather himself was 'Umar Shaikh' and I know no more than this," then he rose and went into the *haram* and returning, with great gentleness and kindness informed the Shaikh of the purity of his faith.²

Verso.

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,

Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a lively faith.

And in order to recount the many virtues of that monarch who has obtained pardon and remission, *may his resting-place be happy*, a separate record would be necessary. Countless³ poets, the wonder of the age, sprung from under the skirt of his auspicious reign.⁴ Among these, in Badakhshān was Maulānā Junūnī⁵ 469. Badakhshī the enigmatist, who composed a *qaṣīdah* made up of thirty-eight couplets in honour of that⁶ monarch, whose refuge is the pardon of God, during the time that he was a *Mirzā*; and certain *tours de force* which had escaped the net of the *qaṣīdah* which Mir Saiyyid Zū-l-fiqār Shirwānī composed in honour of Khwāja Rashīd Vazīr and the *qaṣīdah* of Salmān Sāwajī which he wrote in honour of Khwāja Ghias Vazīr, this poet⁷ seized, for example the *mu'ammā*,⁸ and *Ighār-i-maḡmar*,⁹ and the *tārīkh*,¹⁰ and other (tricks) of this kind, and in very truth that work of art is a veritable *kārnāma* (record of deeds), a miracle in the world of speech. The following are the opening couplet and another, taken from it:

¹ L 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrzā*, second son of *Tīmūr*, was the father of *Bābar*. See *Am̄n-i-Akbar*: (B) I 299.

² MS. (A) reads *بہائیت و رفیق شیخ را بر حسن عقیدہ خویش اطلاع دادند*.

So also MS (B) except that *را* is omitted.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read *بیشمار*.

⁴ MS (A) *از دامن دولت او*.

⁵ Text reads *جنوبی Junūbī*, but MS. (A) reads *جنوبی Junūnī*.

⁶ MS. (B) omits *آن*.

⁷ MS. (B) omits *او*.

⁸ *Mu'ammā*, Enigma. A raying of which the meaning is hidden. See *Garcin de Tassy, Rhetoriques et Proverbes*, p 165.

⁹ See *Garcin de Tassy*, op cit., p. 191.

¹⁰ *تاریخ* (*tārīkh*, chronogram. Several examples have been given, see page 601, n. 8.

Verse.¹

Shahanshāhā *rukḥ-i-tū lāla o nasrīn lab-i tū jān*
 Hamī bīnam *lab-i-tū ghunḥa-i-rangīn shuda khandān*
 Namī gūyam *khatt-i-tū sabza o raiḥān khad-i-tū gūl*
 Shavad zāhīr *qādd-i-tū fitna-i-daurīn dam-i-jaulān.*

And by taking all the verses of this *qaṣīda* after the manner of an acrostic,² the following opening couplet is formed:—³

Shahanshāh-i-dīn pādīshāh-i-zamān
 Zi bakht-i-Humāyūn shuda kāmān.

While again, if the *hashw*⁴ of the two first couplets are written in red ink, the following opening couplet results, which may be read in three different metres.⁵

¹ MS. (A) قصيدة *qaṣīda*.

The following is the translation of these lines which are given in the original in the text, as the whole sense of the passage following turns upon the form and not upon the meaning of the couplets.

King of kings, thy cheek is the tulip and jasmine, thy lip is the life.
 As I look, thy lip like the bud in its redness, expands in a smile
 I say not, thy bloom is the verdure and perfume, thy cheek is the rose,
 Life itself, from thy figure entrancing, appears in thy gait.

² توشیح *Tauḥīḥ*. The initial letters of each verse when taken together from the couplet given. Thus in the four lines given the initial letters are ش ه ن ش *sh* forming *Shahansh*. See Garcin de Tassy, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

³ The couplet when translated, reads

Emperor of the faith, Pādīshāh of the age,
 From thy good fortune thou hast become prosperous.

The play on the words Humāyūn and Kamrān will be observed.

⁴ The first foot of the first *mīṣrā'* (hemistich) is called *sadr*, while the last foot of the same hemistich is called *'arṣ*; similarly the first foot of the second hemistich is called *ibtidā'*, while the last foot of this hemistich is called *zarb*. All the feet intervening between the *sadr* and the *'arṣ*, or between the *ibtidā'* and *zarb*, are called *hashw* which means literally the stuffing of a pillow (*Āgīn-i-bālīsh*). In the above the *hashw* of the verses is printed in red ink.

The scansion is as follows:—

Shahanshāhā	rukḥ-i-tū lā	a-o-nasrīn	labitū jān
Mafā'i lun	Mafā'i lun	Mafā i lun	Mafā'i lun

The metre is thus *Hazaj i-Musamman*.

⁵ The three metres in which these lines may be read are—

(i) *Hazaj-i-musamman*. See note 4 above.

Rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrīn khatt-i-tū sabza o raiḥān
Lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangin qadd-i-tū fitna-i-daurān.¹

And if they be read in reversed order a couplet is formed which may also be referred to three several metres,² and with a change of *qāfiyah*³ and *radīf*⁴ in the following manner :⁵—

270.

Khatt-i-tū sabza o raiḥān, rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrīn
Qadd-i-tū fitna-i-daurān,⁶ lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangin.

And from that which remains in black letters, a distinct opening couplet remained? Other *lours de force* also existed in this opening couplet, which are explained in the marginal notes to the work.

(ii) Ramal-i-muṣamman makhlūn, and the scansion is :

رُخ تَوَلَّ	لَه وَ نَسْرِي	خَط تَرْسَب	رُخ وَ رَيْحَان
فَعْلَانِ	فَعْلَانِ	فَعْلَانِ	فَعْلَانِ

(iii) Muṣṭaq-i muṣamman makhlūn, and the scansion is :

رُخِي تَلَّ	لَه وَ نَسْرِي	خَطِي تَسَب	رُخ وَ رَيْحَان
مَقْلَانِ	فَعْلَانِ	مَقْلَانِ	فَعْلَانِ

See Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody (Ramlīng) pp. 49, 67, 90.

¹ MS. (B) reads *مَتَانِ* in place of *دَوْرَانِ* so also footnote variant.

² The three metres are those given in note 5, on the preceding page.

³ *قافية* Qāfiyah. This signifies the rhyme of which the essential letter is called the *rayī* rayī, which may have also other letters preceding it and four following.

⁴ *ردیف* Radīf is the name given to a quiescent *alif* following a *fatha*, a *vāo* quiescent following a *zamma* or a *ye* quiescent following a *kasra*, in other words it is one of the letters ا, و, ی placed as a letter of prolongation before the *raū*. It is more accurately called *ردف* Ridf.

Thus in the lines now cited the Radīf is the letter *ye* in the words *rangin*, and *nasrīn*, whereas in the former verses the radīf was *alif*, as in the words *raiḥān* and *daurān*. MS. (A) omits *وردیف*. See also Garcin de Tassy, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

⁵ MS. (B) omits *باین طریق*.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) read *بُورستان* būstān.

⁷ For example, we can read

Shahmashūh-i lab-i-tū jān
Har-i binām ghuda khandūn,
Har-i gūyām khad-i tū gul
Shayd zahar dam-i-jaulān

King of kings thy lip is life
As I look it wreathes in smiles;
I say not thy cheek's a rose
Blooming as thou passest by.

And from the four¹ couplets of a *qaṣīdah*² some of the words of which are written in red ink, the following *qīṭa'ah*³ containing the conquest of Badakhshān may be obtained, and the *qīṭa'ah* also has a hidden meaning, the explanation of which is obtained from certain verses extracted from these two *qaṣīdahs*.

Qīṭa'ah.

Tū-i Shāh-i-Shāhān-i-daurān ki shud
Hamīsha turā kār fath o zafar.
Girifti Badakhshān o tārikh shud.
Muḥammad Humāyūn Shāh-i-baḥr o bas.⁵

*Rubā'ī.*⁴

Until the weak body of the beggar became the dust of his
threshold,
His heart on account of his sorrow and vexation, fell desolate.
The life of this helpless one left him because of desire for the
beloved,
His love exceeded all bounds, if haply at that time that king
might summon him.

¹ MS. (A) reads چتر.

² MS. (A) قصیدہ.

³ The *قطعه* *qīṭa'ah*. Must contain not less than two couplets nor more than a hundred and seventy. The first two hemistiches need not rhyme, but the second hemistich of every verse must rhyme with the final hemistich of the opening verse.

The *قصیدہ* *qaṣīdah*. In this form of poem the two opening hemistiches must rhyme. It must consist in Persian of not less than twenty five couplets and not more than a hundred and seventy. See also Garcin de Tassy, *Rhetorique et Prosodie* for an explanation of these and other terms, and Gladwin, *Dissertations*.

⁴ The reading in the text and in both MSS. (A) (B) is unintelligible, we must evidently read این دو for آیند. The footnote to the text merely states that the reading in the text is found in all three MSS, but makes no attempt to explain the true reading.

⁵ محمد همایون شاه بحرور. These words give the date 927.

The translation of these verses is -

Thou art king of the kings of the age,
Whose continual object is conquest and victory.
Then did'st reize Badakhshān, and its *tārikh* was
Muḥammad Humāyūn king of sea and land.

⁶ MS (A) adds مظہر *muzhar*.

Gūshwāra.¹

Tell the good tidings of the victory of the king of my faith. And if my life should obtain a few days grace from that exacting creditor² Death, this *qasidah*, together with all the *qasidah* and such useful information as I have written down in a separate note-book in the course of my travels, shall, should opportunity offer, be included among the contents of the second volume of the *Najātu-r-Rashīd*³ which I am anxiously longing to complete, 471. should God, who facilitates our undertakings, so will it.

Another poet⁴ is *Wafā'i*, by which *takhalluṣ* *Shaikh* *Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfi*⁵ is commonly known, who was *Sadr-i-mustaqill* (Judge-plenipotentiary)⁶ during the reign of *Bābar Pādishāh*. There

¹ گوشواره *Gūshwāra*. Lit., earring. The first line of a *ghazal* or *qasida*, following immediately upon another.

Read *گوخبر فتح شد دین ما*. MS. (A) *گوچند فتح شد دین نامه* and *گوچند فتح شد دین نامه*. A footnote variant reads.

² The following is the correct reading. Immediately after the *gūshwāra* و اگر عمر روزی چند از غرض منقاصی اجل، مهلت یافت این قصیده مع سایر قصاید و فوائد که در مدت ایام سیاحی در بیاضی علیحدہ نوشته شده آن فوائد فراید را الخ - MS (A).

³ *Najāt al-Rashīd*. There is a MS. of this work of *Badāonī*, belonging to the College of Fort William, in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. $\frac{L}{204}$. (See J. A. S. B. xxxviii. p. 126). The title of the work

gives the *tārīkh* of its composition on the second and last pages. The "second *daftar*" here mentioned by our author does not appear ever to have been written, though from his statement it would seem he had commenced the work.

⁴ MS. (A) reads *دیگر وفائی که*.

⁵ One *Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfi*, was a famous saint. His life is given in the *Nafahātu-l-Uns*, Calcutta edition, p. 569; but the one meant in this passage is the *Shaikh* *Zain* who read the *khutbah* in *Dihli* in *Babar's* name after the battle of *Pānīpat*, see *Firishta*, Bo. Text, p. 381 and *Erskine*, *Memoirs of Baber*, p. 308.

Khāfi or *Khawāfi* means 'coming from *Khawāf*' which is a district and town in *Khurāsān*. Our maps have *Khāf* or *Kāf* due west of *Herāt*. See *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B) I. p. 445 and footnote, also p. 332 and footnote.

⁶ صدر مستقل. *Sadr-i-mustaqill*. The *Sadr* was an officer of justice whose power appears to have been almost unlimited, his edict was necessary to legalise the accession of a new king.

is a mosque in Agra to his memory,¹ and a school situated on the other side of the river Jamna. He was the possessor of excellencies both bodily and mental, and in the construction of enigmas and chronograms, and in extempore versification, and in all the minutiae of poetry and prose, and in rhetoric, he was unapproachable in his own age.

They say that in the very first assembly in which he made homage to Bābar Pādshāh, he asked, what is your age? Without premeditation he answered, *Qabl azīn ba panj sāl chīl sūla būdam, wa hālān chīhal sūla am, wa ba'd az dū sāl-i-dīgar chīhal tamām mī shavad.*²

It should moreover be known that (Bābar Pādshāh) also asked (a riddle) of the author of this *Muntakhab* saying: *Pish azīn ba yak sāl panjah sūla būdam, wa hālān panjah sūla am, wa ba'd azīn ba dah sāl panjah sūla mī shavam.*³

It is well known that one day Shaikh Zāin went to visit the brilliant resting-place of Sultān-i-Mashāikh Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya may God sanctify him, and having heard that story of the Shaikh about "*Al Hidāyā mushtarak wa tanhā khushdurak*"⁴ repeated this *qit'ah* on the spot:

His duties were to enquire into the circumstances of persons before grants were made to them. Under his orders were the *Qāzi* and the *Mīr 'Adl*. See *Ain-i-Akbari*, (B) I. 268-270.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read *اورا مسجدیت* instead of *اورا مسجدیت* (Text).

² That is to say "Five years ago I was *chīl* (چل) years of age and now I am *chīhal* (چهل) years of age, and two years hence my *chīhal* (forty) years will be complete.

چل (*chīl*) stands for 33 thus $\text{چ} = 3$ $\text{ل} = 30$

چهل (*chīhal*) stands for 38 thus $\text{چ} = 3$ $\text{ه} = 5$ $\text{ل} = 30$

while *چهل* *chīhal* is the Persian for forty.

MSS. (B) completely loses the point by reading *چل* *chīl* throughout.

³ That is, A year ago I was fifty (*panjah*) years of age, now I am fifty-one (*panjah* with the addition of *Alif*) years of age, ten years hence I shall be (*panjah*) *panjah* years of age.

پنجاه (*Panjah*) stands for 60: thus

$\text{پ} = 2$ $\text{ن} = 50$ $\text{ج} = 3$ $\text{ه} = 5$

Apparently we should read *پنجاه* (*Panjah*) which would give 61.

⁴ This refers to a visit paid by Amīr Khusrū of Dihli to Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya, when he saw another visitor who had brought a present for Nizāmu-d-

Qit'ah.

Oh our Shaikh ! may there come to thee from God, gifts without ceasing,

What am I that I should say "*Al Hidāyā mushtarak*"

Thou sayest "*Tanhā khushṭarak*" as thou didst say before
Make it "*Mushtarak*" if thou dost not say

"*Tanhā khushṭarak*."

Verse.

Grief has seized me by the sleeve, why should I hide my head
in my sleeve ?

Desire has grasped my skirt, why should I withdraw my foot 472.
within my skirt ?

Ah ! my sleeve in desire for thee and my skirt also are torn
to rags,

Why should I hide my head in my sleeve and withdraw my
foot within my skirt without thee ?¹

He wrote a *tārikh* dealing with the circumstances² of the conquest of Hindūstān, and explaining its wonders, in which he did full justice to the claims of *expiation*.

His death occurred near *Chāhār* in the year 940 H. and he was buried within the precincts of a college which he himself had founded

Another (poet) was Maulānā Nādir-i-Samarqandī, who was one of the wonders of the age, of excellent qualities, and a compendium of perfection.³ He had a strong attachment for a beautiful youth named Nizām, and the following well-known solution of an enigmatical meaning, was composed for him.

Verse.

I the broken-hearted tell the praises of Nizām the *farḥān*,

Din Auliya. Amir Khusrū exclaimed "*Al hidāyā mushtarak*" "The gifts are in common ;" whereupon Nizām, d-Din Auliya replied,

"*Al hidāyā mushtarak lākin tanhā khushṭarak*"

"The gifts are truly in common, but I should be better pleased to enjoy them alone."

¹ MS. (A) transposes the last two lines.

² MS. (A) omits *حوال*.

³ MS. (A) reads *و قائل جامع بود*. See *Adab-i-Ahlag*, (B) I. 603 n.

For my heart, when absent from him, lies disordered and enfeebled.

Rubā'ī.

I am grieved, and in my heart on thy account I hold a hundred sorrows,
Without the rubies of thy lips, I am matched against pain hour by hour;
I am in despair for this life, I the poor, the dejected,
I hope that the road of annihilation may become my refuge.

Gūshwāra.

I sing the praise of the locks of my beloved.
And the following verses are part of the fruit of his fertile genius.

Ghazal.²

How wondrous graceful is my loved one's form,
I yield myself a slave to that figure and carriage;
My loved one would not look towards me with compassion,
Perhaps she displayed an inclination towards strangers.
Nādiri! go towards the wine-shop,
And pledge thy head and turn for wine.

Verse.

3. Though I remained my whole life-long there at the head of thy street,
I swear by my life, that I never enjoyed a moment's peace;
Wherever I bowed my head with the intention of obeisance
Thou wert there the Ka'bah³ towards which I turned.
A whole world was admitted to intimacy, and yet I remained forlorn,

1 نظامی *Nizāme*, lit. a governor, one who orders and directs. The play upon the word cannot be preserved.

2 غزل *Ghazal*. The *ghazal* or ode must consist of at least five couplets but must not exceed fifteen. Its first two hemistiches must rhyme.

3 سجدہ *Sajdah*, commonly pronounced *Sijdah*, means a prostration in which the forehead touches the ground: as a religious observance the prostration, is on seven members: on the forehead, the two hands, the two knees, and the toes of both the feet; women must touch the ground with the elbows, men on the contrary must keep the elbows up. The palms of the hands

All were accepted there but I was rejected ;
 Why do you ask Nādirī, what is thy condition in that road,
 At one time I am unhappy, at another I was happy¹ there.
 He also wrote this *Qasīdah* in honour of the deceased
 Emperor.

Qasīdah.

Thanks be to God that with a settled mind
 Intimate² friends sat together in pleasure ;
 The rose-garden is the pleasure-resort of people, for there in
 the presence of the rose, the nightingale sorrowful at the
 absence of his beloved became rejoiced by its presence.
 It may be that the beloved one of the garden had been
 stripped naked by Autumn,
 So that she has woven a patchwork garment of the hundred
 petals of the rose.
 The rose and the jasmine, the spikenard and the basil are in
 one place,³
 See ! the Emperor of Spring has come with his retinue and
 troops.
 The birds are singing the praises of the Emperor of heavenly
 grandeur⁴
 On the branches of the trees, like the preachers from their
 pulpits.
 The glorious Khāqān, the Emperor of dignity like Jamshīd,
 Humāyūn,
 Who has a powerful hand and a sturdy heart by the decree
 of the Almighty.
 From his intelligence springs the wisdom of the learned,
 From his insight arises the perception of the men of acute
 vision.

must be placed upon the ground, with the fingers in the direction of the
 Qiblah, which was originally Jerusalem, but was afterwards changed to the
 Ka'bah. *Mishkatul-Maṭābiḥ*, Cap. xv. part i.

¹ See Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art. Ka'bah.

² MS. (A) خوشنودم آنجا.

³ The text reads معاصر contemporary, but MSS. (A) (B) read معاشر
 intimate.

⁴ MS. (A) reads یک جانب. Text فلک مرتبه. MS. (B) reads مرتبه.

Since prohibited things are unlawful by the statutes of religion,
He hastens to perform the deeds for which there is divine
sanction.

There have gathered together, to secure the victory of the
army of Islām,

The unrivalled warriors of his army, the brave men of his
troops,

Beneath his victorious standard, on the field of Fortune,
May the favour of the Everlasting be his protector and ally.
Oh thou by the generosity of whose hand all things have
their being,¹

By the sharpness of whose sword all properties both acci-
dental and essential² obtain permanence.

In the first day of eternity, the object of creation for the
Lord of the world was the evolution of thy form from this
revolving sphere,

Should Gabriel a second time be the bearer of revelation,
Pure passages³ will be revealed in thy glory.

Every subtilty of science which thy ruby lip pronounces
Has become as famous in the world as the uninterrupted
tradition.

It is well-known that this is a commentary on the books of
mathematical science, this wonderful composition of thine
on the discovery of circles.

How can any one deny the vastness of thy knowledge?

None but a stubborn disputant⁶ will deny self-evident truths.

¹ قوام *qiwām* is the stay or support of any thing, that in virtue of which it subsists.

² عرض و جواهر *A'rāz o jawāhir*. By عرض *Arāzun*, is meant in the conventional language of Muslim theologians, a thing that is not permanent, "an accident," as opposed to جوهر *jauharun*, "an essential," see Lane, s. v. عرض also *kashshaf*, s. v. v. عرض and جوهر.

³ MS. (A) reads preferably آیات طواهر for آیات ظواهر.

⁴ These two lines commencing هر نکته حکمت occur in MS. (A) before the line commencing در روز ازل as well as in this place.

⁵ مبني. Founded on certainty, equivalent to مسلم.

⁶ مکابر *mukābir*. One who contentiously upholds a proposition which he knows to be false.

I cannot estimate thy perfections, for in every art thou hast become perfectly skilled ;
When compared with thy philosophic intellect and good fortune, the angelic essence becomes as one of the common material¹ objects.

Thy generosity is of such a nature that at the moment of bestowing
Thou knowest without asking all the hidden desires of the mind.

This enigma upon the name of Kibār² is also by him :

Verse.

That face³ is the Qur'ān, and that down on the cheek is the sign⁴ of tyranny and oppression ;
The cheek of that heart-ravishing one has no endowment of the mole⁵ of fidelity.⁶

1 Read اجنامى for احساس MS. (A).

2 MS. (A) reads كبا MS. (B) reads كيا.

3 The text reads أنور with a footnote saying that all three MSS. are the same. MS. (B) reads ابرو.

4 The text reads آيت, MS. (D) reads كينه.

5 The verse in the original runs thus -

Mushaf ast ānūr wa ān khall āyat i jaur o jefā st
'Ariz i ān dīl-eitān hī bahra az khāl i wafā st

The word مصنف *mushaf* here has two meanings, (1) a collection of pages written upon, and placed between two boards, hence a copy of the Qur'ān, (2) affected by *tashif*, which is a technical expression for so altering a word by changing diacritical points and altering the order of its component letters, that it acquires a different signification.

In accordance with this second meaning, in the word أنور the letter و is first dropped leaving أنر then ر is changed into ب giving أبر. by transposing these letters we get بار *bār*.

The word خات *khāt* has also two meanings, (1) down on the cheek, (2) a letter or character. Hence we may translate "that letter is the sign of tyranny and oppression." Now کستن *kāsten*, cutting or cleaving, is such a sign, and may be represented by its root کاف *kāf*, which is the letter of the alphabet required, and when prefixed to the syllable بار *bār* above found, gives the word کبار *kibār*, thus completing the *ma'ammā* or enigma.

The death of the aforesaid Manlānē took place in the year¹ 966 H. and Mir Amānī Kābulī wrote the following *tārīkh*² of the event.

Verse.

Alas ! the pity of it, that the discernor of subtilties Nādirī
has departed,

That rare poet³ who did full justice to eloquence in the world ;

I sought to express the date of his death by way of enigma,

Wisdom answered one has gone from among the masters of
speech⁴

Another is Shaikh Abul Wahid⁵ Fārighī, who was deeply imbued with the feelings of a *darvesh* and was⁶ renowned for his sweet singing ; the following is taken from his poems

Verse

So great is the habitual oppression of that seeker after tyranny

That a morsel of mercy from him, seems a great beauty.

And in his impassioned style he says

Verse.

Praise be to God that I am freed from the love of an ill-
conditioned sot,

Who used to fall, as did his eyes, from drunkenness in every
road,

Who, like the cup, for the sake of a draught, was lip to lip
with every man,

Who like the flagon bent himself to every cup in every place.

¹ MS. (A) reads در تاریخ.

² آن نادری که This we may read An Nādirī ki That Nādirī who or, An Nādirī ki.

³ رفت یکی از سخنان وران Raft yake az sukhun warān. If from سخنان وران sukhun warān the value of which is 967, we remove یکی that is one, we have left 966.

⁴ Footnote to text says that the *Nafā'isu-l-Ma'āfir* reads Abul Wajid MS. (B) reads ابوالوجد Abul Wajid.

⁵ MSS (A) (B) omit بود after مشرب and insert it after مشهور.

The following is also by him.

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Verse

At that time when my heart was blest with thy companionship,

It did not seem that such a blessing could be expressed ;
In short, the whole of my life's reckoning had passed in
separation from thee,

Who can count the joy of meeting ! what a store of happiness
it was !

Strangers last night were near you, while *Fārighī* at an
immense distance was burning like rue¹ upon the fire of
disappointment,

This is also his :

Verse.

Oh my intimate companions do not break the bond of union
In dispersion is distraction, do not break it and depart .
And again he writes :

Verse.

When thou drawest out thine arrow from my breast leave its
point there,

Grant me my heart to yield my life in thy service manfully.

His death occurred in the year 940 H, and he was buried in
the monastery² of *Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn*³ at Agra, and in conse-
quence of the extremity of their unanimity and concord both
left the world in the same year. It is said that at the time when
these two eminent men went to Hindūstān, owing to their
excessive profligacy they possessed nothing but an old *postūn*⁴
between them. *Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn*⁵ said to *Shaikh Abūl-
Wajid*,⁶ " I will take this to the bāzār of Kābul upon the condition
that you won't come and indulge in any pleasantries." He agreed,
and a purchaser having run it up to a most extravagant figure

¹ سیراۃ Siparad. Rue is said in the *Qhiyām-ul-Lughāt* to be burned to avert
the evil eye. Rue was called "herb of grace" from its supposed efficacy in
exorcism.

² Omit یحیی MSS. (A) (B).

³ MS. (A).

⁴ A sheepskin coat.

⁵ MS. (A)

⁶ MS. (B). MS. (A) reads ابو الوحد.

was ready to give five *shahrūkhis*¹ but *Shaiḡh* Zain kept demanding more. At last *Shaiḡh* Abūl-Wajd came up in a disinterested way and was acting as broker, after a deal of haggling he said, "Ah: you cheat! why this door mat² itself contains³ five *Shahrūkhis* worth of fleas and lice"! so the bargain was at an end, and *Shaiḡh* Zain was annoyed and said, "What sort of time was this for the stupid jokes you are so fond of? We wanted the price of a loaf, and this is the way you're going to pay for⁴ it"! *Shaiḡh* Abūl-Wajd fell into a fit of laughter.

Another is *Jāhī Yatmān*,⁵ who was from *Bukhārā*, and having acquired a reputation on this account in *Kābul*, offered his services at the time when the late Emperor proceeded towards *Hindustān*⁶ obtained great favours from *Humāyūn*, and rose to a confidential position, and at the time when *Shāh* Muḥammad Khān Sālū⁷ was left in *Kābul* as revenue commissioner,⁸ he treated⁹ the Mulla just like the rest of the people, and caused him serious annoyance. The Mulla accordingly composed an elegant *tarkīb*

¹ The *Shahrūkhi* was a coin equivalent to 16 dams, or 2½ to a rupee. They were so called because they were first coined by *Shāh* Rukh the Mughal Selṡān of Persia, A. H. 807-850 Thomas, *Pathan kings*, p. 88. The purchaser was thus willing to give about two rupees for the *postān*. The *postān* is a jacket made of dressed sheepskin dyed a yellow colour and more or less handsomely embroidered in yellow silk. It is worn like Brian O'Linn's breeches "with the fleshy side out and the woolly side in." They cost about thirty or forty rupees, according to their embroidery.

² Text reads *بتیل* *Batīl*. In the text this word is followed by a (?) MS. (A) has what may be *پتل* *patal*, in which case the meaning would be "a mat," and this in consideration of the matted condition of a filthy *postān* seems the true reading.

³ MS. (B) omits *باشد*. ⁴ MSS. (A) (B) *ادای* *شما این است*.

⁵ MS. (A) reads *و دیگری حامی تمیان* *wa digare Hāmī Tamībān*. MS. (B) reads *جاهی یتمینان* *Jāhī-i-yatmīnān*. A footnote to the text gives *یتمینان* and says that *Nafā'is-i-Mudṡir* writes "Jāhī Yatmīyān was from *Bukhārā*, his father Yatmīyān was a native of that place, for which reason he was commonly known by this name."

⁶ MS. (A) reads *سند* *Sind*.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read *سالمو* *Sālū*. The text reads *شایور* *Shāhpār*, but in a footnote gives *سالمو*.

⁸ *بجہت سزاوی* *ba-jihāt-i-sazāwatī*.

⁹ MS. (B) reads *تصویر* for *تصویر*.

band lampooning Sālū,¹ and inasmuch as the Emperor had the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad Sālū² in his service, he made an exception³ in his favour alone, and erased the names of all the members of his family, male and female, consigning them to ignominy. Inasmuch as Humāyūn was also incensed against that ass⁴ who had been the source of all this mischief, he had that lampoon read⁵ in Sālū's presence by the Mulla in full assembly, and evinced the greatest delight and merriment, and made him give a large sum as a reward. By degrees that lampoon became more and more disgracefully scurrilous, accordingly I have restricted myself to citing one extract from it in this place, which is as follows:—

"I am the poet of Shāh Humāyūn and the dust of his thresh- 478
hold,

The retinue of my poetic worth casts the moon's brightness
into shade.

My poem is the Emperor, and my noble verses are his cavalry
and soldiery,

I, experienced oppression from a fool,⁶ without any fault or
crime of mine.

If a fragment of paper has become blackened by my ravings,
If my meditations turn towards⁷ satirizing him,

The object is that that these idiotic asses
May have a regard for the honour and dignity of this class.

Alas, for that man who contends with the tribe of poets,
Whoever contends with me contends against calamity."

The Emperor interfered at this verso saying, "Why do you
not word it thus:

"Whoever contends with me contends with God"

The following verses are also by him:—

³ MSS. (A) (B).

¹ MSS. (A) (B).

² MSS. (A) (B) مستثنى ساخته.

⁴ The Text reads خر *Khar* but M.S. (A). reads خسو *Khusr*, father-in-law.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) استماع فرموده.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) read بيخودي *be-Khirdi*. The text reads قهقهه زني *qahqah*

zanc. Whoremaster.

⁷ Text دري with a footnote دري for دري.

Verse.

As long as we have existed we have been lovers and have
incurred ignominy,

Yet we have been constant to the true proportions of lovers.

This is also his:—

Verse.

Ye, beauteous ones, are all devoid of love and faithfulness,

Ye treat your captives with tyranny and oppression,

Ye promised to be faithful, but have vowed falsely,

Say truly, why are ye all thus false ?

Not in this city alone are we disgraced on your account,

Everywhere ye are the cause of our disgrace,

How often will ye ask what is your object in the world ?

I say truly that ye are, ye are, ye are.

Jāhī cannot save his life from your hands

For ye are a calamity of the calamities sent by God.

The following is also by him :

Verse.

Last night the moon of the 'Id appeared in the form of a
*miṣqal*¹

Because from the vapours of fasting the mirror of the heart
was clouded.

Was this the new moon ? or by reason of the leanness of
their bodies,

Did the bone of the rib of the thirsty-lipped fast-enduring
ones appear ?

Or was it that they had fashioned a saddle² for the camel of
Laili ?

Or was it the bowed body of Majnūn who had become pale
and wan through grief ?

The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among thy servants,

¹ *miṣqal* or *miṣqalat*, called also *خُرْزَة* *kharaṣat*, is a shell used for polishing swords, mirrors, &c., *Tājū-l-'Arās*.

MS. (B) reads *muṣaqqal* which suits neither metre nor sense.

² MSS. (A) (B) read *حُطْب* for *حُطْب*. A footnote variant to the text is *حُطْب*.

And for that reason has bent the bow in order to string it.¹

Moreover thy messenger has bound on his bella,² and has placed the feather of distinction on his head,

He is going from Rūm to bear tidings from Zanzibār.

It must be borne in mind that this verse³ *Kh:wešh rā dar silk-i-huddāmi tū mīkhrāhad salak*. (The very heaven wishes to enrol self among your servants) he has taken from a couplet of the *ašīdah* of Nizām Astarābādī, which runs thus,—

Shab nujūm az majma'-i-mardum nishān āwarda and

Waz mah i nau tāza hafte darmiyān āwarda and

At night the stars have appeared like an assembly of men

And have brought into their midst a new idea in the shape of the new moon ;

The Shāh of Zangbār has taken his seat upon the throne of 480.
Empire

And the stars have brought the bow as an offering to him.

Rubā'ī.

The down which encircles thy cheek is the cause of my distraction,

Thy locks are the cause of my helplessness and distress,

That dusky ringlet is bent upon my undoing,

All these charms are the cause of my distraction.

The following is also his :

Come, for the sky has prepared for your pastime⁴

The sun as the golden gourd, and the crescent-moon as the hook.⁵

¹ بهر بر گذار (Text). MS. (A) reads بهر بر گذار. MS. (B) reads بهر بر گذار.

² بستا زنگ *Basta zang*. The dāk-runners in the East carry a cluster of globular bells called *Zang* or *rang*, tied to one end of the staff carried over their shoulders, to the other end of which the mail-bag is attached, as a signal to clear the way. *Zang-bastan* has the secondary meaning of acquiring importance. MSS. (A) (B) read زنگ for زنگ.

³ MS. (A) reads این بیت را که.

⁴ قبق بازی *qabaq bāzi*. *Qabaq* signifies in Türkī a gourd ; in ancient times the Turkomāns used to hang up a wooden gourd as a mark for archery, but in later times a bowl was substituted for the gourd.

⁵ کجک *kajak*. The name given to the hook upon which the bowl is suspended in the game of *qabaq andāzi*. (*Qhān-i-Jughāt*.)

Bairām Khān has a well-known *qaṣīdah* with this same rhyme, but in a different metre, of which the following is the opening couplet:—

Verse.

Thy shaft has carried away the loop of the *qabaq*¹ from its hook,

Thy meteor, by the help of the crescent-moon has erased the form of the Ploiares.

These two opening couplets are derived from the opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* by the celebrated Niḡārī Tūnī. The death of Aḡllā Jāhī took place in the year 956 H. and was due to some poison which a servant introduced into his cup.

Another poet is Ḥaidar Tūniā'i, a man of parts, and unequalled in the technicalities of harmony, he had a competent faculty for both poetry and music. He spent the greater part of his life in Hindustān. The lampoon upon the *Maliku-l-munajjimīn*² of the time of Humāyūn Pādshāh, which he wrote at Panjgāh, is one of the marvels of the age, and a rarity for all time.

The following opening couplet which he wrote for his threnody on the death of the saintly martyred Imām,³ accepted of God, murdered by man, offspring of the Prophet, by descent from the pure⁴ Fātimah, *upon them be peace*,⁵ is read during the 'Ashūrā in the assemblies for the commemoration of the death of Husain.⁶

¹ The text reads كَبَك kabak and a footnote states that all three MSS. have the word written with kāf-i-kaliman (ك). MS. (A) however has قَبَق qabaq. The crescent moon is compared to an erasing-knife (مُحَوِّل).

² *Prince of Astrologers.*

³ Husain, the second son of 'Alī by his wife Fātimah, daughter of Muḥammad, was slain at Karbalā, A. H. 61. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*.

⁴ البَتُول *Al-Batūl*. The word batūl literally means an offset of a palm-tree, cut from the parent tree and independent of it. With the article ال al, in its application to Fātimah, it denotes her distinction from other women on the ground of chastity, excellence and religion. See Lane s. v.

⁵ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَام 'alaihimas-salām. MS. (A) The text reads عَلَيْهِ السَّلَام, with a footnote variant رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, and stating that the expression in the text is not found either in the dual or plural in any MS. Clearly the editor had not MS. (A) before him.

⁶ مَعَارِك m'airik lit., battle fields.

Verse.

The month of Muharram has come and our eyes are constrained
to weep,
We let fall tears of blood at the thought of Hussain's parched
lips.¹

Rubā'ī.

Thou art he whom in envy they call the sun and moon,
Thy troops, both horse and foot, they call the moonfaced ones.
Thou art worthy of this, with this grace and beauty of thine,
That all the kings of the age should call thee sovereign lord.

The following is also by him :—

My heart thou hast no friend to compare with sorrow for him,
Thou hast no comfort in life like sympathy for him.

And this :—

Every moment my heart's desire has some fresh allurements,
To bear her coquetry costs my life, what of that ? it is her
life.

How can I liken the lips of my love to the bud of the rose,
The bud is tightly pursed it is true, but is dumb and silent.

The son of this man Ḥaidar Tūnī was an arrant coward and
spiritless ;² accordingly in the months³ of the year 985 LL. he had 432.
entered the service of Humāyūn ; one day he was describing the
circumstances of a journey by boat and its terrors, in such a way
that the effects of fear were evident from his behaviour⁴ I asked
saying, May be you regret having gone on the Hajj ?⁵ and I
repeated as appropriate to the occasion that verse which his rivals
said to the poet Qudai.⁶

¹ The pathetic story of the death of Hussain slain in his attempts to quench
his thirst, forms the theme of the annual ceremonies of the Muharram. See
Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, artt. Muharram, and Al-Hussain, where a full account
of Hussain's death is given.

² MS. (A) reads پسر بی پروا. MS. (A) (B) omit و بی پروا.

³ MS (A) omits شهور.

⁴ Text دهانش MS. (A) ادعایش MS (B) دهانش.

⁵ حج Hajj or greater pilgrimage.

⁶ Mir Hussain Qudai of Karbala, see *Am-i-Akbari* (B) I. 602.

Verse.

From the hardships of the desert path, and its thorns,¹
Of the coming to the *Ka'bah* you are probably repentant

He replied instantly, "Yea 'verily." The king said, why should he repent of having visited the *Ka'bah*, though he may indeed repent of sitting in a ship. At that same moment Mathî² Khân, the elegant and accomplished mime, in accordance with a hint from the king, made himself up³ to represent a mad man bitten by a dog, and began to bark like a dog, and seized Haïdar,⁴ and dragged him forward with his turban flying one way and his shoes another. He began running in all directions,⁵ till at last he rolled on the ground, and set them all laughing immoderately. When he learned the truth he was desperately ashamed. The king attempted to console him, but it ended by his being obliged to leave Hindustân. Another is Shâh Tâhir Khwândî⁶ Dakkani, the younger brother of Shâh Ja'far; the 'Ulamâ of 'Irâq, however ridicule his pretensions to descent from Khwândî stock, and have prepared a document bearing upon this question, to which both his opponents and supporters subscribed their signatures,⁷ as is mentioned in the *Kâmilu-t-tawârikh* of Ibn Asîr Jazari,⁸ and also in the *Lubbu-t-tawârikh*⁹ of Qâzî Yahya Qazwîni, and other works. He claimed to be intimately connected with Shâh Tahmasp, but

¹ خارمغیلان *Khâr i-mughailan* See ante, p. 550 n. 1.

² MSS. (A) (B) منہی. *Mathî* ³ MS (B) reads ساختہ

⁴ MS. (A) reads ابن حیدر و ⁵ MS (A) omits ہر سو

⁶ MS. (A) reads *Khondî* خوندی. Shâh Tâhir Junaidî, See *Beulo Dict. Or. Biog.*, p. 250. See also Briggs *Firishda*, vol. iii reign of Barhân Nizam Shâh.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) خط نہادند. The text reads نہاد MS. (B) reads خط.

⁸ The author of this celebrated history which is also called *Al Kamil fi t-târikh* (the perfect history) or more commonly *Al-Kâmil*, was Shâikh Abû l-Hassan 'Alî ibn Abî-l-Karan Mohammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdu-l-Karim ibn 'Abdu-l-Wâhid asû-Shirbânî commonly known as Ibnu-l-Asîr.

He is called Al-Jazari (the islander) from his birth-place the island of Ibn 'Umar, Jazirat ibn 'Umar, an island of the Tigris above Mosul. He was born 555 H. (1160 A. D.) and died 630 H. (1232 A. D.). See Elliot and Dowson, II. 244, and Hâjî Khalifah, 9733.

⁹ لب التواریخ *Lubbu-t-Tawârikh*. (Marrow of History). The author of this work was Yahya ibn 'Abdu-l-Latif Qazwîni (Dimishqî) who died 960 A. H. (1552 A. D.) See Elliot and Dowson IV. 293 and Hâjî Khalifah, 11076.

eventually he was led, by the abuse which was heaped upon him in connection with the aforesaid claim to relationship,¹ and the excessive annoyance caused him by Mir Jamālu-d-Din Sadr Astarabadi, to proceed to the Dakkan, which is famed as the refuge for the oppressed, where he met with a favourable reception from Nizām Shāh, the ruler of that country, and was rewarded with considerable advancement, and attaining the highest dignities² reached the rank of *Jumlatu-l-Mulk* (Chief finance-minister of the State). The Shī'ah tenets spread widely, in fact we may say they were really inaugurated in those regions through the instrumentality of Shāh Tāhir.³ Nizām Shāh Bahri, who was afflicted with an incurable⁴ malady of long standing, was cured by the virtue⁵ of a charm pronounced over him by Shāh Ja'far, and that occurrence, which was in reality was of the nature of *Istidrāj*, he attributed to the miraculous powers (*karāmāt*) of Shāh Ja'far,⁶ and acting upon his instigation abandoned the religious

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ومشیر و مشار الیه گودیده MSS. (A) (B)

1 MS. (A) reads نسب

2 Shāh Tāhir, by prophesying the recovery of his son 'Abdu-l-Qādir, who was dangerously ill, induced Nizām Shāh to reject the names of Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Usmān, who are the three first *Khalifas* of the Sunnis, from the *Khutbah*, and to substitute those of the Imāms, thus proclaiming himself a Shī'ah. See Firsihta, *Bo. text*, II. 220 et. seqq. Briggs, (III. 228) merely mentions the fact but does not give the story.

3 Read لا علاج له MS. (A).

4 بظیفیل فسون خواهی

5 *Batufail-i-fasūn khirānī*. This is a very strange expression, and although it occurs in the text and MSS. (A) (B). I would suggest we should read بافضل *ba-fazli*. The use of spells and charms for the cure of disease was permitted to Muslims provided there was in them no

suspicion of شرک *shirk*, that is, of associating anything with God. We read in the *Mishkāt* that spells were permitted to be used "to counteract the ill-effects of a malignant eye; and on those bit by snakes or scorpions, and for sores in the side." They were also directed to be used for jaundice which was held to be an effect of the evil-eye. See *Mishkātul-Ma'ārib*, XXI. Part II.

MS. (B) reads صحتی می دارد

6 استدراج *Istidrāj*. In the *Kashshaf* this is defined as follows: "A preternatural occurrence brought about by the agency of an unbeliever or an impious man, and in conformity with his desires." Another definition is also given from the *Shum' ilu-l-Muhammadiyah*. "Istidrāj is a preternatural occur-

tenets of *Sunnat*¹ and *Jamā'at*,² which he held as one of the *Mahdawīyah*,³ and became a fanatical heretic.⁴ What cruel and vexatious treatment as accursed and excommunicate did not these two ill-starred ones⁵ inflict upon the 'Ulamā and Shaikhs of that land! So that at last their disgraceful conduct led to the expulsion of the true Muslims, and heresy⁶ from that day again became firmly rooted in that country.

Shāh Tāhir was in natural descriptive poetry comparable to Nizām Astarābādī in astronomical poetry. The following is from one of his *qasīdahs* written in eulogy of Humāyūn Pādshāh. In it he has imitated Anwarī.

Verso.

When the golden litter of the sun enters the resting-place of
Hamal,⁷

The tulip lights its lamp, and the narcissus its torch;

rence brought about by the agency of infidels or evil-doers." It is generally understood that a miracle brought about by one who claims to be a prophet, if it be in accordance with his desires is called *mu'jīza*, while if it be contrary to his intention it is called *Ihānat*. Again that which is brought about by any other than a prophet, if he be faithful, pious, and perfect in the knowledge of God, is called *karāmat*; that performed by the ordinary believer is called *ma'ūnat*, but that which is performed by infidels is to be called *istidrāf*.

Kashghāf l. 463.

¹ The word *سنة*, *Sunnat* means literally 'a path' and the Sunnis are known as *أهل السنة* *Ahl-i-Sunnat* "the people of the path." The Sunnis have claimed for themselves this title in virtue of their acknowledging the first four *Khalīfahs* to have been the rightful successors of Muḥammad, and receiving the "six books" of tradition.

² *جماعة* *jamā'at*, Assembly. It is here used in its technical sense of *سنة مؤكدة* *sunnatun mu'akkadatun* an authenticated traditional practice. The Sunnis are commonly called *Ahl-i-sunnah wa jamā'ah*.

³ For an account of the Mahdawī sect, see *Āin-i-Akbarī* (B.) I., pp. iii, iv.

⁴ *متروك غالى* *mutaraffi-ghālī*. The meaning appears to be "became more of a Shī'ah than the Shī'ahs themselves." The form of the word *mutaraffi* requires some such translation.

⁵ *مشكوم* *mashkūm* MSS. (A) (B) read *ميشكوم*.

⁶ *رفض* *Rafz* lit. forsaking. The Sunni Muslims call all Shī'ahs *Rāfi* or heretical.

⁷ *حمل* *Hamal*, Aries. The sun enters Aries in Spring.

Now the mountain is freed from the headache caused by
Bahman and Dai,¹

And the spring cloud washes from its forehead the sandal.²

The following *Qasidah* in praise of the Prophet³ is also
his, although the *gurix-gah*,⁴ nay even the commencement of the
Qasidah in its entirety, is not suitable to the dignity of the holy 422
Commander (of the Faithful) on him be peace.⁵

Qasidah.

Once more the time has come when in accordance with the
summons of the sky

The rose spreads its crimson blanket on the couch of the
garden;

The clouds of Naiañ, with the keen blood-hued dagger of
the lightning

Erases the word "ice"⁶ from the pages of the earth's
surface.

The close-eyed darlings the buds, like an army of Gzbaks,⁷

Make a night-attack at early dawn upon the army of Dai,

Behold the forms of bud and of rose with the sky for a
branch!

The conical shadow of the earth is the bud, the sun in
heaven is the rose.

¹ *بهمن و دی* Bahman-o-Dai. Dai is the tenth and Bahman the eleventh
month of the Persian year: they answer to December and January. See
Al-Birūnī Chronology, p. 52.

² *صندل* Sandal. Santalum album, N. O. *Santalaceae*.

The wood ground into powder is much used in India made into a paste with
water as an application to the forehead in headaches. The *Mahzanz-i-Adwiyā*
recommends the addition of a little camphor and rose-water. See Ibn Baitar
II, 138. See ante, p. 434 n. 1, also Drury, *Useful Plants of India*, p. 283.

³ *منقبات* Manqabat. This word is used to connote eulogy of either the
Prophet or holy men (Walis).

⁴ *گريزگاه* Gurix-gāh. Point of departure. This name is given to that
portion of a *qasidah* in which the poet leaves his original theme to decant
upon the qualities of the person eulogised.

⁵ MS. (A) omits *عليه السلام* - also *حضرت* - and *تعالی*.

⁶ Text *حرف حرف* harf-i-larf. MS. (B) reads *حرف حرف* harf-i-larf.

⁷ The Turks are called *tunc-chaghm* close-eyed, and the red petals tightly
folded in the bud are likened to the "tūj" or red caps of the Qizilbāsh.

And for this reason that the assembly of the rose may not be
 without a minstrel,
 The nightingale has become the lute-player, the rose-branch
 with its buds are the lute;
 The garment of the rock would have become wet from the
 moisture distilled from the clouds
 Had not the mountain covered its back with the woollen
 cloak¹ of verdure.
 Had not the lightning smitten its goad upon the head of the
 elephant-like cloud
 It would have laid in ruins the stately edifice of the sky.
 The garden became the table of 'Isā, and the Jew lying on it²
 Looked like salt sprinkled here and there upon that table,
 In order that the people may not receive base gold from the
 hand of the jasmine,
 The tulip cambist carries hidden under his arm the touch-
 stone.
 Every perfect thing which is not secure from the defects of
 decay,
 Seems in the sight of the wise and noble but a small thing.
 The beloved of the garden is of perfect beauty but it had
 been well
 If this beauty and comeliness had not been separated from it.
 Alas! for that moment when at the instigation of desire the
 army of Dai
 Became emboldened³ to lay waste the garden of roses.
 The time is near at hand when the staff-bearer of the days of
 Autumn
 Will knock with his staff at the gate of the rose-garden.
 The crow will then hold in derision the impassioned⁴ night-
 ingale,
 And the withered petals will lie blackened beneath the
 hundred petalled rose (the sun).

¹ Text reads کپنک. MSS. (A) (B) read کپنک *kapanak*, a felt garment which poor persons wear on their backs in winter. *Qhānu-l-lughāt*.

² Read ربوی شبنم MSS. (A) (B).

³ Text reads شیرک but we should read مترک. MS. (A)

⁴ MS. (A) reads شوردة for شوریده.

The wind has cast the diadem from the head of the garden-glory,¹

While the Siparak² sets itself up in antagonism to the cheek of the rose.

With a view to the construction of that courtyard of which Dai³ has laid the foundation in the garden,

Everywhere there lie scattered about bricks of ice and mortar of snow,

[For aged people who have experienced the tyranny of Autumn.

The optician Dai makes spectacles of the crystal ice.

[Soon will it happen that from fear of the staff of the watchman of Dai

The people of the sweet herbs will take to flight one after another].⁴

It is better for the wise man that he determine to make the tour of such a garden

Where the autumn cannot be persuaded to go even by force.

That garden is the rose-garden of the praise of a king of so high dignity

That the very angels descend from heaven to frequent his Court.

Murtazā⁵ the king, both of form and reality, inasmuch as he is the source of the union of shadow and substance.

That one who, from the impetuosity of his royal falcon's talons, 486

1 بوستان افروز būstān asrūz. A red flower without odour, called also Tāj-i-Kharūc (Cockscomb) and Gal-i-Yūsuf. (Burhān-i-Qāṭi) *Amaranthus caudatus* Love-lies-bleeding or *Celosia cristata* (Cockscomb) N. O. *Amaranthaceae*.

2 سڀرک Sīprak a herb, which when boiled dyes yellow (Steingass). This line may also be translated, Measles has become opponent to the cheek of the rose.

3 MS. (A) reads دی for گل.

4 This couplet is in MS. (A), as follows,—

زود باشد که تو نیم کتک شسته دی
گریخته رعایای رباحین یک یک

The text reads زود باشد instead of پیش از اندم.

5 مورتازا Murtazā. The Chosen. A title of Ali.

Breaks the wing of the heavenly Eagle¹ as though it were a duck.

Such a king is he that, in the train of the attendants at his door,

Birjīs² bears the name Sa'd, and 'Utārid³ that of Zīrak.

The table-steward of the sky, for the use of his lordly table,
Has brought the Pleiades⁴ in his hand as salt-cellar and salt.
The moon has become the censer of his⁵ assembly, and the rays of the moon,⁶

Are the smoke of the alcas-wood which issues from that censer,

From behind the mirror of the heavens, in accordance with the rules of approval,

Whatever he said, Fate repeated the same like a parrot.⁷

[Who else is there whom they can bring into his train,

We recognise his other competitors, each one of them.

He bears no relation to tyranny-loving strangers,

The connoisseur perceives the difference between turquoise⁸ and glass beads;

¹ نسرین فلک. *Nasrain-i-falak*. The constellations Eagle and Lyra.

² برجیس. *Birjīs*. The planet Jupiter, which is one of the سعدین *Sa'dīn*, or two auspicious planets, the other being Venus.

³ عطارد. 'Uṭārid. The planet Mercury, which is held to rule over intelligence, hence it has the name زیرک *Zīrak*, intelligent.

The names Sa'd and Zīrak are commonly given to servants.

⁴ ثریا *Surayyā*. The Pleiades; as being the most beneficial of the planets from its influence on the autumnal rains, is called by the Arabs

النجم *An-najm*. The constellation, cf. Job. xxxviii. 31. The poet apparently draws his simile from the form of the constellation itself, and also from the nebula, which he compares to the salt grains. If this latter is really the case it would be interesting, as the nebula of the Pleiades is claimed to have been comparatively recently discovered, first by photography.

⁵ MS. (A) reads نور *for* وی

⁶ The expression جرم قمر *jirm-i-qamar* is not very clear, and properly would hardly bear the meaning given to it in the translation. The word جرم *jirm* is said to be used in the sense of the separate members of the body (see Lane s. v.) and on this analogy the word is here translated rays

⁷ The text has here a footnote saying that in two MSS. there follows here *In maṣṭa'ā ā nīz maḡhūr ast*. So MS. (B).

⁸ To look each morning upon the turquoise is said to enhance the brilliancy of the eyes. It is also said that the wearer of a Turquoise so set that it

Virtual justice and the decrees of courts are mistakes,
For this reason that this question was decided in the case of
Faddak¹

The widow of time, since she was not meet for marriage,
He divorced her openly and irrevocably, then he left her.]²
The following opening couplet of his³ is also well-known:— 487.

Verse.

In this grief-populated world joy has departed from my
sorrowful heart,⁴
We are quite accustomed to grief to such an extent has joy
been forgotten.

Verse.

We have been defamed because of the crime of love, as the
devotee is blamed for his hypocrisy;
Both of us are defamed, but what a vast difference there is
between us?

The following is also his:—

Verse.

Come not out, for you will be the calamity⁵ of the age,
We shall be slain and you will be disgraced.
The following *qaṣīdah* also⁶ is a very happy production of his:—
Every man who sets his heart upon worldly desires
In the judgment of men of wisdom is not wise;

touches the skin may fall from any height without injury, as the stone attracts
to itself the whole force of the blow. *Manī Mālā* I, p. 88. It is also sup-
posed to change colour with the state of the wearer's health. The Turquoise
is commonly worn set in an amulet.

¹ Faddak was a village which belonged to the prophet Muhammad. After
his death, when his daughter Fatimah had assumed possession, the *Khalifah*
took it from her by force, saying, "I have heard the prophet say 'we
prophets will not leave legacies to our heirs but what is left at our death will
be given in charity.'"

² The verses in brackets are omitted from MS. (A).

³ MS. (A) omits او.

⁴ Text reads در غم آباد جهان عیش از دل ناشاد رفت. MSS. (A) (B) read
در غم او لذت عشق از دل ناشاد رفت. In grief for her the joy of love has left
my sorrowful heart.

⁵ Insert بعد از. MS. (A).
⁶ MSS. (A) (B) read شمره for فتنه.

His death occurred in the year 952 H. in the Dukkan and for the *tārīkh* of his decease the words *Tābi'u ahl-i-l-bait*¹ were devised.

Another is *Khawāja Aiyūb*² ibn *Khawāja Abū-l-barakāt*,³ who was one of the hereditary grandees of *Mawarā-an-nahr*. Both father and son, in spite of their excellencies acquired⁴ and inherited, have become proverbial for indifference, the one in 'Irāq and *Khurāsān*, and the other in *Kābul* and *Hindustān*. This *Muntakhab* has no room to relate their circumstances in detail, but they are related in many other places, and are well-known. It is said that *Khawāja Abū-l-barakāt*⁵ read the following *matla'*⁶ of one of his own poems on the learned men of the age.⁷

Verse.

The field of my hope became parched, and a famine of faithfulness followed.⁸

Either this was from the fire of our heart, or that in the cloud of our eye there remained no rain.

By way of fault-finding some one said to him that the *yā* (ي) in the last hemistich was meaningless, and in its place he should have written *tā* (ت). The *Khawāja* repeated the following *qit'ah* extempore by way of excuse :

Qit'ah.

Whatever comes before men of discrimination,
They do not draw lines by way of criticism.
They take the dots either above or below (as may be required)
Wise men are not bound by simple dots.
They read *yā* (ي) and carefully consider,
They do not read *yā* (ي) but make it *tā* (ت) in error.⁹

¹ MSS. (A) (B) تابع اهل البيت *Tābi'u-ahl-i-l-bait*. Follower of the people of the House. See *Qur'ān*, xxxiii. 33. The text omits the article ال before بيت, which is correct, as the date required is 952

² Text reads ایوب. ³ MS. (A) reads ابو البركة *Abū-l-barakah*.

⁴ MS. (B) reads مكتبي for مكتسبي. ⁵ MS. (A) again reads ابو البركة

⁶ MS. (A) omits مطلع. ⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit خود here.

⁸ MS. (A) reads خشک شد کشت امید ما و شد قحط وفا.

⁹ There is great cleverness of construction in the original *qit'ah*, in the last line we should read لا کنند for لا کنند *na kunand*, and in the last but two پیروی for پیرو. MS. (A).

He also wrote a *qasidah* in imitation of *Salman Sāwajī*,¹ of which the following is the opening couplet:—

Verse.

I burn with the fever of love, and my head is racked with the pain of separation,
My soul comes to my lips, but my beloved comes not to me;
[Since the fire of my heart burns in my body like the flame in a lamp.]

My skirt has been rent and my garment torn upon my head].²

And the following two poems are taken from a *qasidah* which he wrote to satirise the *Qāzī* of *Nishāpūr*:—

Verses.

A certain theologian wrote contrary to the religious law of the Prophet,³

There was nothing of that kind written in the books.

He wrote that honey is unlawful and wine lawful to be used because (said he) the latter is the juice of the vine and the former the spume of the bee.

To the wife who went⁴ to complain of her husband to the *Qāzī*, saying I get no enjoyment of sense from him, 439.

He replied, If he has become enfeebled and weak, It is right that he should employ a hireling in his place.

The *Khwāja* in his poems sometimes uses the *takhalluṣ*⁵ of *ʿAṭṭār* and sometimes that of *Firāqī*; the following *ghazal* is by him:—

Verse.

Lovely rose-branch, whose stature is straight as the cypress,
Thou hast twined a line of emerald around thy lips,

The last lines also mean—

Either they read and consider carefully

Or they do not read lest they should make mistakes.

¹ *Salman Sāwajī*, whose surname was *Jalālu-d-dīn Muhammad*, was a celebrated poet, a native of *Sāwa*, and flourished in the reigns of *Shāikh Hasan Jalayer* and his son *Sulān Aweis*. He died 779 A. H. (Beal, O. B. D.)

² Not in MS. (B).

³ MSS. (A) (B) *یہودی*.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read رفت for برد.

⁵ Poetical name, *nom-de-plume*.

Thy form is straight like the letter Alif [may his shadow be lengthened),

And thine eyebrows are extended like the *madda* over the Alif.¹

Thou hast cast the die of acceptance on the words of others,
But through the words of lovers thou has drawn the line of refusal;

Thou endurest troubles, do not attempt to draw her, O painter of Chīn,

Wert thou to draw a hundred, never would there come eyes and locks like her's.

Firāqī, be not over-desirous of the wealth of union with her,
Thou hast suffered boundless tyranny and spite at the hands of thy beloved.²

The king, who has now taken refuge in God's pardon, in spite of that unseemly behaviour was excessively fond of the Khwājah.

Accordingly, so³ desirous was he of his society that he joined him in the marriage-bond to one of the Begams, in the hope⁴ that he would adopt the manner of life of people of probity and rectitude, but the Khwājah was held so close a prisoner⁵ by his evil habits, that he could not abide companionship with the king.

Verse.

When once evil habits have taken possession of the nature
They will never leave it till the day of death

490. He put forward various flimsy pretexts to that end, and not even contenting himself with this, one day while in the king's assembly he was guilty of a breach of decorum which one blushes to mention. The king, out of the exceeding kindness and goodness of his nature, overlooked his fault, and merely remarked, "My dear Khwāja what sort of manners are these!" The Khwāja sought permission to proceed to Makka the revered, the blessed,⁶ and after duly setting in order the requisites for his journey and the

¹ An Alif 1 with a curved line written across it horizontally 1 is called *Alif maddūda*. This cross line was originally the word *mo*, *madd* which means lengthening or prolonging.

² MS. (B) transposes the two last lines. ³ MS. (A) *که از بس* omits *که*

⁴ MS. (A) reads *تا شاید که* ⁵ MS. (A) reads *گرفتاری*

⁶ MS. (A) omits *معظمه مبارکه* MS. (B) omits *معظمه*.

requirements for a sea-voyage,¹ he bade him farewell. When he embarked he enquired of his companions, what² are the advantages of going thither? They replied "Purification from past sins." He rejoined, "I will wait then till I have fulfilled the catalogue of sins, and then be purified, so that I may have no further desire to sin."³ Thus he remained destitute of that grace, and abandoning himself to his desires, gave the rein to his passions. Sultān Bahādur of Gujrāt in consideration of pleasant companionship and good-fellowship, appointed⁴ him a daily allowance of one *ashrafi*⁵ for his expenditure. One day when he was passing through the bāzār of Ahmadābād, seeing the Khwāja in the *Tirpauliya* mosque,⁶ he reined back and with great kindness and *empressement* asked "How is the Khwāja faring?" He replied "On the fare which you have allotted me, one of my limbs even cannot obtain sufficient sustenance, why do you ask such a question?" Sultān Bahādur notwithstanding this rudeness doubled his allowance.⁷

Just at that time too Shāh Tāhir Dakkani came to Gujrāt with all pomp and circumstance on the occasion of his embassy from Nizām Shāh Dakkani, and having heard such high praise of the Khwāja, arrived at his house, which had neither a mat nor a pitcher of water. A very pleasant colloquy followed, each reciting his own and hearing the other's verses, and on the next

¹ *ملاز جہاز* MS. (A). The text reads *اسباب سفر و جہاز* and adds a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS and also suggests that we should perhaps read *سفر جہاز*. MS. (A.) is however evidently correct here.

² MS. (A) reads *چہ چیز است*.

³ Read here *تا ارمائی نماید*. MS. (A.), instead of the reading in the text *تا زوبانی نماید*.

⁴ MS. (A) *قرمود*.

⁵ The *Ashrafi* is a gold coin weighing ten *maḥās*, which first obtained currency in the reign of Ashraf Pādshāh (*Ghāfir-i-lughāt*).

⁶ MS. (A) reads *بازار* for *مسجد*. The word *تیرپولیہ* *tirpauliya* is a Sanskrit word, meaning *having three doors*. It does not appear which mosque is meant, but Hunter in the *Gazetteer of India*. Vol. I, pp. 97-98, speaking of the architecture of Ahmadābād, points out the compromise of form between Hindu or Jain, and Muhammedan types. He says "Even the mosques are Hindu or Jain in their details, with a Saracenic arch thrown in occasionally, not from any constructive want, but as a symbol of Islam."

⁷ MS. (A) omits *ۛ*

day, after arranging all the requirements of hospitality, with a *khil'at*, a horse, and a bag of coin and valuable gifts in his own lodging, sent the *Khwāja* an invitation. In the warmth of their meeting and the enthusiasm of their conversation, suddenly the conversation turned upon¹ religion and sects. The *Khwāja* enquired of the *Shāh*, what is the reason that the *Shi'ahs* among you say such unbecoming things regarding the companions of the Prophet *on him be peace*? He answered 'Our jurisconsults² have decided that cursing (*la'n*) is an element of faith (*Imān*).'³ The *Khwāja* rejoined, 'Curses on a faith of which cursing is an element.'⁴ The *Shāh* was astounded at this, and their colloquy came to an end, and that urbanity and courtesy which he had thought to shew remained hidden by the curtain of his anger, and was lost. Finally he departed thence in wretchedness and ignominy to the Dakkan, and had an interview⁵ with *Nizām Shāh*, who likewise sent all that was necessary to his honourable reception, and received him cordially, but neither there could the *Khwāja* remain, owing⁶ to his perverse temper and his want of self-restraint, till by leaving the world he freed himself from the torment of existence.

Verse

My heart, be patient for that stern-hearted friend,
Is sitting and grieving sore⁶ at his own unhappy fate.

Verse.

Where was the black horse? whither did I wend?

Who am I, and what words are these? but what can I do, for the rein of my restive, hasty⁶ and audacious pen has been turned in this direction, and words have leapt forth beyond the area of my control. Were it not so, I know that it is no virtue to pry into faults, while to carp at the vices of others, shutting one's eyes to one's own defects is the acme of shortsightedness.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) insert در before مذهب.

² مجتهدین *Mujtahidm*. *Mujtahid* (one who strives) is the highest attainable title among Muslim divines. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, s. v. and *Ijmā'*.

³ MS. (A) ملاقات نمودند.

⁴ MS. (A) از جهت. MS. (B) read⁸ انجام for انجام.

⁵ MS (A) reads روی نشیند for خوی کشید ⁶ MS. (A) تذرو

Verse.

The wicked sees all the vices of others,
From the pitcher that distils which it contains.¹

God. He is glorified and exalted, preserves all of us from that which is wrong and improper, and as at this time² the writer has not with him a selection from the anthologies of the eloquent and learned poets, accordingly he has found it necessary to restrict himself³ to the brief mention of these few poets by way of an example.

Should this inconstant and transitory life give a few days respite, and should the days, in opposition to their usual habit afford assistance, and should Fate give its help, he will make mention of the poets of former times, and the contemporary poets of Hindūstān, especially of those whom he has seen or heard and appreciated in his own lifetime, together with extracts from their poems included in their biographies.

Mine is the endeavour, its perfection is from God. Should this not come to pass, this much will suffice as a memorial of the author.

Qit'ā'

If I remain in life, I will repair
The garment which exile has rent ;
If I should die,⁴ accept this my excuse,
Many are the hopes which crumble into dust.

¹ This proverb in one form or another is well-known. The Arabic proverb is كل إناء ينضح بما فيه. Every vessel exudes what it contains.

² MS. (A) درین هنگام. ³ MS. (A) (B) باختصار.

⁴ MS. (A) (B) which omit من الله تعالى و تقدیر.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) بمردیم.

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- Barwat, Governor of the fortresses of Barnah, in Hindūstān, a contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 24 and n 1.
- Bāzad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Maḥmūd, the grandson of Sultān Fīroz Shāh, of Dihlī, 364.
- Basāwar, town, 349, 445, 475, 479, 512, 549.
- Bashīr, the Sirdar, an adherent of the house of Sr'jān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 273.
- Bāshtigīn Hājib, one of the Amīrs of the Ghaznavides, 48 n 4, 50 n 1. See under Bartagīn.
- Basra, town of,—in Arabian 'Irāq, 12 n 1, 458 n 3.
- Basudev (Vasudeva), one of the Hindū gods, 24 and n 6.
- Basūlī, a place, 335 n 10.
- Batūndah, town of, 69 n 2. See also under Batūndah.

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Batindah, called also Tabārhindah, the capital of Jaipāl,—the ruler of Hindūstān at the time of Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 19 n 2, 20 n 1. See also Bathindah.

Bāṭinī sect, the,—a sect of Muḥammadan heretics, 22 and n 3.

Al-Bāṭinīyah, 22 n 3. Same as the above (*q. v.*).

Batlēhī, town, 334 and n 5.

Batīl, the offset of a palm-tree, 632 n 4.

Al-Batūl, a name of Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet, 622 n 4.

Bāward, a city of Khurāsān, 29 and n 6, 30, 42, 43. Called also Abīward (*q. v.*).

Bayāk, 415 n 5, for Prayāg, the ancient name of Allahabad.

Bāyazīd Anṣārī, also called Pir Roṣhan, founder of a Ṣūfī sect, called the Roṣhāniyyah or enlightened, 58 and n 5.

Bāyazīd A'zam Humāyūn, nephew of Sultān Bahlūl Lodī, 400, 410 and n 1.

Bāyazīd, Khwājā, eldest son of Sultān Bahlūl Lodī, 401 n 4, 410 n 1, 414

Bāyazīd, Shāh, the brother of Muṣṭafā Farmaī, —one of the Afghān Amīrs who joined Humāyūn, 444.

Bāyazīd, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 471 and n 4, 472

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Bāz Bahādur, son of Sazāwal Khān, ruler of Mālwa, contemporary of 'Adlī, 554, 557.

Bazāna, town of, 27 n 4.

Basgand. fort. —as of, 44 and n 4.

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Baiṣṇa, town of, 80 n 5. See under

Bedar, a town of the Deccan, 299 n 3.

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Bedr, battle of,—the Prophet's principal military exploit, 74 n 2, 216 n. More correctly *Badr*.

Beerbhoom, the Rājā of, 329 n 9.

Beg Tughdī, one of the generals of Sultān Mas'ūd, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 43. See under Tughdī Beg.

Begam, the Queen-consort of Humāyūn, mother of Akbar, 560, 566, 568 and n 7. See Hamīda Bānū.

Beghū, the Turkomān, chief of the Turkomāns, contemporary of Sultān Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd Ghaznawī 38 and n 3, 39.

Beghu Malik Shāh. See the above.

Beg-Matī river, the, 84 n 1. Called also the Bang-Matī (*q. v.*).

Behār, capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadh, 82 and n 1. See under Bihār.

Behāristān, of Maulānī 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 32 n 2.

- Behāt, the,—old name of the Jhilam, one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 44 n 6, 128 n 3, 500, 503. Spelt also the Behat.
- Bohnbur, town, 530 n 3.
- Behzād, Malik, Governor of Multān under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 305.
- Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber*, Nöldeke's, 89 n 6.
- Bejī Rāj, Rājā of Bhātia, contemporary of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghazni, 19.
- Bekasī, Manlānā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 453 and n 7.
- Belnāt mountains, 22 n 5. See under Balnāt and Balnāth.
- Bengal, 81 n 2, 82 nn 3 and 4, 135 n 1, 299, 300, 303 n, 345 n 2, 400 n 6, 540. See also under Bangāla and Bengāla.
- Bengāla, 79, 82, 86. See also under Bangāla and Bengal.
- Ber, fruit of the 'Umnāb tree in Hindostānī, 117 n 2.
- Beraisen, a mistaken reading of bi Rāsin, i.e., the two Rāses (q. v.), 326 n.
- Beronice, an ancient port of the Red Sea, 169 n 1.
- Betālī, on the Ganges, 185 n 1. See under Patiālī and Baitālī.
- Betel-leaf, note on, 302 n 6.
- Betle-chower's cancer, 303 n.
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- Bewar stone, 118 n.
- Bhadāuli, one of the dependencies of Sakī, 410 n 4.
- Bhadaurīns, the, 408 n 1. See the Bhadauris.
- Bhadauris, the,—the inhabitants of the Bhadāwar district, 408 and n 1.
- Bhadāwar, a district S. E. of Agra, 408 n 1.
- Bhadāwah, town, 410 n 4.
- Bhagat, the,—a Hindū caste of loose people, 557 and n 9.
- Bhagatiya, the,—a Hindū caste of loose people, 557 n 9.
- Bhāgīrathī, the 82 n 4.
- Bhala, a servant of Shīr Khān, afterwards Shīr Shāh Sūr, 468.
- Bhakārī, Shaikh, son of Shaikh-i-Hadiyah, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 429 and n 5.
- Bhakkar, town, 464. See under Bakkar and Bukkar.
- Bhangar fortress of, 71 and n 2. See also under Bhankar and Bahankar.
- Bhankar, fortress of, 90. See also under Bhangar and Bahankar.
- Bharāj, district, 132. See under Banraich and Bahrāj.
- Bhartpūr, district, 134 n 1, 366 n.
- Bhasiyāna, country of, 80 and n 5.
- Bhat, fort of, 355 and n 3. See Bhatnir.
- Bhāta or Bhāṭa, a place, 19 n 4. See under Bhātia.
- Bhāti, a town situated between the arms of the Mīhrān (Indus), 36 n 10.
- Bhati tribe of Hindūs, the, 66 and n 2.
- Bhātia, a place in the vicinity of Multān, 19 and n 4, 66 n 2.
- Bhatnir, town, 355 nn 1 and 3.
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Bhatwara, a place, 405.

Bhawan, a place, 20 n 5.

Bhayana, country of, 50 n 5. See under Bhiāna, Bīāna and Baiāna.

Bhara, a place on the left bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range, 19 n 4. See under Bahrah.

Bhiāna, territory of, 80 n 5. See under Bhayana, Bīāna and Baiāna.

Bhilsa, a town on the Betwā in Malwā, 95 and n 3, 236 and n 3.

Bhim, a hero of Indian mythology, 20 n 5, 21.

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Bhim Sen, Rājā, founder of the town of Bhongāon, 383 n 3.

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Bībī Bā'ī, daughter of Nizām Khān Sūr and wife of Islem Shāh, 535.

Bībī Khūzra, Malika-i-Jahān, chief wife of Sultan Husain Sharqī, 409 and n 2.

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Bidāgh Khān Qizilbāsh Afshār, one of the Amirs of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, 572 and n 7 and 8, 575 and n 3, 578.

Bidar, town, —in Haiderābād, Deccan, 209 and n 3, 311, 312, 314. Called also Bedar.

Bidaspes, the, —the Jhelam river, the Vitastā of Sanskrit writers, 23 n 3.

Bibhand or Naibhind, a place on the western bank of the Indus, 20 n 1.

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Bihār Khān, one of the Amirs of the Lodī dynasty, 443.

Bihār Khān, A'zam Humāyūn Sūrwanī, Governor of Handiya under Islem Shāh Sūr, 517, 521, 541. See Bahār Khān.

Bihār Khān, son of Daryā Khān Lūhānī, Sultan of Bihār, 467. See

Sultān Mohammad of Bihār. Elsewhere called Bahādur Khān (q. v.).

Bihishtī, author of a commentary on the *Sihāf*, 427 n 1.

Bīljūn, a place on the Ganges, 231.

Bijnor, hills of, 130 and n 2.

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Biṣṣī, the Abyssinian mu'azzin of Muhammad, 601 n.

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Bisal, fortress, 383 n 3.

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Bismillah, in the name of God, used at the beginning of all works, 428 and n 4.

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- Qarnat, founder of the Karnataka sect of heretics.
- Carnal, town of, 21 n 4.
- Caroli, town, 420 n 5.
- Cathay, the country of Khaṣā, 143 n 4, 233 n 5.
- Cassia de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Arabie*, 12 n 1, 46 n 5.
- Cavalam, the town of Kūlam, 265 n 5.
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- Chōb, a town in Turkeṣiān, 396 n 6. See also Shāh.
- Chach Nāma, the,—a History of India in verse, 11 n 3.
- Chādar, a garment worn by the women of India, 503 and n 1.
- Chagh̃ar Beg Saljūqī, King of Khurāsān, contemporary of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 49 n 4. Called also Chugh̃z Beg or Chagh̃z Beg.
- Chagh̃atai line of Mogul princes, 145 n 2, 464 n 8.
- Chagh̃atai Khān, son of the Chingiz Khān, 145 n 2, 464 n 8.
- Chagh̃atai tribe, Amīrs of,—adherents of Humāyūn, 464 and n 8, 472, 574 and n 8, 576, 582 n 7, 583 n 3, 593. See also under Chagh̃tā.
- Chagh̃tā, Ulūs-i-, 576 n 1. See also under the Chagh̃atai tribe.
- Chāhar Ajārī, independent Rājā of Narwar, contemporary of Sulṭān Nāsiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh of Dillī, 129 n 4. Called also Chāhar Deva and Jāhir Dev.
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- Chabar Khand, a place, 457.
- Chahār pai, charpoy, 494 n 11.
- Chakrasam, name of the idol of Thānesar, 21. See Chakras-amin.
- Chakra, 22 n 1. See under Cakra.
- Chakrasvāmin, or lord of the Chakra, name of the idol of Thānesar, 22 n 1. See Chakrasvāmin.
- Chaldī, a Mughul commander, in the time of Sulṭān 'Alān-d-Dīn Khiljī, 249 n 6.
- Chaman, Malik, Gh̃ziu-l-Malik, Governor of Badkōh,—one of the Amīrs of Muḥammad Shāh of Dillī, 396 and n 1, 398.
- Chambal or Chhaubal river, a river of Central India, the Charmanawati of Sanskrit writers, 365 and n 8, 387, 419, 420 n 6.
- Chamberhā, a roof, 593 n 9.
- Chāmpanir, fortress of,—in, Gujrāt, 455 n 1. Called also Jānpīnir.
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- Chāndā, the heroine of a *Masnawī* in Hindī, mistress of Lūrak, 333. See under the next.
- Chandāhan, a *Masnawī* in Hindī relating the loves of Lūrak and Chāndā, 333 and n 6.
- Chandan, the white sandal in Hindī, 184 n 1.
- Chandawār district, 377. See also under Chandwār.

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Chermanwati, Sanskrit name of the Chambal, a river of Central India, 385 n 3. See under the Chambal.

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- Elphinstone's *History of India*, 20 n 4, 27 n 4, 28 n 2, 29 n and nn 1 and 5.
- Emperor Akbar, Beveridge's, 58 n 5.
- Enteric fever, notes on, 320 n.
- Ephesus, the seven aleopara of, 207 n 1.

- Epiphanius, the Greek Geographer, 169 n 1.
- Erdmann, Dr., 353 n 1.
- Erskine's *Memoirs of Bābar*, 421 n 8, 437 n 7, 439 nn 4, 6 and 7, 440 n, 448 n 4, 570 nn 5 and 6, 609 n 6.
- Esoterica, or *Bāṣiniyyah*, a sect of *Shī'a* Muslims, 22 n 3.
- Essays*, Colebrooke, 332 n 4.
- Etah, district and town of, 185 n 1, 218 n 3, 377 n 4, 410 n 4.
- Etawah, district and town of, 325 n 3, 378, 385 n 8. See also under *Itāwa*.
- Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, Skeat's, 159 n 2, 543 n 3.
- Euphrates, the, 205 n 1.
- Europae, an ancient name of the town of Rai in Persia, 30 n 1.
- Eve, the Mother of mankind, 200 n, 320 n 4.
- Evil-eye, the, 192 and nn 2 and 3.
- Exodus, Book of, 108 n 4.
- Ezekiel, Book of, 104 n 2.

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- Fadak, an estate north of Medina which had belonged to Muhammad, 156 and n 5, 157 n, 631 and n 1.
- Fāiq, one of the Amīrs of 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Nuḥ Sāmānī, King of *Khurāsān*, 16 and n 2.
- Faṣī, a poet of Basāwar, contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 479 and n 5.
- Fakhr, chief of the Bāzār at Dihlī, in the reign of Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 184. [*Hamāyūn*, 462.
- Fakhr 'Alī, Mīr, one of the Amīrs of *Fakhr-nāmah*, popular name of the *Hadiqatu-l-Haqīqat*, the most celebrated work of the famous poet Sanāī, 35 n 1, 56 n 2.
- Fakhr-u-d-Dīn 'Amīd Lūmakī, the poet of Gīlān, 138. See under 'Amīd Lūmakī.
- Fakhr-u-d-Dīn Amīr Dād, Malik, Governor of Baran under Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn *Khiljī*, 250.
- Fakhr-u-d-Dīn Jūnē, Malik, son of Ghāzī Malik, one of the Maliks of the *Khiljī* Sultāna, 274, 280, 291, 292, 293,—receives the title of Ulugh Khān, 297 and n 4,—succeeds to the throne of Dihlī under the style of Sultān Muḥammad 'Adil ibn Tughlaq Shāh (q. v.). See also under Ulugh Khān.
- Fakhr-u-d-Dīn Kotwāl, the Malīk-n-l-Umarā or Amīr-n-l-Umarā, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, of the Balbanī dynasty, 220 nn 2 and 3, 227, 228, 228, 260 n 2.
- Fakhr-u-d-Dīn Kūchī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn *Khiljī*, 238, 243.
- Fakhr-u-d-Dīn Kūjī, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimugh, 120 n 2.
- Fakhr-u-d-Dīn Rāzī, Imām, a doctor

of the Shāfi'ite sect, contemporary of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-u-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Bām, 73 and n 1 and 2.

Fakhr-u-d-Dīn Silāḥdār, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308, 309.

Fakhr-i-Mulk 'Amīd Lūmakī, Malika-i-Kalām, 99 and n 4. See under 'Amīd Lūmakī.

Fakhr-i-Mulk Khwājā 'Amīd-u-Dīn, 99 n 4, 138 n 1. Same as the above.

Fa'l, a good omen, 412 n 1.

Fallon's Hindustāni Dictionary, 528 n 1.

Fals, a coin of small value, from the Latin *folius*, 18 n 1.

Fanāk, weasel or stoat, 158 n 4.

Fanākātī, the Historian, 16 n 1.

Faqār, vertebra of the back, 74 n 2.

Faqāra, a vertebra of the back, 74 n 2.

Faqāra, a sort of waving ornament on the blade of a sword or also a notch on its edge, 75 n.

Faqīrs, various religious orders of, 510 n 4.

Far', one of the two chief divisions of 'Ilmu-i-Fiqh, 5 n 4. [and n 9.

Farah, town of,—in Biluchistan, 420

Farah, a town at a distance of ten krohs from Agra, 542.

Farakhābād district, N. W. P., 155 n 1. See also under Farukhābād.

Fara'ūn (Fir'aun), the Pharaoh of Egypt, 137, 501.

Farazdaq, Abū Firās Hammām ibn Ghālib, the celebrated Arab poet, 285, 287 and n 1 and 2.

Farhād, the lover of Shīrīn, in the romance of *Khusrū-o-Shīrīn*, 279 and n 3.

Farhang-i-Anandrāj, a Persian dictionary, 596 n 6.

Farhat-i-Mulk, Malik Mufarriḥ Sultānī, Governor of Gujrāt, under Sultān Fīroz Shāh, 334 and n 3.

Farīd Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shaikh, the famous Muḥammadan Saint, 233, 460. See under Farīdu-d-Dīn.

Farīd Khān, son of Hasan Khān Sūr, original name of Shīr Shāh, 461 and n 5, 466, 467 and n 5.

Farīd Khān, infant son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289.

Farīd Khān ibn-i-Masnad-i-'Alī Khizr Khān (q. v.) 395, 400 n 1.

Farīd Tāran, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 497.

Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shaikh, grandson of Farrukh Shāh of Kābul,—a famous Muḥammadan saint of Hindustān, 132 and n 6, 133 n, 135 n, 355 n 1, 362 n 2. See also under Farīd.

Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakkar, 132 n 6. Same as the above.

Farīdūn, an ancient King of Persia, 166 n 1, 435 n 2, 595.

Fārighī, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 616, 617. See under Abu-l-Wāhid.

Farmalī, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Bahlūl and also of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 411 and n 7, 412 n 2, 414, 418.

Farmalī, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 434.

Farrukhī, Hakīm, a famous Persian

- poet, contemporary of 'Asjadī, Ansurī and Firdausī, 17 n 3.
- Farrokh Shāh of Kābul, grandfather of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakkar, 132 n 6.
- Farrokh Zād. Sultān, ibn Mas'ūd ibn Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 51.
- Farshūr, old name of Peshāwar, 66 n 6
- Farukhnābād district, N.-W. P., 377 n 3. See also under Farukhnābād
- Fāruq, or the Discerner, a name of 'Umar, the second Khalifah, 59 and n 3.
- Faryab a town of Māwarāu-n-Nahr (Transoxiana), 339 n 4
- Farz, prayers enjoined in the Qur'ān, 488 n 7. ['Ab, 527 n
- Fāsiq, immoral man, one who opposes
- Fatūgarh, town in Farukhnābād district, N.-W. P., 377 n 3, 384 n 4
- Fatehpūr, 325 n 3. See under Fathpūr.
- Fatepur, 80 n 5, for Fathpur (q. v.).
- Fath Khān, son of A'zzū Munāẓẓun Shīrwānī, one of the Amirs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 433
- Fath Khān, son of Sultān Bahlul Lodī, 418.
- Fath Khān, son of Sultān Fīroz Shāh, of the Tughlaq dynasty, 324 and n 2, 328, 334.
- Fath Khān Harawī, of the Amirs of Sultān Mahmud Shāh of Jaunpur, 403 and nn 2, 3 and 4. See also the next.
- Fath Khān, of Herāt, Shāhzada, of the Amirs of Sultān Mubarak Shāh of Jaunpur, 361. Same as the above (q. v.).
- Fathābād, founded by Sultān Mandūd Ghaznawī, 47 and n 1.
- Fathābād, founded by Sultān Fīroz Shāh, of the Tughlaq dynasty, 324 n 2, 325 n 3, 365.
- Fatpur, otherwise known as Sīkrī, one of the dependencies of Multān, 80 n 5, 97, 325 n 5, 363, 365, 366, 375, 433, 442, 445, 446, 455, 508, 535, 600.
- Fathpūr District, N.-W. Provinces, 456 n 6
- Fatimah, daughter of the Prophet Muhammad and wife of 'Alī, 151 n 5, 156 n 5, 303 n 4, 622 nn 3 and 4, 631 n 1.
- Fatwas, legal decisions by a Muftī (q. v.), 317 n 6, religious or judicial rulings, 507 and n 7.
- Fazihat, Qāzī, or Qazī Ignominy, 474 and n 6. See under Qazī Fazilat
- Fazilat, Qāzī, the Qazī of the army of Shīr Shāh, popularly known as Qazī Fazilat (q. v.), 474 and n 4
- Fazlu llāh Balkhī, Malik, styled Qutlugh Khān, one of the Amirs of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 351 and n 2.
- Fazlu llāh Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary, 182 n 2, 483 n 2, 497 n 1, 575 n 1, 580 n 5, 592 n 5, 595 n 6
- Fāz, the first arrow in the game of manīr, 369 n 1.
- Ferīhta See under Farīhta
- Fidās, the —disciples of the chief of the Mulahadah heretics, 73 and n 2, 122 and n 3.
- Filwand, a stratagem in the game of chess, 114 n 2

Fiḡâr, vertebrae of the back, 74 n 2.

Fiqh, the two chief divisions of, 5 n 4.

Firangî, the, 458 and n 6. See also under the *Franka*.

Firāqî, *tukhallas* or poetical name of Khwajā Ayyūb ibn Khwājā Abu-l-Karakāt (q. v.), 633, 634.

Firāqnamah, one of the poetical works of Salmān Sawajî, 571 n 9

Firdausî, the celebrated author of the *Shāh-nāmah*, 17 and nn 1 and 3, 32 and n 1, 88 n 2, 461 n 6.

Firdūsî, *Hakim*, 17 n 3. See under *Firdausî*.

Firāhta, 10 n, 13 n 1, 16 nn 1 and 2, 19 n and nn 1, 2 and 6, 20 nn 1, 2, 4 and 5, 21 n 3, 22 n 7, 23 nn 2 and 4, 24 nn 1, 2 and 5, 25 nn 2 and 4, 26 n and n 1, 27 nn 3 and 4, 28 nn 2 and 4, 29 nn 1 and 5, 33 n and n 2, 31 n and n 1, 33 nn 2 and 3, 34 nn 1 and 7, 36 nn 1 and 9, 37 nn 5 and 6, 43 nn 2, 5 and 7, 44 nn 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8, 47 nn 3 and 7, 48 nn 1, 2, 3 and 4, 49 n 1, 50 nn 1, 2 and 3, 51 nn 1 and 3, 52 nn 1, 2 and 4, 55 n 2, 56 n 1, 63 n 1, 66 nn 2, 4, 5 and 6, 67 n, 69 n 1, 72 n 2, 77 nn 1, 2 and 3, 95 n 8, 122 nn 2 and 3, 123 n 2, 133 n and n 2, 184 n 4, 185 nn 2 and 3, 186 n 3, 188 nn 1 and 5, 190 n 2, 205 n 2, 228 n 3, 230 n 1, 247 n and n 4, 248 n 2, 249 nn 5 and 7, 250 nn 1 and 10, 251 n 7, 257 n 7, 258 nn 4, 5 and 7, 259 n 5, 260 n 7, 261 n 5, 264 n 4, 265 nn 3, 4 and 6, 266 n 1, 273 n 4, 274 n 1, 288 n 8, 300 n 3, 302 n 1,

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- Fīrozābād, a town on the banks of the Jamna, at ten miles from Dihlī, built by Sultān Fīroz Shāh of the Tughlaq dynasty, 325 and n 3, 342, 343, 344, 345, 350, 351, 354, 356, 359, 365. Written also Fīrūz-ābād.
- Fīrozābād, a fortress at the village of Gāwin on the banks of the Jamnā, built by Fīroz Shāh, 327 and n 5.
- Fīrozābād, later name of the town of Panduab, 325 n 3.
- Fīroz 'Alī, Malik, son of Malik Tājū-d-Dīn, one of the Amīrs of Fīroz Shāh, called also Khān-i-Jahān the Wazīr, 342 and n 2.
- Fīroz Khān, one of the Afghān Amīrs under Bābar, 444.
- Fīroz Khān, son of Islem Shāh Sūr, succeeds his father under the title of Fīroz Shāh, 535, 537.
- Fīroz Khān ibn Yaghrash, the Khilji, styled Shūyista Khān (q. v.), eventually becomes Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khilji (q. v.), 226, 230.
- Fīroz Koh, capital of Ghūr. See under Fīrūz-Koh.
- Fīroz, Malik, son of Malik Rajab, same person as Fīroz Shāh of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty (q. v.), 302, 315, 322.
- Fīroz Nāib Barbak, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 312.
- Fīroz, Rāi, a contemporary of Sultān Mubārak Shāh, of the Saiyyid dynasty, 382, 390. [535, 537.
- Fīroz Shāh, son of Islem Shāh Sūr, Fīroz Shāh, Sultān, ibn Malik Rajab, of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 301, 302, 321, 322 and n 9, 323 and n 3, 324 n 6, 325 n 3, 326 n, 327, 328 n 6, 329 n 2, 331, 332, 338, 339 and n 1, 341 n 1, 344 and n 7, 347 n 3, 366, 376, 411, 412 n 2. Written also Fīrūz Shāh.
- Fīroz Shāh, canal of, 325 n 3, 326 n.
- Fīrozshāhī. See under the Tārīkh-i-Fīroz-Shāhī.
- Fīrūza, fortress of, 364 n 6, 375, 378. See under Hissār Fīrūzah.
- Fīrūzābād, on the Jamna. See under Fīrozābād.
- Fīrūzī Amīrs, the,—partisans of the House of Sultān Fīroz Shāh (q. v.), 337, 345, 350, 351, 352.
- Fīrūz-Koh, capital of the country of Ghūr, 60 n 2, 63 and n 1, 68, 78.
- Fīrūzpur, fortress of, built by Sultān Fīroz Shāh in Sīhrind, 331, 334, 378, 489. Written also Fīrozpur.
- Fīrūzpur, town of, 336. Called also Akhīrūpur as the Last city built by Fīroz Shāh.
- Fīroz Shāh, Sultān. See under Fīroz Shāh.

Fiq, immorality, does not exclude
Imān (faith), 577 n.
Follis, a Roman coin, origin of the
word *fals*, 18 n 1.
Forty Slaves of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn
Iyaltimish, 184.
Franks, the, 543. See also under the
Kirangis.
Freytag, *Arabic Dictionary*, 509 n 5.
Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, 157 n 1,
458 n 3, 507 n 3, 580 n 1.
Freytag, *Hamāsah*, 287 n 1.
Freytag, *Meid. Prov.*, 157 n 1. See
also under *Arabum Proverbia*.
Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, servant of

Saiyyid Sālīm of Tabarhindah
(*q. v.*), 388 and n 2, 389, 390, 391,
398.

Fu-mā, in Chinese, equivalent to the
Mongol *Gurgān*, which means
"Son-in-law," when applied to
princes, 353 n 1.

Furruckābād, N.-W. Provinces, 218
n 3. Properly Farrukhābād.

Furū', one of the two chief divisions
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Futūhu-l-Buldān of al-Bilāzari, 11
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Futūhu-s-Salātin, an historical work,
314 and n 9.

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Gabriel, the Angel, 58 and n 2, 93,
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614.

Gajratī, or "the Lords of Elephants,"
title of the Lion Dynasty of Jāj-
nagar, 125 n 3.

Galkhara, the,—a tribe of the
Hindūs, probably the same tribe
as the *Khūkhara*, 67 and n 8.

Gandaba, fortress of, 28 n 4, 29 n.
Called also Kandama.

Gandak river, the,—in the Gorakhpur
District, 409 n 5.

Ganes, Rāi,—or

Ganesh, Rāi, the Rājā of Patialā, con-
temporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodi,
413 and n 8, 419.

Ganges, the, 70 n 1, 71 n 2, 81, 82
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408 and n 5, 415 n 7, 416 and n 3,
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Ganj-Bakhsh, surname of Shaikh
Ahmad Khatṭa, contemporary of
Sultān Ahmad Gujrātī, 357 n 3

Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shaikh Faridu-d-Dīn
Mas'ūd, a famous Mubammadan
Saint of Hindūstān, 132 and n 6,
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Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Pro-
sodie des langues de l'Orient Musul-
man*, 428 n 2, 605 n 8 and 9, 606
n 2, 607 n 4, 608 n 3.

Gardāiz, a district lying between
Ghazna and Hindūstān, 66 n 1.
Called also Kardiz.

- Garha-Katinka, name of a country north of the Dakhan, 433 n 3.
- Garhi, a narrow pass separating the countries of Bihār and Hangala, 437 and n 5
- Garmīr, a province of Khurāsān, 48, 65 and n 1, 81, 86, 573
- Garshasp, Shāh, of the first dynasty of Persian Kings, 84 and n 2, 85.
- Gaster's translation of the "Sword of Moses," 141 n 4
- Gate of Paradise, a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine of Shaikh Farīd-ud Dīn Ganjī Shakkar at Pakpattan, 362 n 2
- Gatila, Sanskrit name of the Indian Spokenard or nard, 374 n.
- Gatvārā, the,—a tribe of the Jāts, 122 n 1
- Gaur, old capital of Bengal, 82 n 3 and 4, 83 and n 2, 458. Name changed to Janatābād by Humayun
- Gauria. See under Muhammad Khān Genria and also Khur Khān Gauria
- Gias Ahmad, of Guzarat, 357 n 4.
- Same as Sultan Ahmad Shāh, the ruler of Gujarāt
- Gawāra, the,—a race of gypsies in India, 312 and n 7.
- Gānīn, village of,—on the banks of the Jumna, 327 n 5.
- Gayōmarth, the Adam of the Persians, 280 n 3. [of, 330 n 8.
- Gaz, a measure of length, three kinds
- Gaz, tenth son of Japhet, son of Noah, 61 n 5
- Geographer of the Countries on the North-West of India, Thornton's, 567 nn 1 and 9.
- Gelaleddin, 91 n 2, for Jalāl-ud-Dīn Manghurnī (q. v.)
- Gemini, the, 39
- Genesis, Book of 144 n 2, 154 n 2, 182 n 1, 302 n 2, 394 n 5
- Geo, one of the heroes of the *Shah-namah*, 116 n 5.
- Geography of Ancient India, Cunningham's. See under Ancient Geography of India
- Gerswiz, one of the attendants of Afrāsiyab, in the *Shah-namah* of Firdausi, 180 n 2.
- Gesenius, *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Language*, 104 n 2, 394 n 3.
- Ghaggar river, the, 328 n. See also the next.
- Ghagher river, called also the Gogra and Ghāgra (q. v.), 222 n 3, 327, 439 See also the Ghaggar
- Ghāgra river, the, 135 n, 220 n. See under the Ghaggar
- Ghakkars, the,—a Hindu tribe, 101, 198, 489, 500
- Ghālio Khān, Governor of Sāmān under the Taghlaq Shāhi dynasty, 339, 352, 360 [465 n 6.
- Ghalla-i-jauari, the smaller millet,
- Ghānīn ibn 'Ulwān, one of the three chief lords of Shaddād ibn 'Ad, 262 n.
- Gharī Ju, village of, 503 n 5. Called also Gharī Khū (q. v.)
- Gharī Khū, village of, on the bank of the river Behat, 503 and n 5.
- Gharjistān, a country between Herāt, Ghor and Ghaznīn, 13 n 1, 22 n 2, 63 n 1. Called also Gharshistān
- Gharshistān, 22 n 2. See under Gharjistān.

Ghāt-i-Sākūn, name of a place, 283 n 5. Called also Bādra-i-Sākūn.
Ghaur, a province lying between Herāt and Gharjistān, 43 and n 4.
 See also under Ghūr and Ghor.
Ghauṣu-l-‘Ālam Hazrat Shāikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyāi, the Mul-tānī, 133 and n 2. See under Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyāi. [6 n 4
Al Ghāyatū fi-l-Fiqh of Qāzī Baiṣāwī, Ghazal, ode, 612 and n 2.
Ghāzī Khān, son of Daulat Khān Lodī, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 435 n 9, 436, 437, 438 and n 5.
Ghāzī Khān Sūr, one of the Amīrs of the Sūr dynasty of Afghāns, 549, 550, 553, 558, 597, 598.
Ghāzī Mahallī, one of the confidential servants of Ismā‘īl Shāh Sūr, 487, 488.
Ghāzī Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, succeeds to the throne of Dihlī under the style of Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 291, 292, 293, 294 and n 4, 295, 298 and n 3. See Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh and also Tughlaq Khān.
Ghāzī, one who fights in the cause of Islām, 356 n 4.
Ghazna, the, 18. See under Ghāzī.
Ghāzīn l-Mulk, Malik Chaman of Badāon, one of the Amīrs of Muhammad Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 396 and n 1, 398.
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Ghaznavide dynasty, the. See under the Ghaznide dynasty.

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Jauze mātil, or *Datura*, a narcotic and intoxicant, 535 and n 2.

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Jawāhiru-l-Khamsa, the,—name of a book, 459 n 2.

Jawālamukhi, an idol temple of Nagarkot, 331 and n 9.

Jawālapūr, for the ford of Miāpūr on the Ganges, 131 n 1.

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Jawāngāl, left wing of a Turkish army, 439 n 4.

Jawārī, the small variety of millet, 549 and n 14.

Jauzgar, the head and tail of Draco, 162 and n 4, 193 and n 1.

Jasari, Ibn Asir, author of the *Kāmilu-l-Tawārīkh*, 624 n 8.

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Ji Ji Anāghah, wat-nures of Prince Akbar, 568 n 6.

Jilaudār, an attendant to run beside the horse, 503 and n 9.

Jildā, a Turkī word in the sense of *n'am* or roward, 593 n 6.

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Jirm-i-Qamar, rays of the moon, 630 and n 6.

Jital, an imaginary division of the *dām*, 499 n 3.

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- Jād tribe, the,—one of the two tribes inhabiting the Jūd hills, 128 n 3.
- Jēhar or Jauhān, a rite of self-sacrifice, 397 n 1, 423, 476.
- Jūkī Bahādur Ūsbakī, one of the Amīrs of Mīrzā 'Askarī, 308 n 1.
- Jālāha, a weaver, 528 n 1.
- Juldā, a Turkī word in the sense of *in'ām* or reward, 596 n 6.
- Jēlqa, a dale, 433 n 7.
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- Jūnā Shāh, or Jūnān Shāh, *Khān-i-Jahān*, son of Malik Qabūl, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 333, 336 n 5, 337 n 7.
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- Kachhan, Malik, called Itimar or Hīmār, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 220, 226.
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- Kāothar, the district of Bahilkhand, 131 n 4. Called also Kāithar (q. v.), Kāthar, and Kāithal (q. v.).
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Khārān, Maulāna Hasan 'Alī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 587.

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Khāri, brackish water, 345 n 2.

Khār-i-'Aqrab, a name of the planet Mars, 195 n 1.

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Kharkū, the chief of Kaithar at the time of Sultān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 335 nn 5 and 7.

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- Kili, town of, 250 nn 4 and 5, 311 and n 5.
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- Koh-i-Qāf, a fabulous mountain round the world, 485.
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- Muhammad Bakhtyār Ghūrī, Malik, one of the Generals and slaves of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muhammad Sām, 81 and n 2, 82, 83 and nn 2 and 3, 84 and n, 85 and n 1, 86. See the next.
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- Muhammad Bāqī Majlisī, author of the *Hayātu-l-Qiās*, 110 n 8.
- Muhammad, son of Bihār Khān, Sulṭān of Qanauj and the eastern districts, contemporary of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 443. Same as the next (q. v.)
- Muhammad, son of Daryā, Khān Lūhānī, Sulṭān of Bihār, originally called Bihār Khān or Bahādur Khān, 435 and n 7, 436, 458, 469. Same as the above (q. v.).
- Muhammad Farmalī, Sheikh, known as Kālā Bhār, nephew of Sulṭān Duhlul Lodī, 411 n 2, 413 n 12, 414.
- Muhammad Ghanaṣ of Gwālīār, Sheikh, contemporary of Bābar, 445, 459.
- Muhammad, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 187, 190 n 2, 205 and n 2, 213. Called the *Khān-i-Ruzurg*, the *Khān-i-Ghūzī*, the *Khān-i-Shahīd* and *Qān-i-Mulk*.
- Muhammad Ghorī, popular name of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muhammad Sām, who is also known as *Shihā-bu-d-Dīn Ghorī*, 65 n 2.

- Muhammed Gokaltāsh, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.
- Muhammed ibn-i-Husein, the famous juricoconsult, 30 n 1.
- Muhammed Husein of Ispahān, Mīrzā, — the poet known as Zarīf, 682 n.
- Muhammed Humāyūn Mīrzā, son of Bābar, 439, 443, 444, 445. See under Humāyūn.
- Muhammed Humāyūn Pādīshāh, Emperor of Hindustān, 450, 451, 453, 454 472, 500, 503, 529, 559, 596, 608 and n 5. See the above and also under Humāyūn.
- Muhammed, son of Ildighiz and his successor as Atābak of Āzarbaijān, 158 n 3.
- Muhammed Khān Auhādī, ruler of Būiān, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 386, 387 and n 4.
- Muhammed Khān, son of Sultān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 324, 336, 337 See Nāsira-d-Dīn Muhammed Shāh, and also Muhammed Shāh.
- Muhammed Khān Gnuris, the ruler of Kor, contemporary of 'Adlī, 555, 556.
- Muhammed Khān Kūkī, Hājī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 578, 581, 585.
- Muhammed Khān of Nāgor, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 423 and n 11.
- Muhammed Khān, grandson of Sultān Nāsira-d-Dīn of Mēlwa, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 423, 424 and n 6.
- Muhammed Khān Sālū, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 618 and n 7, 619
- Muhammed Khān Shorafa-d-Dīn Ughlī Taklū, Vazīr of Sultān Muhammed Mīrzā of Khurāsān, 563 and n 6.
- Muhammed Khān Sūr, assumes the title of Sultān Jalāla-d-Dīn as governor of Bungala, 552.
- Muhammed Khān Sūr, governor of the country of Channad, 438, 459.
- Muhammed Khān Taklū, Vazīr of Sultān Muhammed Mīrzā, ruler of Khurāsān, 569 and n 6.
- Muhammed Khān, son of Zīrak Khān, Governor of Sāmāna under the Saiyyid dynasty, 397.
- Muhammed Khwārazm Shāh, Sultān, of the Khwārazm Shāhī dynasty of Khurāsān, 71 and n 7.
- Muhammed Lodī, Sultān, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 444, 471 n 1. See also under Mahmūd Lodī.
- Muhammed, younger son of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, 29, 33, 34, 44, 45 and n 2 and 3, 46, 47 n 2.
- Muhammed ibn Muḥmud, the Khāh, feudatory of Kashmaadī, uncle of Muhammed Bakhtyār, 81 n 2.
- Muhammed, son of Sultān Mas'ūd ibn Mahmūd Ghaznavī, 44 and n 1.
- Muhammed Muḥaffar Vazīr, one of the Amīrs of the Fīroz Shāhī dynasty, 351.
- Muhammed par 'Azīz, Mullā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 450 n 1.
- Muhammed Qaudabārī, Hājī, the Historian, 300 n 3.
- Muhammed ibn Qāsim az-Sagafī, the conqueror and first governor of Sind, 11 and n 8, 12 n 2, 18 n and n 1, 125 n 6

- Muhammad ibnu-i-Qāsim ibnu-l-Munabbih, governor of Sindh, 86 n 10.
- Muhammad Sām, founder of the Ghori dynasty of India, 10 n 2, 74, 75, 89. See Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muhammad Sām.
- Muhammad Shāh, Mīr, leader of a band of robbers in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 262, 263.
- Muhammad Shāh, of the Mughal dynasty of Dihlī, 25 n 5.
- Muhammad Shāh I., son of Ahmad Shāh, Sulṭān of Gujarāt, 357 n 8.
- Muhammad Shāh ibn-i-Farīd Khān, of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 395, 397, 398, 399 and n 7.
- Muhammad Shāh, son of Sulṭān Firūz Shāh, of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 337, 338, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345 and nn 2 and 3, 346. See under Muhammad Khān.
- Muhammad Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Sharqī, Sulṭān of Jaunpūr, 403 and n 8, 404 and n and n 2.
- Muhammad, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 444, 471 n 1. See also under Maḥmūd.
- Muhammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, Khwājā, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 437, 438, 440, 444, 458, 462, 463, 464, 574.
- Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, Sulṭān, 67 n 1, 262 n 5, 271 and n 6. See the next.
- Muhammad, son of Tughlaq Shāh, the second of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 290, 297 n, 301, 309, 315, 318, 321, 322, 323 and n 3, 327, 329 n 2, 331. See under
- Muhammad 'Adil and also under Ulagh Khān.
- Muhammad Turtāq, the Mughal, of the royal house of Khurāsān, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu d-Dīn Khiljī, 250 and n 10, 252 and n 2.
- Muhammad Ūfi of Merv, author of a *Tagkira*, 33 and n 1. See Muhammad 'Afi.
- Muhammad Yabyn, 602.
- Muhammad Yamīn, Sulṭān, the ruler of Khurāsān, 99 n 4, 138 n 1.
- Muhammad Yargharī, Mullā, one of the Amīrs of Hamāyūn, 460 n 1.
- Muhammad Zaitūn the Afghān, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Bābar, 415.
- Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā ibn-i-Badī'u-z-Zamān Mīrzā ibn-i-Sulṭān Ḥasain Mīrzā, contemporary of Hamāyūn, 451, 452, 456, 458, 461.
- Muhammadābād, the town of Nagarkot, 331.
- Muhammadābād, a city built by Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh ibn Fīroz Shāh, 346, 347.
- Muhammadans, the, 271 n 6, 302 n 2, 412 n 1, 415 n, 445 n 6, 488 n 5, 523 n 5, 635 n 6. See also under the Mahometans and the Muslims.
- Muharra, for Mutmara. See Shihāb-i-Mutmara, the poet, 89 and n 2.
- Muhar or Muhur, a coin, 808 and n 1.
- Muharram, annual ceremonies of the, 623 and n 1.
- Muhazzab,—or
- Muhazzabu-d-Dīn Nizāmu-l-Mulk, Khwājā, Wazīr of Sulṭān Razziyab, 120, 123 n 3, 124.

Mukra-l-Mār, the Bezoar stone called in Arabic *Hajaru-l-Hayyāh*, 117 n 4.

Mahar or *Muhar*, a coin, 306 and n 1.

Ma'id Jājarmī, one of the poets of the time of *Sulṭān Jalālud-Dīn Khiljī*, 245.

Ma'id of *Tarkhīn*, author of a Turkish romance on the loves of *Wāmiq* and *'Azrā*, 40 n 1.

Ma'in Wāiz, *Mawlānā*, 590.

Ma'īnu-d-Dīn Chishtī, *Khawājā*, a famous saint, 70 and n 2. See under *Ma'īnu-l-Haqq*.

Ma'īnu-d-Dīn Hasan Chishtī, *Khawājā*, 70 n 2. See the above.

Ma'īnu-d-Dīn, *Shāikh*, grandson of *Mawlānā Ma'in Wāiz*, Qazī of *Lāhor* under *Humāyūn*, 590.

Ma'īnu-l-Haqq wa-d-Dīn Ajmīrī, *Khawājā*, 430. Same as *Ma'īnu-d-Dīn Chishtī*, (q. v.).

Ma'īnu-l-Mulk Mīrān Šadr, 395. See under *Mīrān Šadr Nāib-i-'Arṣ-i-Mamālīk*.

Muir's Life of Mahomet, 97 n 4, 105 n 2, 119 n, 216 n.

Mu'izzī palace, the *Kilūgharī* palace (q. v.), on the banks of the *Jumna*, 231.

Mu'izzī *Sulṭāns*, those of the slaves of *Sulṭān Mu'izzud-Dīn Sām* who attained sovereignty, 87 n 5.

Mu'izzīyeh Kings, the Amīrs of *Sulṭān Mu'izzud-Dīn Sām Ghūrī*, 87, 89.

Mu'izzud-Dīn Abn-i-Hāris Sinjar, 55 n 3. See under *Sinjar*.

Mu'izzud-Dīn Bahram Shāh, son of *Sulṭān Shamsud-Dīn Iyāl-tīmīsh*,

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Mu'izzud-Dīn Kaiqubād, *Sulṭān*, ibn *Sulṭān Nāṣirud-Dīn ibn Sulṭān Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Balban*, 220 and n 2, 221 and n 3, 223, 223 and n 1, 224, 226, 227, 228 and n 4, 229, 245. See also under *Kaiqubād*.

Mu'izzud-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, well-known under the title of *Sulṭān Shihābud-Dīn Ghūrī*, 10 n 2, 63, 64 and n 3, 65 and n 2, 66 n 3, 67 and n, 69, 71, 72, 73 and n 2, 74, 75, 76, 77 and n 1 and 3, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82 n 3, 85, 86, 89, 90.

Mu'izzud-Dīn Taghral, Governor of *Lakhanauti*, 185. See under *Taghral*.

Munjēhid Klān, one of the Amīrs of *'Adlī*, of the *Afghān Sār* dynasty, 557.

Mu'jamu-l-Buldan of *Yāqūt*, a Geographical Dictionary, 8 n 2, 253 n, 476 n 5.

Mujawwaf, hollow or weak, 301 and n 1.

Mujaz, a work on medicine, 5 n 3, 51 n. See under *al-Mughnī*.

Mujil, the man in charge of the arrows in the game of *maisir*, 309 n 1.

Mujirud-Dīn Abūrijā, *Malik*, one of the Amīrs of *Sulṭān Muḥammad Taghlaq Shāh*, 305.

Mu'jizah, a miracle performed by a prophet, 626 n.

Mujtahid, highest title among *Muallim* divines, 630 n 2.

Mujtaṣ-i-muḥammad, a kind of metre, 607 n.

Mukābir, a stubborn disputant, 614 and n 6.

Mukhālafat, opposition, 576 n 5.

Mukhlis, a servant of Malik Fakhr-
d-Dīn Siṣāḥdār (q. v.), 308.

Mukhlis Khān, brother of Sultān
Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, of Jaunpūr,
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Mukhtasar, of Sa'du-d-Dīn at-Taftā-
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Mulābidah, the, a sect of Muslim
heretics, 73 n 2. See the next.

Mulbidah, the, another name of the
Bāḡinī sect of Shī'ah Muslims, 22
n 3. See the above.

Mullā Muhammad 'Aziz, one of the
Amīrs of Humāyūn, 460 and n 1.

Mulmul, the bodkin or style for ap-
plying *kahl*, 153 n 8.

Multān, 12, 19 and n 5, 20 and n 4,
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Multān river, the, 20.

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Mūmīnpūr, fort of, otherwise called
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Manēr, town of, 82 and n 1. Also
written *Manēr*.

Man'im Khān, *Khān-i-Khānān*, one
of the great Amīrs of Humāyūn,
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Munṣif, one of the high officers of
the State, 497.

Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh of Badāonī,
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Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh of Haran ibn
Muḥammad al-Khākī ash-Shīrāzī,
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Maqaddasa, a title of the town of
Ij, 476.

Maqaddasī, the Arab Geographer,
217 n 2.

Maqaddamrāda, a slave born in the
house, 334 and n 1.

Maqaddam-rāda of Kābul, 501.

Muqām-i-Salmān, in the desert of
Arghan between Bushire and
Shīrāz, 572 n 1.

Muqarrab Khān, title of *Muqarrabu-l-*
Mulk, one of the Maliks of the
Firūz Shāhī dynasty, 346 and n 7,
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Muqarrabu-l-Mulk, Malik, 346, 348.
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Maqbil, the servant of *Khawāja-i-*
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Muqbil Khān, Malik, one of the re-
tainers of Mubārak Shāh of the
Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 886.

Muqīm Harawī, *Khawāja*, Dīwān of
the household of Bāhar, 9 n 2, 63 n.

Muqfi, holder of a *qif*, 396 n 2.

Murād, Shāh, son of *Shāh Tahmāsp*
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- urajjab, Al-,—a title of the month of Rajab, 441 n 2.
- urṣad, son of Shaddād ibn 'Ad, a king of the ancient Arabs, 263 n.
- urtazī, the chosen, a title of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, 74, 629 and n 5.
- ūsā al-Hādī, the 'Abbāsīd Khalīfah, 75 n.
- Uṣṭab, a traditionist, 18 n 1.
- Uṣṭab, name of the sixth arrow in the game of mair, 269 n 1.
- Uṣṭaf, meanings of the word, 615 n 5.
- Uṣṭarīk of Yāqūt, a Geographical work, 15 n 5.
- Uṣṭ, notes on, 172 n 2.
- Uṣṭa sākhīn, meaning of the expression, 236 n 2.
- Uṣṭīm ibn al-Walīd, a poet of the Court of Hārūn-r-Rashīd, 74 n 2.
- Muslim theologians, 614 n 2.
- Muslims, the, 83, 120, 143 n 3, 150 n 4, 176 n, 191 and n 3, 194 and nn 4 and 5, 204, 235, 256 n 4, 361, 366 n 1, 377, 385 n 3, 387, 393, 395, 428 n 4, 432, 477, 488, 509 n 5, 514, 523 and n 5, 550, 565 and n 1, 576 n 5, 577 n, 600 n 9, 602 n 7, 603 n 6, 625 n 5, 628 and n 6, 636 n 2. See also under the Muḥammadians and the Mahometans.
- Muṣṭafā, the Prophet Muḥammad, 69, 74, 475
- Muṣṭafā Farmalī, one of the Afghān Amirs of Hindūstān, 444.
- Muṣṭafābād, parganā of, 595.
- Mustakfī bi-llāhi Abū-r-Rabī' Sulaymān, third of the 'Abbāsī Khalīfahs in Egypt, 327 n 6.
- Mustansir billāh, the 'Abbāsīd Khalīfah of Baghdād, 88 n 3, 91 n 2, 311 n 4.
- Mustung, village in the neighbourhood of Quetta, 187 n 9.
- Mutaraṣṣ-i-ṣhālī, a fanatical heretic, 626 and n 4.
- Mu'tasim billāh, eighth Khalīfah of the House of 'Abbās, 571 n 2.
- Muṭawwal of Sa'du-d-Dīn at-Taftāzānī, 428 and n 3.
- Mu'tayid bi-llāhi Abū Bakr ibn al-Mustakfī bi-llāhi, sixth of the 'Abbāsī Khalīfahs in Egypt, 327 n 6.
- Muthra or Māhurā, a sacred town of the Hindūs, 24 n 6.
- Mutmara. See Shihāb-i-Mutmara, the Poet.
- Muttra, District of, 134 n 1, 366 n.
- Muttra, town of, in the Deccan, 377 n 6.
- Muwazzinī, Maulā Husām-d-Dīn, author of a commentary on the Miftāḥu-l-'Ulūm, 428 n 2.
- Mu'yad Beg, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 574
- Muzaffar, Malik, Governor of Gujrat under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 314.
- Muzaffar Khān, nephew of Shāikh 'Alī ruler of Kābūl, 389, 390, 392.
- Muzaffar Shāh of Gujrat, contemporary of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 363 n 2
- Muzaffarnagar District, 278 n 1.
- Mu'zam, Khwājā, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 566.

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Nabadwip, another name of Nadiya, old capital of Bengal, 82 n 4.

Nabih, of the tribe of Quraish, killed at the battle of Badr, 74 n 2.

Nadar Dev, Rāi, Governor of Arankul under Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 205 and n 4.

Nadīm, foster-brother of Humāyūn, 564 and nn 8 and 9.

Nādirī-i-Samarqandī, Manlānā, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 611, 612, 613, 616 and n 2.

Nadiya, once the capital of Bengal, 81 n 2, 82 n 4. Called also Nūdiyā.

Nafahātu-l-Une of Manlānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 270 and n 4, 609 n 5.

Nafā'isu-l-Ma'dair, Lives of the Poets, 616 n 4, 618 n 5.

Nāfis, name of the fourth arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1.

Nafs, the soul, 144 n 2, 145 n 1.

Nafsu-l-'Aql, the reason or discriminating faculty, 145 n 1.

Nafsu-l-Hayāt, the breath of life, 145 n 1.

Nafsu-n-Nāfiqah, the reasoning faculty, 145 n 1.

Nagar Cott, fortress of, 20 n 5. See Nagar Kot.

Nagar Kot, fortress of, 20 n 5, 331, 341, 342, 495. Also called Bhimnagar and Kot Kangra.

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Nahar Pāl, nephew of Hīmūn Baqqāl, the Hindū General of 'Adli, 553 nn 6 and 6.

Naharwan, a city or *cajrat*, called also Patan or Pattan, 28 and n 2, 71 and n 3, 89, 256 and n 4, 282.

Nāhid, name of the planet Venus in Persian, 138 and n 8.

Nāhir, a Hindū General in the service of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 36 and n 9.

Nahāzān, Mars and Saturn as the two stars of ill omen, 217 n 5.

Nahr (Tubfa) Tāju-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Khizr Khān of the Salyyid dynasty of Dīhlī, 376 and n 2.

Nāi, fortress of, 53 n, 54 nn 1 and 3.

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Nāib-i-Shāhzāda, Malik Badhū Nādir (q. v.), 378.

Nāib Malik,—or

Nāibu-l-Mulk Kāfūr, title of Malik Mānik, the slave of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 251 and n 7, 252, 253, 265 and nn 1 and 6, 267, 269, 271 n 6, 272, 273 and n 1. Called also Hazār Dīnārī.

Nails, Paring of, 139 n 5.

Narīmān, one of the heroes of the Shāhnāma, 35 n 2, 72.

Nasān or Nisān, first month of the Jewish year, 108 n 4.

Najam-i-Sānī. See Najm-i-Sānī.

Najātu-r-Raghd of Badāoni, 511 and n 2, 609 and n 3.

Najm, An-, the Pleiades, 630 n 4.

Najm Shāh, one of the Amīrs of Shāh Ismā'il Šafawī of Persia, 570.

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- Najm-i-Sāni Iṣṣahānī, one of the Amīrs of Shāh Ismā'īl Safavī of Persia, 570 n 5.
- Najm-u-d-Dīn, Ṣaīyyid, regent of Malik Sikandar of Lāhor (q. v.), 390.
- Najm-u-d-Dīn Abū Bakr, the Ṣadr-u-Mulk, Wazir of Sultān 'Alau-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh of the Shamsiyah dynasty, 124.
- Najm-u-d-Dīn Hasan, Shāikh, 270 n 6. Same as the famous poet Mir Hasan Dihlavi (q. v.)
- Najm-u-d-Dīn 'Umar bin 'Alī Qazwīnī, author of the Shamsiyyat, 427 n 1.
- Nakhshab, fortress of, in Khurāsān, 370. Otherwise called Kash.
- Nama-i-Khīrad Afrā of Badāonī, 95 and n 5.
- Na'mat Khātūn, wife of Qutb Khān Lodi (q. v.), 423 and n 2.
- Na'mat Ruzūlī,—or
- Na'matu-l-lāh Ruzūlī, Mir Saīyyid, one of the poets and learned men of the time of Ismā Shāh Sūr, 553 and n 7, 584 and n 4.
- Nāmī, son of Muḥammad, son of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznavī, 47 and n 3.
- Nandā, the Rājā of Kālinjar, contemporary of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznavī. 25, 26.
- Nandana, a city on the mountains of Bālnāth, 52 and n 5, 123 and n 5.
- Nandanpur, 129 n 3. Same as Nandana (q. v.).
- Nagīr, the small grove on the date stone, 403 n 10.
- Nagāra, a kind of drums, 143 n 2.
- Nagah, ornamental figures, 588 n 4.
- Nagahband, a variety of Kamāṭās adorned with figures, 588 n 4.
- Nagahband, Khwāja Bahāu-d-Dīn, of Bokhārā, a famous saint, 588 n 4.
- Nagahbandī, Khwāja Khwīnd, contemporary of Bābar, 445.
- Nagahbandī School, the, 588 n 4.
- Nagahbandī Shāikh, the followers of the renowned saint Khwāja Bahāu-d-Dīn Nagahband of Bokhārā, 588 n 4.
- Narnān, town of, on the banks of the river Sarautī, 69 and n 4.
- Nāran-Koe, town of, 85 n 4.
- Narbadā river, the, 517 n 9.
- Narcissus, notes on, 378 and n 3.
- Nārdīn, a perfume, 143 n 6.
- Narela, a place in the neighbourhood of Dihli, 21 n 4.
- Nargis or Narjis, the poet's narcissus, 378 n 3.
- Nārkiā, town of, 183 and n 4.
- Narma Shīrīn, the Mughal, brother of Qutluḡ Khwāja (q. v.), 305.
- Nārniā, District of, 65 and n 6.
- Narnaul, in the province of Hīwāt, 305 n 3. See the two next.
- Narnol, capital city of the district of Hīwāt, 129 n 2, 305 and n 3, 395, 465.
- Nārniā, district and town of, 305, 465. See the two above.
- Narsingh, Rājā, 361 n 2. See Rāj Harasingh.
- Narican, the tree called Gulnār, 172 and n 3.
- Narwar, fortress of, a dependency of Malwa, 129 n 4, 180 and n 1, 423 and n 3 and 5.
- Narwar, Sarkār of, 180 n 1.

Nataf, a town of Khurāsān, called also Nakhshab, 570 n 7.

Na'ṣh Lā'azar, the Chariot or the four stars composing the body of the Great Bear, 198 n 2.

Naṣīb Khān Tughūchī,—or

Naṣīb Khān Tughūjī, one of the Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 542, 593.

Naṣīb Shāh, Governor of Bangāla, contemporary of Shīr Shāh and Humāyūn, 457.

Naṣībīn, a town of Mesopotamia, 61 n 5.

Nāsiḥu-t-Tawārīkh of Lisānu-l-Mulk, 154 n 8.

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 Pufak or Tufak, a long tube for throwing balls, 159 n. 2.
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Pūranmal, son of Silhādī, one of the Chiefs of Rāi Sen, contemporary of Sher Shāh, 475, 476 and n. 3.
 Purifications enjoined by Muhammadan law, 603 n. 2.
 Pūshakāl,—or
 Pūshkāl, the rainy season in Turkī, 325 n. 2.
 Pattaly, for the township of Baitālī on the banks of the Ganges, 360 n. 3.

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Qān, title originally given to the supreme sovereign of the Moguls, 145 n. 2.
 Qān-i-Mulk, title of Sultān Muḥammad, son of Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 187, 189 and n. 1, 217.
 Qānī, the famous Persian poet, 253 n. 6.
 Qabā, a turban worn by men, 120 n. 7.
 Qabā Khān Gang, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 597.
 Qabaq, a gourd in Turkī, 621 n. 4, 622 and n. 1.
 Qabaq andārī, the game of, 621 n. 5. See the next.
 Qabaq bārī, a game of the ancient Tarkomāns, who used to hang up a wooden gourd as a mark for archery, 621 n. 4. See also the above.
 Qabūl, Malik, Governor of Badkōn under Sultān Fīroz Shāh Taghlaq, 335.
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Qabūl Qiwām-i-Mulk, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Taghlaq Shāh, 304, 315.
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 Qabūlpūra, a quarter of Badkōn, 335.
 Qadan Khān, or Qadr Khān, son of Sultān Mahmūd Khūjī of Malwa, 320 n. 1.
 Qadar Khān, King of Turkistān, 159 n.
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Qadr Khān, son of Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī of Mālwa, 309 and n 1.

Qadr Khān, Malik Pindār Khiljī, the ruler of Takhnantī, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302, 308.

Qaf, Koh-i-, a fabulous mountain round the world, 485.

Qāyah, the rhyme, a term of Prose, 141 n 3, 607 and n 3.

Qā'im, Al—, the promised Mahdī, 571 n 2.

Qairawān, the ancient Cyrene, in the province of Tunis, 167 and n 4.

Qaisr or Cæsar, 145 and n 2.

Qaimurān, probably al-Khaizurān, a cemetery at Baghdād, 59 n 1.

Qalandars, a sect of dervishes, 234, 235.

Qālīj Khān, son-in-law of Changiz Khān, 230.

Qālīj, a sword in Turkī, 230 and n 4.

Qālīj, modification of the word qālīj (q. v.), 230 and n 4.

Qamaru-d-Dīn Qūṭb-i-Tīmūr Khān, one of the Maliks of the Shamsiyah dynasty of Dillī, 125 n 4.

Qambar Dīwān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 597, 598, 599, 600.

Qamargah, a hunting ground in Turkī, 258 n 5.

Qams, the Arabic Dictionary of Firuzabādī, 176 n 1, 182 n 4.

Qanaj. Same as the town of Qannauj (q. v.).

Qannauj or Qanaj, the Hindū capital of Northern India, 23 and n 2

and 4, 24, 25 n 4, 70, 114 n 2, 125, 312, 323 n 2, 346, 347, 348, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 404 and n 5, 409, 413, 431 and n 4, 434, 443, 444, 452, 463, 472, 540, 568 n 6.

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Qannauj, river of, 483.

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Qannauj. See under Qansuj.

Qānūn, a Geographical work, 14 n 3, 17 n 4.

Qānūn fi-l-Tibb, a work on medicine by the celebrated Ibn Bīnā (Avicenna), 533 and n 1.

Qarābeg, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dillī, 285, 290.

Qarācha Beg, the Governor of Qandahār, contemporary of Humāyūn, 560 and n 2. See also under Qurācha Khān and Qarrācha Khān.

Qarācha Khān, 560 n 2. Same as the above (q. v.).

Qarāchal, another name of the mountain of Himāchal (q. v.), 207 and n 4. See also the next.

Qarājā, the mountain of, 307 n 3, 308 n 1. See the above.

Qarā Khitā (Cathay), 71 n 7, 103 n 3.

Qarāmīyah, heretical sect of the, 23 n 3.

Qarāqash, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Shamsiyah dynasty, 123.

Qarā Qurchī, one of the Amīrs of Bēbar, 441.

Qarghan, Naib of the King of Khurāsān, contemporary of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 320.

Qarn, an uncertain period of time, 442 and n 1.

Qarrācha Khān, contemporary of Humāyūn, 586. See under Qarācha Beg and Qurācha Khān.

Qārūn, the Korah of the Scriptures, 249.

Qāshān, a district and town of Persian 'Irāq, 80 n 1.

Qasīdah, a form of poem, 608 and n 3.

Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān Uzbeg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 463.

Qāsim Kāhī, Maṣṣanā, otherwise known as Miyyān Kālī Kābulī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 517, 584 and nn 1 and 3, 601.

Qāsim Sanbalī, Malīk, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty of Dihlī, 431 n 4, 443.

Qasr Bāgh, a palace in Dihlī, 123 n 3.

Qasr-i-Safed, a palace in Dihlī, 82 n 2, 182.

Qasī, called also Saqīf, founder of the Arab tribe of Saqīf, 12 n 1.

Qasārāt-i-Naisān, converted into pearls, 103 n 4.

Qasḍār, an Amīr of the Ghaznavīd dynasty, 48 and nn 3 and 4.

Qāṣī, an officer of justice under the Śadr, 610 n.

Qāṣī-i-Qharkh, the planet Jupiter, 368 and n 8.

Qāṣī of the heavens, the planet Jupiter, 368 and n 8.

Qāṣī of Nishāpūr satirised, 638.

Qāṣī 'Abid, one of the poets of the reign of Sultān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq, 341 and n 2.

Qāṣī Asir, contemporary of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-d-Dīn Balban, 217.

Qāṣī Baiṣāwī, author of the *Anwār-u-Tanzīl* and the *Nizāmu-t-Tawārīkh*, 6 and n 4, 34, 45, 52, 62, 63. See also under Baiṣāwī.

Qāṣī Ḥamīd of Balkh, a celebrated writer and poet, 76 and n 1.

Qāṣī Khān, Zīān-d-Dīn, a court officer of Sultān Muḥarak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 288, 289, 290.

Qāṣī Muḥṣīs of Hānsī, one of the poets of the reign of Sultān Jalāl-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.

Qāṣī Urdā, of Sultān Jalāl-d-Dīn Khiljī, 234.

Qazwīnī, author of the *Asār-u-l-Bilād* and the *'Ajā'ibu-l-Makhlūqāt*, 27 n 4, 28 n, 79 n 2, 178 n 4.

Qiblah, the direction in which Muslims turn in prayer, 368 n 1, 613 n.

Qidāh, arrows used for gambling, 369 n 1.

Qidam, explanation of the term, 1 n 4, 153 n 7.

Qirān, Malīk,—or

Qirān-i-Tīmūr Khān, otherwise called Tīmūr Khān Qarā Beg, one of the Shamsīyah Malīks, 125 and n 4.

Qirānu-s-Sa'dain, a celebrated poem by Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 135 n, 221 and n 2, 222 and n 1, 223 and n.

Qisṣa-l-Andiyā, Lives of the Prophets, 205 n 3.

Qisṣa-i-Salāmān wa 'Abās of Maṣṣanā Jāmī, 272 n 1.

Qir, a district, 596 n 2.

Qirāh, a term of Prosody, explanation of, 603 and n 8.

Qisr, the thin pellicle which covers the date-stone, 496 n 10.

Qisrā, exudation from species of mountain pines, 182 and n 4.

Qisām, the stay or support of anything, 614 n 1.

Qiwām Khān, one of the Maliks of Khizr Khān, the first of the Saiyyid dynasty, 364, 375, 380.

Qiwāmu-d-Dīn Khudāwandzāda, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 314.

Qiwāmu-l-Mulk, Malik Qabūl or Maqbūl, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304, 315.

Qiyāmu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Sultān Muʿizzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād Balbanī, 220, 224.

Qizil Bāsh, the,—or

Qizilbāshes, Red-caps, 48 n 2, 480, 570, 572 and n 8, 573, 574, 575, 576, 578, 592 n 9, 627 n 7.

Qoraish, tribe of. See under Quraish.

Qubbatu-l-Islām, a title of the city of Multān, 138 n 2.

Qubūl Nāib Vazīr, the Khān-i-Jahān, one of the Maliks of Sultān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 324.

Qudai, Mir Husnā of Karbalā, the poet, 623 and n 6.

Queen-consort of Humāyūn, 568. See Hamida Bānū Begam.

Quatta, 567 n 9.

Quicksilver, called Abu-l-Arwāh, 340 n 2.

Qul, centre of an army in Turkī, 430 n 4. Called also Ghāl.

Qālinj or Collo, notes on, 49 n 2.

Qulzum, the Ocean, 157.

Qurācha Khān, contemporary of Humāyūn, 581 and n 9. See also under Qurācha Beg and Qarrācha Khān.

Quraish or Qoraish, tribe of, 3 n 5, 110 n 4, 287 n 2.

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Qurʾān, seven manzils or divisions of the, 6 n 1.

Qūrchi, armed soldier in Turkī, 215 n 8.

Qurra Qumār, one of the Maliks of the Khiljī dynasty, 291, 293, 295.

Qurāna, an armed soldier, 215 and n 3.

Qurānu-s-Sumbul, a poison, 172 n 2.

Qulās, the Tibetan yak, 543 n 1.

Qutb Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 401 n 2.

Qutb Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Wālī of Bangāla, contemporary of Shīr Khān Sūr (q. v.) 470.

Qutb Khān of Itāwah, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī family, 443.

Qutb Khān Lodī, cousin of Sultān Bahlūl Lodī, 403 n 7, 404 and n 2 and 5, 405, 406, 407, 408 and n 7, 423 and n 2.

Qutb Khān Nāib, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 476, 486, 488, 489, 490.

Qutb Khān, son of Shīr Khān Sūr (q. v.), 457, 463, 472.

Qutb Minār of Dēhli, called after Qutb-d-Dīn Ushī (q. v.), 123 n 5.

Qutbiyah Amīrs, the Malīks of Sultān Qutb-d-Dīn Aibak (q. v.), 99.

Qutb-d-Dīn Aibak or Ibak, Sultān, slave and adopted son of Sultān Mu'izz-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 70, 72, 77 and n 3, 78 and n 3, 79 and n 3, 80, 81 and n 2, 82 and n 2, 86, 87, 88 n 1, 89, 90.

Qutb-d-Dīn Bakhtiyār Ushī, Khwāja-i-Khwājagān, a famous saint, known as Ka'kī, 92 and n 2, 123 and n 5.

Qutb-d-Dīn Hasan, Malīk, one of the Amīrs of the Shamsiyah dynasty, 124.

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Qutb-d-Dīn Ibak. See under Qutb-d-Dīn Aibak.

Qutb-d-Dīn Lak-baklīsh, or bettower of lake, a name of Sultān Qutb-d-Dīn Aibak, 77 and n 4

Qutb-d-Dīn Mahmūd bin Muhammad Rāzī, author of the *Shah-i-Shamsiyah*, 427 n 1.

Qutb-d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, Sultān, son of Sultān 'Alā-d-Dīn Khiljī, of the Khiljī dynasty of Dīhli, 273, 274 and n 1, 275, 282, 283, 284, 288, 290, 291, 296 and n 3, 297.

Qutb-d-Dīn Shāh, the son and successor of Muhammad Shāh I, son of Ahmad Shāh, Sultān of Gujarāt, 357 n 3.

Qutb-d-Dīn, Saiyyid, Shaikh-i-Islām of Dīhli under the Shamsiyah Sultāns, 123 and n 5, 132.

Qutb-d-Dīn, eldest son of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-tīmish, 98.

Qutb-d-Dīn Ushī, Khwāja, the famous saint, 92 and n 2, 123 and n 5.

Qutb-i-'Alam Shaikh Ruknu-l-Haqq Quraishi, Shaikh-i-Islām under Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304 and n 4.

Qutb-i-Mashāyikh-i-'Izām, Shaikh Sharafu-d-Dīn Munirī, a famous saint, 416 and n 13.

Qutlugh Khān, one of the Amīrs of the dynasty of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-tīmish, 131, 132 and n 4.

Qutlugh Khān, one of the Malīks of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309, 311, 312, 313.

Qutlugh Khān, Malīk Faḡlu-llah Balkhī, one of the Amīrs of the Firūz Shāhī dynasty, 351 and n 2.

Qutlugh Khān the Vazīr, Qāzī Samā'u-d-Dīn, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Husain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 466, 467.

Qutluq Khwāja, the Mughul King of Khurāsān, 305. See also under Qutluq Khwāja.

Qutluq Khān, brother's son of Sultān 'Alān-d-Dīn Khiljī, 259.

Qutluq Khwāja, the son of Dān, the Mughul King of Khurāsān and Māwarān-n-Nahr, contemporary of Sultān 'Alān-d-Dīn Khiljī, 250 and n 1, 258, 305.

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Radah, for Roh, a name of Afghanistan, 466 n 5, 493 n 6.

Radhanpūr, a city of Gujerāt, 28 n 2, 71 n 3.

Radif, in Persian prosody the name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme, 141 n 3.

Radif, in Prosody a letter of prolongation before the *rawi*, 607 and n 4.

Rafī'u-d-Dīn Safawī of Ij, Mīr Saiyyid, *Harat-i-Muqaddas*, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 445, 476 and n 5, 479, 519, 514.

Rafī, or heretic, a term applied to any of the Shī'ah sects, 156 n 1, 604 and n 5, 626 n 6.

Rafī, heresy, 626 and n 6.

Rahāde, a canal or aqueduct, 459 n 5.

Rahā'e, for Rahāde, a canal, 459 n 5.

Rahab river, the, 181 and n 2, 331, 251, 377, 379, 409.

Rahīm Dīd, Khwāja, one of the Amīras of the Lodī dynasty, 445 and n 5.

Rahmān, *Sūratu-r---*, a chapter of the Qur'ān, 218 n 2.

Rahmatu-llāhi, a term applied to a weaver, 527, 628 n 1.

Rahmatu-llāhi Iqbāl Khān, one of the Amīras of Islam Shāh of the Afghan Bār dynasty, 527.

Rāh, a kind of flower, 142 n 3.

Rān, a Hindū mythological monster in Astronomy the ascending node, 163 n 2.

Rai, the ancient Rhages, a district and town of Persian 'Irāq, 80 and n 1, 35 n 1.

Rāi-i-Rāiyān, title of Randhol, the uncle of Kusrū Khān Barāwar-bacha, 290.

Rāi of Bārānāsī, contemporary of Sultān Fīroz Shāh, 320.

Rāi of Dholpūr, the contemporary of the Lodīs, 410, 419.

Rāi of Gwāliar, the contemporary of the Saiyyids, 381, 384.

Rāis of Jājnagar, the, 320 n 1.

Rāi of Satgarh, the contemporary of Sultān Fīroz Shāh, 329 and n 1.

Rāi of Serinagar, for Rāi Sīr (), 360 n 3.

Rāi of Telinga, the contemporary Sultān Qutb-d-Dīn Khiljī, 286.

Rāi Bhīm, the chief of Jammoo, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 383 and n 3.

Rāi Fīroz of Tilanndī, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 382 and n 1 and 2, 390.

Rāi Jai Chand, Governor of Qanauj, contemporary of Sultān Shihāb-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 70.

Rāi Jaljūn Bhatī, Governor of the fort of Bhat at the time of Tīmūr's invasion, 355 and n 1.

Rāi Karan of Gujerāt, contemporary of Sultān 'Alān-d-Dīn Khiljī, 255, 256.

Rāi Lakhmaniya, Lakhmia or Lakminia, the ruler of Nadiyā, contemporary of Sultān Qutb-d-Dīn Aibak, 82 and n 5, 83 n 1.

Rāi Pathūrā, Governor of Ajrūr, contemporary of Sultān Mu'izz-^{Sin} Ghūrī, 69, 70. See also Rāi P^{iora}.

Rāi Portāb, one of the Amī of the Saiyyid dynasty, 401 n 5.

Rāi Pithora, 257 and n 3. See under Rāi Pathūrā.

Rāi Sanir, 360 n 3. Rāi Sīr.

Rāi Sar, the Governor of Chandāwar, contemporary of Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 377.

Rāi Sen, contemporary of Shīr, Shāh, 475.

Rāi Sīr, the Governor of Baitālī, contemporary of the Firūz Shāhī dynasty, 360 n 3.

Rāi U, contemporary of Sultān Shāh, 332 n 6.

Rāi Uramājīt of Ujain, 95.

Rāi en, for Rāsain or the two towns of Rās, 327 n 1.

Rājā of Bheerbhoom, 329 n 9.

Rājā of Dangaya (Bundellhand), the contemporary of Muhammad Shāh of the Mughul dynasty, 25 n 5.

Rājā of Gwālīār, the contemporary of the Lodīs, 419, 432.

Rājā of Jaisalmir, the contemporary of Humāyūn, 5.

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Rājā of Kp on (? Garha-Katanka), the contemporary of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, 433 n 3.

Rājā Mandrāyal, the contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 420.

Rājā of Nagarkot, the contemporary of Sultān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 331.

Rājā of Qanauj, the contemporary of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, 26.

Rājā of Rohtās, the contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 457.

Rājā of Thatta, the contemporary of Sultān Bahlūl Lodi, 408.

Rājā Dāhir, contemporary of Maham-mad Qāsim, the conqueror of Sīnd, 12 n 2, 13 n.

Rājā Kansa, of Mathra, the enemy of Krishna, 24 n 6.

Rājā-Taranginī, an historical work in Sanskrit, 8 n 3, 18 n 1.

Rajab, Malik, the Governor of Depāl-pūr under the Saiyyid dynasty, 383 n 11.

Rajab Nādīra, Malik, the Governor of Multān under the Saiyyid dynasty, 387.

Rāj Gar, a town on the banks of the Ganges, 401.

Rajīwa, a canal leading from the Jumna to Hissār, 325 n 3, 326 n

Rājputāna, 69 n 2, 298 n 7, 379 n 1, 419 n 3.

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Rājū, Malik, one of the Amīra of the Firūz Shāhī dynasty, 349.

Rājūrī, town of, 500.

Rakot Chandan, the red Sandal, 434.

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Rām, a *Rājā* of Hindūstān, contemporary of Sultān Mas'ūd ibn Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 37.

Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhatta, contemporary of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dillī, 553, 554.

Rām Chandra, the *Rājā* of Deogarh, 271 n 6. Same as *Rām Deo* (q. v.).

Rām Deo, *Rāi* of Deogir, contemporary of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn *Khiljī*, 237, 247 n, 251 n 7, 256, 271 n 6, 283. See the above.

Ramāl-i-muṣamman, a kind of prosodial metro, 607 n.

Rāmāyana, the, 8 n 2.

Ramghar, a fortress in the province of Agra, 70 n 4.

Rana, village of, 364 n 7.

Rānā, the Governor of Amarkot, contemporary of Humāyūn, 566.

Rānā Sānkā, one of the Amīrs of the Lodi dynasty, 444, 445, 446, 452, 470.

Randhol, *Rāi-i-Rāiyān*, the uncle of *Khnerū Khān Barāwar*, the favourite of Sultān Qutb-u-d-Dīn *Khiljī*, 289, 290.

Rang, a cluster of globular bells, 621 n 2.

Ranking's Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody, 607 n.

Ranthambhor,—or

Ranthambhur, fortress of, in the province of Ajmīr, 92 and n 4, 120 and n 4, 129, 236, 257 and nn 1, 3 and 7, 258, 260, 261, 262, 410, 425, 475, 470, 486, 526, 597.

Ranthambhūr, fortress of, 92 and n 4.

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Rānūn the Black, a slave of *Sidh Pāt* (q. v.), 395.

Rāo Khiljī, Governor of the fort of Bhat at the time of *Timūr's* invasion, 355 and n 4.

Rāo Zorāwar Singh, also known as *Rāpar Sen*, founder of the town of *Rāparī*, 377 n 5.

Rāpar Sen, 377 n 5. See the above.

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Raqīb, name of the third arrow in the game of *maikīr*, 369 n 1.

Raqqāt-i-falak, or the dancer of the sky, a name of the planet Venus, 138 n 3.

Rās, town of, 326 n, 327 and n 1.

Rāsain, the two towns of *Rās*, 326 n 327 n 1.

Rashīd Vatīr, *Khawāja*, minister of the King of *Khurāsān*, 605.

Rashidkot, fortress of, in the northern hill-range of the Panjāb, 498.

Rashīd-u-d-Dīn, author of the *Jāmi'-u-t-Tawārīkh*, 307 n 4, 353 n 1.

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- Rāwar, Fort of, in Sind, 12 n 2.
- Rawī, the essential letter in the *qāṣyah* or rhyme, 607 nn 3 and 4.
- Rāyāt-i-A'lā, title of Saiyyid Khizr Khān, the first of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 376 and n 1.
- Rāzī, relative adjective from the town of Rai, 30 n 1.
- Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariya, known as Rhazes, the famous physician, 30 n 1.
- Rūzī, Imām, 73. See under Fakhrud-Dīn Rāzī.
- Razīyah Khātūn, Sultān, oldest daughter of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-tīmish, 98, 119, 120 and n 8, 121 and nn 1 and 5, 122 and nn 1 and 2, 294 and n 5.
- Red-caps, the, a name of the Turkomanas of Garra Sīr, 48 and n 2. See also under the Qizil Bāsh.
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- Rowārī, a town in the province of Mīwāt, 366 n, 537.
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- Rhagro, ancient name of the town of Rai (*q. v.*), 30 n 1.
- Rhages, capital of the province of Rhagianna, 30 n 1.
- Rhagianna, the province of Rai in Persian Irāq, 30 n 1.
- Rhazes, the famous physician, 30 n 1. See under Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariya.
- Rhetorique et Prosodie des langues de l'Orient Musulmān*, Garcin de Tassy, 428 n 2, 605 nn 8 and 9, 606 n 2, 607 n 4, 608 n 3.
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- Ribabah, the bag in which the arrows were put in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1.

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 Rishwāti, poetical name of Mīr
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Rūh or Roh, a name of Afghānistān, 486 and n 5, 493 and n 6, 520.
 Rūhānī, a learned man of the time of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyāl-tīmish, 98 and n 2.
 Rūin, a village of the dependencies of Lahore, 54 and n 2.
 Rujā'-i-kaukab, an astronomical term, 874 n 7. See under Rij'at.
 Rukh, the cheek and also the castle at chess, 505 n 2.
 Rukn Khān Afghān, one of the Amīrs of the Sūr dynasty, 598.
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 Ruknu-d-Dīn Quraishī, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Saḍu-d-Dīn 'Arif and grandson of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā, contemporary of the Sulṭāns 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Qutbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 248 and n 2, 284, 304 and n 4.
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 Rūmī Khān, the Artillerist of Humāyūn, 456 and n 7.
 Rūn, a place near Lahore, 54 n 2.
 Rūpa, a village in Nisāpūr of Khorāsān, 54 n 1.
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 Rustam, one of the Generals of the Great Tīmūr, 358 n 6.
 Rusūldār, Saiyyid, one of the court officers of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 328.
 Rusūlī, poetical name of Mīr Saiyyid Na'matu-llāh, one of the poets of the reign of Isām Shāh, 533 and n 7, 534 and n 4.
 Rusūlpūr, the fortress of Shamsābād, 472.
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 Ruttanpoor, for the town of Ilāhpūr, 410 n 8.
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Ẓabb, reviling on religious grounds, when justifiable, 577 n.

Zabulghar, a fortress in the province of Agra, 70 n 4.

Zābit-bīn-Jābir al-Fahmī, commonly known as Ta'abbata Sharraṇ, a famous Arab athlete and warrior, 527 n 3.

Zab'n-l-Mathānī, the first chapter of the Qur'ān and also the seven manāzil or divisions of this book, 6 n 1.

Zachau's Alifant, 17 n 4, 23 n 5, 23 n 2, 78 n, 79 n 2, 95 n 5, 104 n 2, 109 n 4, 131 n 2.

Sacred Books of the East, 110 n 14.

Sacy, De, *Anthologie Grammaticale Arabe*, 8 n 4.

Sa'd, an auspicious planet, 630 and n 2 and 3.

Sa'd Falsafi, the poet,—one of the contemporaries of Mīr Khusrū, 298.

Sa'd ibn Salmān, Khwāṣṣā, father of the famous poet Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān Jarjānī, 53 n 5, 55.

Sa'd-i-Akbar, name given to Jupiter by astrologers, 79 n 2.

Sa'd-i-Mantiqi, one of the poets of the reign of Sultān Jalāl-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245, 248.

Sa'dān, name of Jupiter and Venus as the two auspicious planets, 630 n 2.

Sadar Mahādeo, Rāi of Arankal, one of the contemporaries of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297.

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Sadr, a term of Prosody, explanation of, 606 n 4.

Sadr, highest officer of justice, 609 n 6.

Sadr-i-Jahān, Chief Judge, 523 n 5.

Sadr Jahān Gujrātī, the Historian, 500 n 3.

Sadr-i-kull, Chief Judge, 523 n 5.

Sadr-i-mustaqill, Judge-plenipotentiary, 609 and n 6.

Sadr-d-Dīn 'Arif, **Shāikh**, son of **Shāikh Bahān-d-Dīn Zakariyā**, 133 n 2, 248 n 2.

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- Şadr-u-ş-Şudâi*, Chief Judge, 506, 523 and n 5.
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- Şadûq, *Shaiikh*, author of the *Jâmi'u-l-Akhbâr*, 139 n 5.
- Şafâ, a hill in the vicinity of Makkah, 279 n.
- Şafdar *Khân*, one of the Amîrs of the Firûz *Shâhî* dynasty, 344.
- Şafdar *Khân*, one of the Amîrs of Sulţân Sikandar Lodî, 419 and n 1.
- Safedar or Safidar, the white Poplar or Abele, 494 and n 6.
- Saffron, notes on, 41 n 2.
- Safidar, the white Poplar. See under Safedar.
- Safih, one of the blank arrows in the game of Maisir, 369 n 1.
- Sag-i-salak, the dog of the sky, 498, and n 5.
- Sâgur, town of, 304 n 1.
- Şahâ'if fi-l-Kalâm, a treatise on Metaphysics, 427 n 1.
- Sahâr, Sarkâr of, 410 n 4.
- Sahâranpûr, hills of, 334 n 7.
- Sâhibu-z-Zanj, 'Alî ibn Muḥammad, of the family of 'Alî, raises a revolt at Basra, 358 n 3.
- Şahîḥu-l-Bukhârî, the famous collection of 'authentic traditions by Imâm Bukhârî, 6 n 3.
- Sahsarâm, a dependency of Rohtâs, 466, 468, 471, 484, 533.
- Şahër, or morning meal on a fast day, 177 n 4.
- Sai, the,—one of the principal streams of Oudh, 222 n 3.
- Sa'id *Khân*, one of the Amîrs of Sulţân Sikandar Lodî, 419.
- Sa'id *Khân*, brother of A'zam Humâyûn of Lâhor, one of the Amîrs of *Shîr Shâh*, 491, 493, 498.
- Sa'id *Khân* Lodî, one of the Amîrs of the Lodî dynasty, 434.
- Sa'id Şarşarî, Hâjî, envoy of the Egyptian *Khalîfah* to Sulţân Muḥammad Tughlaq *Shâh*, 310 and n 1.
- Saides or Saiyyids, title of the descendants of 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib, 80 n 5.
- Saifi, author of a treatise on Prosody, 183 n 1.
- Saifu-d-Din Kûjî, feudatory of Hânsî, one of the Maliks of the *Shamsiyyah* dynasty, 98 and n 2, 120 n 2.
- Saifu-d-Dîn, Malik, son of Malik Nizâm-u-d-Dîn the ruler of Oudh, one of the Amîrs of Sulţân Fîroz *Shâh* Tughlaq, 334.
- Saifu-d-Dîn Sûrî, brother of 'Alân-d-Dîn Ḥasau the king of *Ghor*, 60.
- Sairu-l-'Ibâd ila-l-Ma'âd, one of the works of Ḥakim Sanâi, 56 n 2.
- Saiyyid, application of the term, 80 n 5, 303 n 4.
- Saiyyid Bukhârî, a Muḥammadan saint, 80 n 1.
- Saiyyid *Khân*, *Khân-i-A'zam*, son of Saiyyid Sâlim of Tabarhindah, 388, 396.
- Saiyyid Manşûr, one of the Generals of Amîr Muḥammad, son of Sulţân Maḥmûd Ghaznawî, 46.
- Saiyyid Rusûldâr, one of the Court officers of Sulţân Fîroz *Shâh* Tughlaq, 328.
- Saiyyid Sâlim of Tabarhindah, one of the Amîrs of *Khîzr Khân* of the

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 Saiyyid Zada-i-'Alawi, Shāh-Nabaa, grandson by his mother's side of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Iyāl-timish, 260 and n 7, 261.
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 Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭin Salāṭin Ibrāhīm ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznavi, 51, 52. See under Ibrāhīm.
 Saiyyids, the descendants of 'Alī, 80 n 5.
 Sajdah or Sijdah, a prostration in prayer, 612 n 8.
 Sallā, a dish made of wheat flour, meat and vinegar, 228 n 5.
 Saketh, a township in the Sarkār of Qanauj, 410 n 4.
 Sakīb, for the township of Sakī, 410 n 4.
 Sakina, town of, 377 and n 4.
 Sakit, a town in the Etah District of the N.-W. Provinces, 377 n 4, 407 n 1, 410 and n 4.
 Sakit Singh, the Rājā of Ilāwa, contemporary of Sultan Bahlūl Lodī, 410 n 4.
 Sakina, town of, 377 n 4. See the town of Sakī.
 Sakkar, fortress of, 422.
 Sakpat, for the town of Sakī (q. v.), 410 n 4.
 Sakṭī, a female deity, 20 n 5.
 Sāl wood, 599 and n 13.
 Sāl Mastān, for Shāl-o-Mastāng, two villages near Quetta, 567 n 9.
 Sāl Wahsanān, for Shāl-o-Mastāng, two villages near Quetta, 567 n 9.
 Salāmūn and Absāl, Story of, one of the poetical works of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 278 n 1.
 Salāṭin-i-Aḡiqā, true kings, i.e., the prophets, 143 n 1.
 Salāṭin-i-murjāsī, so-called kings, i.e., the Kings of the earth, 143 and n 1.
 Salbāhan, the Rājā of Patna, one of the contemporaries of Sultan Sikandar Lodī, 416.
 Saldī, a Mughal commander, attacked Hindūstān in the reign of Sultan 'Alāu-d-Din Khiljī, 249 and n 5.
 Sale's Koran, Preliminary Discourse, 21 n 1, 157 n 2, 498 n 5.
 Salim Chishtī of Fatehpūr, Shaikh, the famous saint, 488, 503, 535, 590.
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 Salim of Tabarhindah, Saiyyid, one of the Amīr of Khizr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dillī, 388 and n 1 and 2.
 Salma, same as the Sarasatī, a tributary of the Sutlej, 320 and n 4 and 7.
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 Salm, one of the sons of Faridūn, of the ancient kings of Persia, 495 and n 2.

- Salmān al-Fārsī**, called in Persian **Rūzbih**, one of the Companions, 572 and n 1.
- Salmūn Bāwajī**, a famous poet, panegyrist of Amīr **Shaiḥ** Ḥasan and his son Sulṭān Awaiz Jalāyār, 571 n 9, 605, 633 and n 1.
- Salt Range**, the, 19 n 4, 126 n 3.
- Sālū**, **Shāh** Muḥammad **Khān**, one of the Amīrs of **Hamāyūn**, 618 and n 7, 619.
- Sām**, one of the heroes of the **Shāh-nāma**, 72, 178 n 2.
- Sām Mīrā**, brother of **Shāh** Tahmāsp of Persia, 453 and n 8, 455.
- Samak**, the fish which bears the Earth, 152 and n 2.
- Sāmān**, ancestor of the **Sāmānī** Kings of **Khurāsān**, 72.
- Sāmān**, town of, 182, 186, 221, 248, 305, 310, 328, 330, 334, 338, 342, 343, 352, 355, 360, 362, 364, 365 and n 6, 378, 382, 390, 391, 392, 396, 398, 399, 438, 595.
- Sāmānīs**, the, a dynasty of Kings in **Khurāsān** and **Māwarāu-n-Nahr**, 13 n 1, 14 n 1, 16 n 3.
- Samar**, the Mughūl, one of the generals of Chingiz **Khān**, 188 nn 1 and 2.
- Samarqand**, town of, 6 n 3, 27 n 1, 59 n 1, 159 n 1, 310, 359, 443, 570 n 7.
- Samarqandī**, author of the **Sharḥ-i-Sakāʾif** on Metaphysics, #27 n 1.
- Samarrā**, also called **Surra-man-raʿ**, a town in 'Irāq on the Eastern bank of the Tigris, 59 n 1, 571 n 2.
- Samāʾu-d-Dīn**, a protégé of Muḥammad **Shāh**, son of Sulṭān Fīroz **Shah**, 338.
- Samāʾu-d-Dīn Kanbawī**,—or **Samāʾu-d-Dīn Kanbū** of Dihlī, **Shaiḥ**, one of the greatest of the 'Ulama **Shaiḥs**, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lōdī, 411 and n 9, 430.
- Samāʾu-d-Dīn Qutluḡ Khān** the Vazīr, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ḥusain **Sharqī** of Jannpūr, 403.
- Sambal**. See under **Sambhal**.
- Sambalaka**, the town of **Sambhal** as called by Ptolemy, 364 n 4.
- Sambast**, town of, 358 n 8.
- Sambhal**, district and town of, called also **Sambal**, **Sanbal** and **Sanbhal**, 385 and n 8, 351, 364, 375, 395, 396, 406, 415, 418, 419, 426, 431 n 4, 435 and n 6, 443, 444, 451, 495, 525, 545, 547, 548, 590 n 5, 597, 598, 604.
- Samīr**, Rāi, Governor of Itāwa, contemporary of **Khizr Khān** of the dynasty of the Sayyids, 389 n 6.
- Sāmīrah**, otherwise known as **Surra-man-raʿā** or **Sāmarrā**, in 'Irāq, 571 and n 2.
- Samnāh**, town of, 571 n 9.
- Sāmothale**, a place twelve krohs from Lahore, 349.
- Samunder**, name of the **Bang** **Matī** when it enters Hindustān, 84 n.
- Samvat** era of **Vikramāditya**, 95 and n 5.
- Sanʿā'**, capital of Yaman in Arabia, 262 n.
- Sanāi**, Hakīm,—the celebrated poet of **Ghaznī**, 35 n 1, 56, 57.
- Sanām** or **Sannām**, town of, 138 n 1, 236, 310, 330 n 7, 438.
- Sanbal**, town of, 375. See **Sambhal**.
- Sanbal**, Sarkār of, 495.

- Sanbal, a tribe of the Afghāns, 500.
- Sambhal. See under the town of Sambhal.
- Sanbūz hills, the Kumāon hills, 186 n 1.
- Sanchī inscription, the, 18 n 1.
- Sandal wood, notes on, 484 and n 1, 627 and n 2.
- Sandila, district of, 349.
- Sang Surākh, on the route between Ghaznā and the Panjāb, 78 and n 3.
- Sanir, Rāi, of Baitālī, contemporary of the Firūz Shāhī dynasty, 360 n 3.
- Sānlā, Rānā, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 444 445. 446, 452, 470.
- Sankāpūr, for the town of Shikārpūr, 437 and n 2.
- Sānkot, for the fortress of Siilkot, 49 and n 1.
- Sannām or Sanām, town of, 188 n 1, 236, 310, 330 n 7, 438.
- Ṣaqif, called also Qasī, founder of the Arab tribe of Ṣaqif, 12 n 1.
- Ṣaqif, a tribe of the Arabs, 12 n 1, 28 n 1.
- Saqirlāl or Siqlāl, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 543 and n 3.
- Sar, Rāi, Governor of Chandāwar, contemporary of Khizr Khān of the dynasty of the Sayyids, 377.
- Saracens, the, 635 n 6.
- Sarakhs, a city of Khurāsān, also called Sarkhas, 43 and nn 1, 2 and 3, 71.
- Sāran, town of, 406 and n 4, 417.
- Sārang Khān, the ruler of Dīpālpūr, one of the Maliks of the Firūz Shāhī dynasty, 319, 352, 353, 355, 358, 362, 380 and n 4.
- Sārang Khān, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Bābar, 444.
- Sārangpūr, town of, 454.
- Sarastu, township of, in the neighbourhood of Sambhal, 525.
- Saraswatī, the, 380 n 7. See under the Sarasatī river.
- Sardar, town of, 326 n 2.
- Sardārs in front of the throne, 497.
- Sāregh Kotwāl, an officer of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghaznā, 22.
- Sargdawārī, a ford on the Ganges, 377. See also under Sarkdawārī.
- Sārī,—or
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Sibi, town of, 425 n 2.

Sicilians, the, 76 n.

Sidāran or Sidhāran, son of Kāngū Khatri, a protégé of the Mubārak Shāhi family, 393 n 3, 395, 396, 397.

Siddiq Aq., title of Abū Bakr, the first Khalīfah, 59 and n 2.

Sidh Pāl, grandson of Kajwī Khatri, a protégé of the Mubārak Shāhi family, 394, 395, 397.

Sidhan, Rēi of Satgarh, contemporary of Sultān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 329 n 5.

Sidhāran Khatri, 395. See under Sidāran.

Sidī Maulā, Saiyyid, contemporary of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 233 and n 4, 234, 235, 248, 507 and n 2, 625.

Sidra, the,—or

Sidratu-l-Muntahā, the lotus tree of Paradise, in the seventh heaven, 58 n 3, 150 and n 2.

Siffin, a celebrated battle between 'Alī and Ma'āwiyah, 167 n 2.

Sihān, arrows used in the game of maisir, 369 and n 1.

Sihhind, town of, 330, 331 and n 3, 378, 380, 382, 383 n 11, 406, 437, 438, 466, 498, 548. See also under Sirhind.

Sihru-l-Halāl, lawful magic, 151 n 6.

Sihūn (Jaxartes), the, 159 n.

Sihwān, in the Karāchi district of Sind, 560 n 8.

Sijdah, a prostration in prayer, 612 n 3.

Sijistān, province of, 16 n, 34 n 4, 70 n 2.

Sijz, a village in the province of Sijistān, 70 n 2.

Sikandar, a general of Mīrzā Kām-rān's army, 463.

Sikandar, called Zu-l-Qarnain Alexander the Great, 254, 255, 268 331, 425, 436, 441, 465.

Sikandar, Rampart of, 191 and n 2.

Sikandar-i-Sānī, title of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 254 and n 6.

Sikandar Khān Ozbak, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 592 and n 594, 595.

Sikandar Khān, son of Shāh Moha

- mad Farmalī, one of the amirs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 538, 539.
- Sikandar Khān, Malik Ya'qūb, one of the Amīrs of Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 337, 338.
- Sikandar Lodī, Sultān, son of Sultān Bahlul Lodī, 411, 412, n 2, 413 and n 13, 416, 417, 418, 423 n 11, 424 and n 4, 425, 426, 427, 429, 431 and n 1, 432, 435, 444, 445, 466, 470, 476.
- Sikandar Malik-sh-Sharq, governor of Lāhor, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 359, 390.
- Sikandar, son of Shamsu-d-Dīn, Sultān of Lakhanūtī, contemporary of Sultān Fīroz Shāh, 328 and n 6, 329.
- Sikandar Sūr, one of the cousins of Shīr Shāh, assumes the title of Sultān, 542, 543, 544, 546, 547, 550, 559, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597.
- Sikandar, son of Tājū-l-Mulk Naḥṣ, one of the Maliks of Khizr Khān, the first of the Saiyyids, 380.
- Sikandar Tuhfa, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 383. See the above
- Sikandarnāma, one of the poetical works of Mir Khusrū of Dihlī, 209 n 5.
- Sikandarnāma, one of the poetical works of the celebrated poet Nizāmī, 174 n 3, 293 n 4, 467.
- Sikkah, currency stamped with name of sovereign, 3 n 3, 15 and n 3.
- Sikkākī, Sirājū-d-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, author of the *Miftāḥ*-l-'Ulūm, 428 n 2.
- Sikrī, another name of the town of Fathpūr, 386 445 and n 2, 487, 488.
- Sil Hako bridge, over the Brahmaputra, 84 n 1.
- Silsilat-u-z-Zahab, one of the works of Maulanā Jāmī, 272 n 1.
- Simāk, the fourteenth of the houses of the moon, 152 and n 2.
- Simāku-l-A'zal, Spice Virginia, 152 n 2.
- Simāku-r-Rāmiq, Arcturus, 152 n 2.
- Simurgh, a fabulous bird, 178 nn 2 and 4.
- Sind, 11 n 8, 12, 13 n, 20, 29, 86 and n 10, 80, 88 n 1, 91, 124, 187, 297, 465, 559, 560 n 8, 618 n 6. Called also Sindh.
- Sind, the,—the river Indus, 128 n 3, 422 n 3.
- Sindh, see under Sind.
- Sindhīs, the, 130.
- Sindhu, name of the Indus in Sanskrit, 23 n 3.
- Sindus,—the river Indus, 23 n 3.
- Sinjār, town of, in Mesopotamia, 55 n 3, 167 n 3.
- Sinjar, Alp Khān, wife's brother of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247.
- Sinjar ibn Malik Shāh Saljūqī, the last of the Saljūq dynasty in Khurāsān, 55 and nn 3 and 4, 56, 61 and n 5, 66, 167 and n 8, 170, 291, 602.
- Sinjūrī, Abū 'Alī,—contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, 20.
- Sintūr hills, the Kamaon hills, 185, 186 n 1, 334 and n 7.
- Sipāhān, same as Ispahān or Isfahān, 34 and n 1, 35.

Siyandā, run, burned to avert the evil eye, 192 n 3, 617 and n 1.

Sijar, Rāi, Governor of Hāwa, contemporary of Khizr Khān of the dynasty of the Baiyyids, 380 and n 5, 381.

Sijrak, a herb, 629 and n 2.

Sijra river, the,—in Mālnā, 95 n 4.

Siprāl, a herb, 629 n 2.

Siglāl, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 548 n 5.

Sir, Rāi, ruler of Baitā'i contemporary of the Firūz Shāhī dynasty, 360 and n 3.

Sirāj 'Alī, the Historian See under Shams-i-Sirāj 'Alī.

Sirāj-u-d-Dīn Abī Ya'qūb Yūsuf bin Abī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī as-Sakkākī, author of the Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm, 428 n 2.

Sirāt, bridge across the fire of Hell, 113 n 1. See also the next.

Sirāj-i-Mirsaqīm, the hair-like bridge over Hell, 572 and n 2. See also the above.

Sirhind, town of, 331 n 3, 401, 529, 692 and n 6, 694. See also under Sihhind.

Sirhindī, Yabyē ibn Abīmad ibn 'Abdu-llah, author of the Tārīkh al-Mubārak Shāhī, 19 n 3, 67 n 2.

Siri, one of the three cities of Dillī, 247, 269 n 1, 295 n 10, 311 n 5, 351, 351 n 1, 356 and n 1, 396.

Sirinor, mountains of, in the Himalayas, 307 n 4.

Sir Mur,—or

Sirmūr, Lily country of, 120 and nn 1 and 2, 131, 251, 324, 337, 338, 341.

Sirmūr, town of, 325 n 2.

Sirmūr Bardār, hills of, 120 n 1.

Sisoo tree, the, Dalbergia sissoo, 129 n 2.

Sistān, province of, 569. See also under Seistān, Sīwistān and Sijistān.

Siwālik hill-range, to the north of Hindūstān, 70, 93, 132 n 4, 359 and n 6, 438, 595.

Sirī Siyūpūr, province of, 425 and n 2.

Sirī o Siyūpūr, province of, 425 n 2.

Sīwistān, province of, 91, 249 n 7, 323. See under Sistān.

Siyāhwān, fortress in the Karāchī district of Sindh, 160 and n 8.

Sivara L'Ayfin of Shāikh Jamālī Kanbawī of Dillī, 430.

Siyūpūr, province of, 425 n 2.

Skert's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, 159 n 2, 244 n 6, 298 n 5, 543 n 3.

Slane, De, Ibn Khallikān or Prolegomenes d'Ibn Khaldān, 6 n 3, 12 n 1, 30 n 1, 35 n 1, 38 n 3, 42 nn 1 and 3, 44 n 5, 51 n 2, 53 n 3, 59 n 1, 74 n 2, 149 n, 151 nn 4 and 6, 152 n 2, 157 n 1, 167 n 3, 181 n 2, 193 n 2, 244 n 6, 287 nn 1 and 2, 352 n 1, 451 n 6.

Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 19 n, 29 n 5, 76 n, 367 n 2.

Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, 46 n 5, 332 n.

Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, 23 n 1, 30 n 1, 35 n 2, 394 n 5.

Soane, the,—or the Son, a tributary of the Ganges, 83 n 1.

Sobha Nath, or Lord of Beauty, name of the idol of Somnāt, 28.

Soghdi, the, name of an ancient people of Central Asia, 23 n 1.

Sohrāb, son of Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Irān, 499.

Solimān (Solomon), 148 n 1.

Solomon, King of Israel, 108, 112, 136, 148 and n 1, 205 and n 8, 206 n. 485, 505 n 6.

Solomon, ring of, possessed of magical properties, 205 n 3, 505 n 6, 559 and n 2.

Soma, name of the moon in Sanskrit, 79 n 2.

Somagraha, lucky things, 79 n 2.

Somauāth,—or

Somanātha, south-west of the Peninsula of Gujarāt on the sea-shore, 17 n 4, 27 n 4. See also the next.

Somnāt,—or

Somnāth, in Gujarāt on the coast, 17 and n 4, 27 and n 4, 28 and n 4, 266. See Somanāth.

Son, the,—or the Soane, a tributary of the Ganges, 82 n 1.

Sonhār, town of, 407 and n 6.

Sonipat Bangar, district of Hindūstān, 122 n 1. [and n 6.

Sonnergong, same as Sunārgānw, 186

Sonpat,—or

Sonpath, a city with a fortress north of Dihlī, 21 n 4, 37 and n 3.

Southeimer's Ibn Baifār, 146 n 6, 172 n 2, 173 n and nn 2 and 3, 182 nn 1 and 4, 484 n 1, 550 n 1.

Sorath, country of, 264 and n 6, 454 n 7, 455.

Soreth, peninsula of, 454 n 7. Same

Sortes Virgilianæ, 412 n 1.

Sortilege, different methods of, 412 n 1.

Sot river, the, in Rohilkund, 464 n 4.

Southern India, 265 n 2.

Spider, story of a, 149 n.

Sprenger's *Life of Muḥammad*, 46 n 6.

Śrāvana, a Hindū month, 27 n 4.

Stag, notes on the, 171 n 2.

Stambhatirth, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar God, 256 n 4, 454 n 6.

Stateira, wife of Alexander the Great, 332 n.

Statistical Account of Bengal, Hunter's, 125 n 3, 299 n 2.

Stein, Dr., 384 n 1.

Steingass, *Persian Dictionary*, 142 n 3, 159 n 2, 312 n 7, 321 n 2, 466 n 7, 629 n 2.

Sthāneswara, the modern Thānesar, 293 n 5.

Sthānu, a name of Mahādeva, 293 n 5.

Strabo, the Greek geographer, 23 n 1 and 3.

Subah of Agra, 410 n 4.

Subhān-Allah, to express surprise or astonishment, 515 n 7.

Subḥatū-l-Abrār, one of the poetical works of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 272 n 1.

Subḥ-i-Kārib, the false dawn, 116 n 3.

Subuktigin, Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, ruler of Kābul and Ghazni, 13 and n 1, 14 and nn 1 and 2, 15, 16 and n 1.

Suclāt, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 543 n 3.

Sudr Khān, Governor of Agra, one of the Amirs of Sullān Sikandar Lod

- Suez, Gulf of, 169 n 1.
 Suez, town of, 169 n 1.
 Sūfī Khān Yūsuf Aslbaḥa, one of the courtiers of Sulṭān Qutb-ud-Dīn Khiljī, 291 and n 5, 293.
 Sūfī Walī Suṭān Kadāmū, one of the Amīrs of the Qizilbāsh, 575 n 3.
 Sūfis, the, 58 n 5, 191 n 4, 374 n 5, 508, 512
 Sūghma or Sūgmā, a Turkī word meaning a pole, 497 n 1
 Suhā, a small obscure star in the Lesser Bear, 182 and n 2, 371 and n 5,
 Suhuf, a collection of pages, 615 n 5.
 Sūī Sūbar, province of, 425 n 2.
 Sūkhpal Naba, —or
 Sūkhpal Naba, Rājā of Sind, contemporary of Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 20 and n 4 See the next.
 Sūkhpal-Nawāsa Shāh, grandson of Jaipāl, 20 n 4. Same as the above (q v.).
 Suleimān (Solomon), 136, 559, 595.
 Suleimān Badakhshī, Mīrzā, ruler of Badakhshān, contemporary of Humāyūn, 574, 580, 581, 585.
 Suleimān, son of Hasan Sūr, and brother of Shīr Shāh, 463.
 Suleimān Khān Karrānī, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 525, 540, 541, 554
 Suleimān Khān, son of Khān-i-Khānān Farvālī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 418 and n 11, 424 and n 2.
 Suleimān, adopted son of Malik Marwān-i-Daulat, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 335, 352, 376.
 Suleimān Shāh Akat Khān, brother's son to Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 259 n 5.
 Suleimān Shāh Lodī, Mahk, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 289.
 Sulandrine, the town of Jalandhar in Ptolemy, 382 and n 4.
 Sulphur, notes on, 340 n 2.
 Su'fān, title, first assumed by Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 16 n 2.
 Sulṭān of Rūm, the Sulṭān of Turkey, 480
 Sulṭān 'Ālam, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 451, 454
 Sulṭān Bahādur, ruler of Gujrāt, contemporary of Humāyūn, 452, 453, 454 and n 4, 455, 456, 458, 635.
 Sulṭān Begam, wife of Mīrzā 'Askarī, 569.
 Sulṭān Begam, sister of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, 570 and n 11.
 Sulṭān Hoshang, Alp Khān, the ruler of Mālwa, 363 n 2, 384 n 5, 385 n 3.
 Sulṭān Junaid Mīrzā Birlān, one of the Amīrs of Bāhar, 439 446, 468, 469
 Sulṭān Kot, fortress of, in the country of Bhaṣiyāna, 80 and nn 5 and 6.
 Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznawī. See under Mahmūd of Ghaznīn.
 Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, ruler of Khurāsān, elder son of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, 569.
 Sultānpur, town of, formerly called Arankul, 299.
 Sultānpur, on the river of Lāhor, 465, 472, 503, 506, 513, 534
 Sulṭān Saiyyid Muḥammad, same as Muḥammad Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 10 n 2.

Sulṭān Shāh Knuṣḥūl, the Amīr of Sāmānā, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 342.

Sulṭān Shāh Lodī, called Isām Khān, Governor of Sihriṇḍ under Khirr Khān of the Salyīd dynasty, 380 and n 3.

Sulṭān Sharf or **Sharq**, Governor of Baiānā, 414 and nn 6 and 8 See the next

Sulṭān Sharq, son of Sultān Aḥmad Jilwānī the First, 414 and nn 6, 11 and 12. See the above.

Sulṭānam, sister of Shāh Tahmāsp of Ferēia, 570 n 11

Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-l-Anliyā, 266, 301. See under Nizāmu-d-Dīn Anliyā.

Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq, ruler of Baiānā, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 414 n 3.

Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq Khwāja-i-Jahān, one of the Maliks of the Tughlq Shāhī dynasty, 348 and n 9.

Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq Mubārak - Shāh Qarānqū, ruler of Jānpūr, 360.

Sumbul, the epikenard of the ancients, 146 n 6, 373 and n 4.

Sumbul-i-Hindī, the perfumed sumbul, 146 n 6.

Sumbul-i-Rūmī, called also Nārdīn, 146 n 6.

Sūmrā Rājputē, the rulers of Sind, 13 n.

Sunāigām — or

Sunāigānvr, on a branch of the Brahmaputra 8 E. of Dacca, 186 and n 6, 299, 303, 309.

Sūndhī Kāī, the Hindū General of Sultān Mahamūd, son of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 34 and n 2

Sunnah, the practice of the Prophet, 483 n 7, 510 and n 4, 559, 626 and n 1.

Sunnatun mu'alladatun, an authenticated traditional practice, 626 n 2.

Sunnīs, the, 3 n 6, 57 and n 1, 59 n 4, 156 n 1, 200 n, 320 n 4, 420 n 8, 676 n 5, 604 n 5, 625 n 3, 626 nn 1, 2 and 6.

Sūpar, town of, 424

Supārī, the nut of *Arca catechu*, 302 n 6.

Sūqmā or **Sūghmā**, a Turqī word meaning a pole, 497 n 1.

Sūr Afghāns, the, 538.

Surayyā, the Pleiades, 630 n 4.

Surate, town of, 454 n 7. See Sorath.

Sūratu-l-Ikhlās, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 2 nn 3 and 4.

Sūratu-l-Kahf, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 207 n 1.

Sūratu-r-Rahmān, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 218 n 2.

Surgā, probably for **Sūghma** a Turkī word meaning a pole, 497 n 1.

Sūrī, a flower, 142 and n 3.

Sarkhāb of Tabrīz, called 'the Sepulchre of the Poets,' 339 n 4, 584 n.

Sarkh bud, or **Red idol**, one of two enormous images in Bāmiān, 46 n 1.

Surkh Kulāh, or **Red-caps**, name of the Turkomāns of the district of Garin Sū, 48 and n 2.

Surra-man-ra'ā, or **Sāmarrā**, a town of 'Irāq on the eastern bank of the Tigris, 59 n 1, 571 and n 2.

Sursatī, a fortress in the hills of Kashmir, called also **Sarasatī** and **Sarsutī**, 36 n 1.

Sārtaq, Ilāq, name of a place, 569 n 8.
 Sarūr, town of, 328 n.
 Saruṣṭy, for the country of Saruṣṭī
 (q v), 80 n 1.
 Sārya Sādhāṇa Burgess, 163 n 2.
 Sasa, a town of Persia, 333 n.
 Sāson, the lily, notes on, 101 n 1.
 Sāson-i-dād, the white variety of the
 lily, 101 n 1.
 Sāsānī, the syriac origin of the word
 . Sāson or lily, 101 n 1.

Satlej, the See under the Satlaj.
 Sā-ul qingya, description of the di-
 sease so called, 30 n 2, 31 n.
 Smjūī, As-, author of the *Tārīkh-i-*
Khulafā, 12 n 2, 15 n 4, 17 n 2, 18
 n 1.
 Sourd of Moses, Gaster's, 141 n 4.
 Sydenham Society, the, 30 n 1.
 Syria, 279 n, 585 n 7.
 Supārghāl, a Turki word meaning
 gifts of land, 424 n 3

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Ta'abbata-sharran, surname of Sāhit-
 bīn Jābir al-Fahmī, the famous
 Arab athlete and warrior, 527 and
 n 3
Tabaqāt-i-Akbar Shāhī, 9 n 2, 52 n 1,
 62 n 4. See the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.
Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, popular name of the
Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī of Khwāja Nizām-
 ud-Dīn Ahmad, 9 n 2, 10 n 3, 29 n,
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Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhī of Shihāb-
 ud-Dīn Hakim Kirmānī Jaunpūrī,
 230 and n 3.
Tabaqāt-i-Nūrī, Raverty, 13 n 1, 14
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Tabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī, 95 n 6.
 Tabakhindah, fortress of, in Rāj-
 pūtānā, 19 and n 2, 69 and n 2, 89
 and n 3, 121 and n 5, 189, 191, 229,
 233, 368 and n 2, 389, 390, 391, 392,
 393.
 Tabarī, the celebrated Arab Historian,
 86 n 2, 74 n 2.
 Tabaristān, a province of Persia, 36
 and nn 2 and 3, 47, 73 n 1.

Tabariya, Sea of,—the Dead Sea, 168 n 1.

Tabarrā, or enmity, a technical term in use among the Shī'ahs, 676 and n 5, 677 n.

Tabarrā, accursed, 577 n. See under Tabarrā.

Tabl-i-'ulā nawāḥḥat, meaning of the expression, 498 n 4.

Tabrīz, town of, in Persia, 72 n 4, 573, 584 n.

Tafā'ul, taking a *so'l* or omen from the words of a book, 412 n 1.

Tafsīr-i-Madārik, a work on the sources of law ordinances, 428, 429 and n 1.

Tafsīru-l-Baizāwī, a celebrated commentary on the Qur'ān by Qāṣi Baizāwī, 6 nn 1 and 4. See under the Anwāru-t-Tanzīl.

Tafīzānī, At., author of the *Mufawwal*, a commentary on the *Talkhīṣu-l-Miftāḥ*, 428 n 3.

Taghāna, a falchion, 215 and n 4.

Taghī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Taghlaq Shāh, 314, 319, 320, 324.

Taghī Taghī, 324. See the above.

Tagīnābād, one of the chief cities of Garmsīr, 65 and n 1. See also under Takīnābād.

Tāhir, Khwāja, Wazīr of Sultān Muḥdūd Ghaznawī, 47.

Tāhir, Shaikh, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 418.

Tāhir Junaidī, the poet, 624 n 6. Same as the following.

Tāhir Khondī,—or

Tāhir Khwāndī Dakkanī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 624

and n 6, 625 and n 3, 626, 632, 635, 636.

Tabināsp, Shāh, the King of Persia, contemporary of Humāyūn, 453, 455, 456, 466, 469, 470, 624.

Tā'if, a town in Hijāz, 12 n 1.

Tāj or red caps of the Qizilbāsh, 627 n 7.

Tāj Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 470.

Tāj Khān Karrānī, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 525, 539, 540, 541.

Tāj-i-Khūrūs, a red flower without odour, 629 n 1.

Tājiks, the descendants of Arabs in Persia, 66 n 1.

Tāju-d-Dīn, Malik, Secretary of State of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltīmish, 94, 97.

Tāju-d-Dīn, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Toghlaq Shāhī dynasty, 334.

Tāju-d-Dīn, Malik, feudatory of Badāon, one of the Amīrs of the Shamsiyyah Sultāns, 125.

Tāju-d-Dīn Bakhtiyār, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 353 and n 8.

Tāju-d-Dīn Nahr, Malik, 378 n 6. See Tāju-l-Mulk Nahr.

Tāju-d-Dīn Tālaqānī, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Toghlaq Shāh, 298.

Tāju-d-Dīn Yaldkuz,—or

Tāju-d-Dīn Yaldūz, one of the Mu'izzi Sultāns of Ghaznīn, 77 n 1, 78, 79, 80, 89, 90, 91.

Tāju-l-'Arūs, a celebrated Arabic Dictionary, 620 n 1.

Tāju-l-Ma'ānir, name of an historical work, 73 n 2, 80 n 3.

- Tāju-i-Mulk Malik Hasan, uncle of Sultan Jalāl-d-Dīn Khiljī, 221.
- Tāju-i-Mulk Nabr, — or
- Tāju-i-Mulk Tahfa, one of the Maliks of Masnad-i-Āli Khizr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 376 and n 2, 377, 378 and n 6, 379, 380.
- Takhaluf, poetical name, 633 and n 6.
- Takhmār, a dart having no point, 216 n 6.
- Takinābād or Tagi ābād, one of the chief cities of Garmār, 34 and n 5, 48, 65 and n 1.
- Taklā, a Turkī word, meaning of, 669 and n 6.
- Talanbha, a fortress at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenāb, 356 n 1. See under Talamba.
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- Talimiah, a sect of Muslim heretics, called also the Bāṭiniyah, 22 n 3.
- Talāḡiḡ-i-Miftāḡ, at-Taḡlāṡnī's abridgment of the Miftāḡ-i-ʿUlūm, 428 n 3.
- Talpath, town of, 295.
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- Talwāra, a village on the right bank of the Chināb, opposite Rūṡī, 386 n 1.
- Tamāchī, brother of Bānbbava Rāi, governor of Thatha under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 333 n 4.
- Tamghāch, Amīr, one of the slaves of Sulṭān Qutbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 69 and n 2.
- Tamim, a tribe of the Arabs, 287 n 1.
- Tamīm Anṡārī, one of the companions of Muḥammad, 13 n.
- Tammāt, — or
- Tammāt-i-Kitāb, answering to the word *Finis* at the end of books, 428 and n 4.
- Tammūz, a god of the Phœnicians, 104 n 2.
- Tamūz, the fourth month of the Jewish year, 104 and n 2.
- Tanbūr, a kind of mandolin, 195 n 4.
- Tanethar, 22 n 1. Same as the town of Thānehar (q r.)
- Tangah, 92 and n 3. See under Tangah and Tanke.
- Tang-chāghri, or close-eyed, a name of the Turks, 627 n 7.
- Tang-shakar, a sugar jar having a very narrow mouth, 174 n 2.
- Tanka, — or.
- Tanqah, a copper, silver or gold coin, 87 n 1, 92 and n 3, 303 and n 3, 307 and n.
- Tanḡra-i-Masaddas, the world, 147 n 2.
- Taqi-d-Dīn Wāḡ Rabbānī, Maḡhdum Shāikh, 393.

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- Taqhīr kardan, to expose to public ridicule, 22 n 4.
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Uqdu-gh-Shimāliyah, an astronomical term, 162 n 4.

Uqdu-r-Zanab, an astronomical term, 162 n 4.

ʿArūz or ʿArūz, the last foot of the first hemistich, a term of Prosody, 606 n 4.

Useful Plants of India, Drury's, 172 n 2, 503 n, 550 n 1, 627 n 2.

Ushī, Khwāja Bahāu-d-Dīn, a famous preacher and learned divine, 78 and n 2.

Ushī, Khwāja Qutb-d-Dīn. See under Qutb-d-Dīn Ushī.

ʿUsmān, the third Khalīfah, called Zu-n-Nūrān, 8 n 6, 59 n 4, 100 n 4, 158 n, 625 n 2.

ʿUsmān, an Afghān of the time of Islam Shāh Sūr, 495.

Ustā ʿAlī Qulī, the Artillerist of Bābar, 439 and n 6.

Ustād, the,—a title of Firdausī, the celebrated Poet, 461 and n 6.

Ustād Abu-l-Faraj Rūnī, the Poet, contemporary of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 53 n, 54 and n 1.

Ustād ʿAlī Qulī, the Artillerist of Bābar, 439 and n 6.

ʿUṭīd, the planet Mercury, 630 and n 3.

ʿUzzā, an idol worshipped by the old Arabs, 110 n 5.

V.

Valley of the Ants, mentioned in the Qurʾān, 340 n 2.

Vasudeva, one of the deities of the Hindūs, 24 n 6.

Venus, one of the two auspicious planets, 188 n 3, 630 n 2.

Vibhū, name of the Jhelam in Sanskrit, 23 n 3.

Vikramāditya, the Rājā of Ujjain, 95 n 4.

Vikramājī, Rāj, 95. Same as the above (q.v.).

Vikramājī, son of Mauik Doo, the Rājā of Gwālār, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodi, 419 and n 11.

Vikramājī, Rāj, son of Rāj Mān Singh, Governor of Gwālār, contemporary of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodi, 432.

Vinea, a shelter under which to approach the walls of a fortress, 494 n 7.

Vipāsa, name of the Bīah in Sanskrit, 23 n 3.

Virgil, Georg., 75 n 2.

Virgin, the,—once the title of the fort of Hānsī, 37 n 2.

Vitastā, name of the Jhelam in Sanskrit, called also Vibhū and Viyatta, 23 n 3.

Viyatta, the river Jhelam, 23 n 3.
See the above.

Voyages d' Ibn Batūta, 67 n 1. See
under Ibn Batūnah.

Vrindāvana, town of, 24 n 6.

Vritras, the, slain by Indra with his
thunderbolt, 294 n 4.

Vüller's *Persico-Latinum Lexicon*, 30
n 2, 109 n 4, 162 n 4, 173 nn 2 and
3, 192 n 3, 213 n 3.

W.

Wādī, a valley or desert, used in the
sense of art, 557 and n 2

Wafā Malik, title of Malik Shāhin,
one of the Amīrs of Sultān Qutbu-
d-Dīn Khiljī, 284.

Wafā'ī, one of the poets of the time
of Humāyūn, 609.

Waghd, name of one of the blank
arrows in the game of maisir, 369
n 1.

Wahbābis, the 183 n 2.

Wahīdu-d-Dīn Quraishī, Malik, one
of the Amīrs of Sultān Qutbu-d-
Dīn Khiljī, 285 and n 4, 286 n 1,
290.

Wahind, on the western bank of the
Indus, 19 n 2, 20 n 1.

Wais Sirwānī, Khwāja, one of the
Amīrs of Islem Shāh Būr, 493 and
n 7, 497.

Waisī, one of the poets of the time
of Humāyūn, 684 and n 4, 685.

Wajihu-d-Dīn, Shaikh, son of Kamāl-
d-Dīn 'Alī Shāh Quraishī and
father of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn
Zakariya, 138 n 2.

Wajihu-d-Dīn Quraishī, one of the
Maliks of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn
Khiljī, 285 n 4.

Wālā Muḥammad Balhan, 161. Same
as Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balhan (q. v.).

Walaj, fort of, called also Bajj, 34
and n 7.

Walī, one who has attained to the
knowledge of the Supreme Being,
62 and n 3.

Walī of Bangālā, the contemporary
of Shīr Shāh, 469.

Walī Qizil, one of the Amīrs of
Bābar, 441.

Walīd ibn 'Abdu-l-Malik Marwānī,
one of the Umayyad Khalīfahs
of Damascus, 11 n 3, 12 and nn
1 and 2, 13 n.

Walīd ibnu-r-Raiyyān, one of the
three chief lords of Shaddād ibn
'Ad (q. v.), 232 n.

Walīd ibn Tarīf ash-Shaibānī, one of
the Khawārij in the reign of
Hārūnu-r-Rashīd, 74 n 2.

Walis, holy men, 627 n 3. See Wālī

Wāmiq, hero of a Turkish romance,
40 and n 1. See the next.

Wāmiq and 'Asra, a Turkish romance
by Maḥmūd bin Asmān Lamāī, 40
n 1.

Wāmiq and 'Asra, a Turkish romance
by Mu'īd of Tarkhān, 40 n 1.

Waqi'āt-i-Bābarī, called also Tārak-i-
Bābarī, 421 and n 3, 448 and n 4.
See also under the *Memoirs of*
Bābar.

Warangal, ancient capital of Telingana, 265 n 4.

Wardī, a kind of beverage, 81 n.

Warr, a herb used for dyeing clothes, 178 n 2.

Wazīl, Malik, adopted son of Malik Muḥarrak Qarraqal of Jaunpūr, 280 n 1.

Wāsiṭ, a town of Irāq between Baṣra and Kūfah, 12 n 1.

Waqfāt, the Historian, 265 n 5.

Wazir, at chess, 103 and n 1.

Wazīr Khān Malik Shāhik, one of the Amirs of the Balbanī dynasty, 230.

Western Jamna Canal, the, 325 n 3.

Western Rohtās, 493.

Whinfield's Omar Khaiyūdm, 144 n 1.

Wilāyat-i-Panna, 417 and n 6. See under Panna.

Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary, 525 n 2.

Works of Sir William Jones, 76 n.

Wuṣṣ', ceremonial washings before prayer, 602 and n 7, 603 n.

X.

Xenophon's Account of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, 585 n.

Y.

Yadava Kingdom of Deogiri in the Deccan, 271 n 6.

Yādavna of Hindū Mythology, 27 n 4.

Yādgar Nāsir Mīrzā, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 461, 462, 474, 477 n, 478, 480.

Yāfē, (Japhet), son of Nūḥ (Noah), 281. See under Japhet.

Yaghraḥ Khān, of the royal family of the Khiljīs, 283.

Yaghraḥ Khiljī, father of Sulṭān Jalāl-d-Dīn Khiljī, 280.

Yahmūt, names of the fish upon which the world is said to rest, 149 n 2.

Yā huwā, an invocation to the Most High, 146 and n 2.

Yahyā ibn 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf Qarwīnī Dimishqī, author of the Lubḥ-i-Tawḥīd, 84 n 3, 49 n 3, 64 and n 1, 624 and n 9.

Yahyā ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abdu-llah Birhindī, author of the Tārīkh-i-Muḥarrak Shāhī, 10 n 3, 67 n 2, 223 n 2, 315 n 7.

Yahyā ibn Bulayr, a traditionist, 12 n 1.

Yahyā ibn Isrā'īl, the head of the Chishtī, father of Shaikh Sharafu-d-Dīn Muniri, 416 n 18.

Yahyā Paran, Mīyān, one of the Amirs of Sikandar Sūr (q. v.), 547.

Yahyā Qarwīnī, Qāṭī, 64 and n 1. See under Yahyā ibn 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf.

Yahyā Tāran, Mīyān, Governor of Sambhal, one of the Amirs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 545, 546, 547.

Yak of Tibet, 543 n 1.

Yaklakhi, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Qutbu-d-Dīn ibn 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 283, 284, 285 and n 1.

- Yaksar, for Baksar, on the left bank of the Ganges, 408 n 5.
- Yākūt. See under Yāqūt, the Arab Geographer.
- Yalṣū, a standard or ensign in Turkī, 483 n 2.
- Yamak, name of a city and country celebrated for the beauty of its people, 158, 159 n.
- Yaman, country of,—in Arabia, 74 n 2, 262 n.
- Yamīn, Sultān Muḥammad, king of Khurāsān, 99 n 4, 138 n 1.
- Yamīnah, wife of Solomon, 205 n 3.
- Yamīn-i-Amīri-l-Mu'minin, title of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 58.
- Yamīnu-d-Daulah Sultān Maḥmūd ibn Nāsiru-d-Dīn Gharnawī, 15, 16, 17. See Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī.
- Yamīnu-d-Daulah Raknu-d-Dīn Firūr Shāh, son of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 97.
- Yamīnu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥasan, full name of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 95 n 2.
- Yamīnu-l-Khilāfat, title of Sultān 'Alīu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 254 n 3.
- Yamuna, the river Jumna which is also called Jamuna and Jaun, 23 n 3, 24 n 4.
- Ya'qūb, Sikandar Khān, one of the Mahiks of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 337.
- Ya'qūbu-l-Manjanīqī, an Arab writer, 149 n.
- Yāqūt or ruby, Four kinds of, 25 n 2.
- Yāqūt, the celebrated Arab Geographer, 14 n 3, 15 n 4, 22 n 2, 66 n 1, 159 n, 166 n 1, 203 n, 476 n 5, 570 n 7.
- Yāqūt the Abyssinian, Chief Amīr under Sultān Raḥṣiyah bin Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 120, 121 and n 2.
- Yarbūla, town, 588 n 2.
- Yasūri ibn Iyānḡhūr, the Diwān of Ghaznī under Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 47.
- Yatmīyān of Bukhāra, father of the poet Jāhī (q. v.), 618 n 5.
- Yazdī, author of the *Zafarnāma*, 247 n 3, 358 n 3.
- Yazīd ibn Maḥyad, one of the Generals of Hārūnu-r-Rashīd, 74 n 2.
- Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, second Khālīfah of the house of Umayyāh, 205 n 1, 481 and n 3.
- Yemen, country of,—in Arabia, 74 n 2, 262 n.
- Yezdezbah,—or
- Yezdibah, the magian ancestor of Imām Bukhārī, 6 n 3.
- Yēr 'Alī, a common name among the Shī'ah, 604.
- Yule and Burnett's *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*, 495 n, 543 n 3.
- Yulṣa, a Turkī word meaning 'that which has lost its hair,' 482 n 2.
- Yūnas 'Alī, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.
- Yūsuf, Mahī, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 608.
- Yūsuf and Zulaikha of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 32 n 2, 272 n 1, 588, 589.
- Yusuf and Zuleikha, Griffith's, 272 n 1.

Yūsuf 'Alāu-d-Daulah, son of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 29, 45 n 2.

Yūsuf Khān Anḡadī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 895.

Yūsuf Sarūr, Malik,—or

Yūsuf Sprūra-l-Mulk, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 308 and n 3, 391, 392. See also the next.

Yūsuf, son of Sarwara-l-Mulk, Malik, 326. See the above.

Yūsuf Qadr Khān, king of Tarkistān, 27.

Yūsuf Sūfi Azlbachā, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Quṭb-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291 and n 5.

Yāsōghā, an Amīr of a hundred, 313 and n 3.

Z.

Zābul, a name for the town of Ghaznīn, 16 and n 3.

Zabūl, the second degree of the fever called *dīqq*, 319 n 4, 320 n.

Zābul, grandfather of Rostam, the famous hero of ancient Irān, 14 n 3.

Zābulī, a name of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, 17.

Zābulistān, 14 n 3, 51.

Zafar Khān, one of the Maliks of Sultān Fīroz Shāh, 337 n 2.

Zafar Khān, Governor of Gujrāt under Sultān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 333 and n 11, 334.

Zafar Khān 'Alāī, 311. See Zafar Khān Badru-d-Dīn.

Zafar Khān Badru-d-Dīn, called Zafar Khān 'Alāī, one of the Maliks of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247 and n 2, 250 and n 5, 254, 258, 261, 311.

Zafar Khān Malik Dīnār Harnamī, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Quṭb-d-Dīn Khiljī, 283, 284, 285.

Zafar Khān Fārsī, one of the Maliks of Sultān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 336 n 5.

Zafar Khān, son of Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 397.

Zafar Khān Hizabru-d-Dīn, one of the Maliks of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247 n 2.

Zafar Khān Khiljī, brother of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 239.

Zafar Khān ibn Wajihu-l-Mulk, Governor of Gujrāt, one of the Maliks of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 346, 354 n 8, 351, 364.

Zafarābād, town of, 299, 312, 328.

Zafar-Nāma of Yazdī, an historical work, 347 n 3, 358 n 6.

Zaffar Khān Fārsy. See Zafar Khān Fārsī.

Zahāb, water oozing from the ground, 459 n 5.

Zahhāk ibn 'Ulwān, one of the three chief lords of Shaddād ibn 'Ad (q. v.), 262 n.

Zahīr, nom-de-plume of Zahiru-d-Dīn Tāhir ibn Muḥammad the Poet, 339 and n 4.

Zahīr Dihlavī, Qāzī, one of the poets of the reign of Sultān Mahmūd of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 367 and n 2, 375.

Zahiru-d-Dīn Bābar Pādishāh, 435, 436. See under Bābar.

Zahīru-d-Dīn Lāborī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 338.
 Zahīru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Bābar, 438, 448. See under Bābar.
 Zahīru-d-Dīn Tāhir ibn Muḥammad Fāryābī, a celebrated poet, contemporary of Khāqānī, 339 and n 4.
 Zahīru-l-Juyūsh, Inspector of the forces, 302.
 Zaid ibn 'Alī, one of the Imāms of the Shī'ah, 604 n 5.
 Zain Khāfi, Shaikh, a learned man of the time of Bābar and Humāyūn, 448 and n 3, 609 and n 5, 610, 617, 618.
 Zain Khān Niyāzī, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh Sūr, 491.
 Zair Khānī, Shaikh, a learned man of the time of Bābar, 448 and n 3. See Zain Khāfi.
 Zainu-d-Dīn, author of a commentary on the *Mubtaysis*, 450 and n 5.
 Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfi, Khwāja, a famous saint, 609 n 5.
 Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfi, Shaikh, one of the learned men and poets of the time of Bābar and Humāyūn, 609 and n 5, 610, 617, 618.
 Zainu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar, Maulānā, one of the Naqshbandī Shaikhs, contemporary of Humāyūn, 588 and n 4.
 Zainu-l-'Abidīn bin Naḥīm, author of *al-Ashbāh wa-n Naḥār*, 5 n 4.
 Zāngah, sortilego by, 412 n 1.
 Zakāt or almsgiving, one of the five foundations of practical religion, 175 n 4.

Zakhīratu-l-Qawānīn, an historical work, 9 n 2.
 Zakhma, the plectrum with which *mus* chang was played, 145 n 1.
 Zāl, father of Rostam, one of the heroes of the *Shāh-Nāma*, 178 n 2.
 Zāl, the son of Afrāsīyāb, king of Tūrān, 410.
 Zamakhsharī, the celebrated author of the *Kashshaf*, a commentary on the Qur'ān, 28 n 1.
 Zamīndāwar, country of, 591.
 Zandkhān, a fortified town near Sarakhs, 43 n 3.
 Zang, a cluster of globular balls carried by dāk-runners, 621 n 2.
 Zang-bastan, to acquire importance, 621 n 2.
 Zangbār, Shāh of,—the Moon, 621.
 Zangī, Abū Mansūr, brother of Abū-l-Faḍl of Bust, contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī, 47 and n 7.
 Zangī, Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 65 n 2.
 Zanzibār,—the Night, 621.
 Zanzibār, Sultān of, adopts *Saifyid* as his regal title, 303 n 4.
 Zaradrus, the river Sutlej, 28 n 3.
 Zarb, in Prosody, the last foot of the second hemistich, 606 n 4.
 Zard chob, turmeric, 178 n 2.
 Zarif, Mīrā Muḥammad Hasan of Isfahān, the Poet, 582 n.
 Zarīr, a herb used in dyeing clothes, 178 and n 2.
 Zebā, mother of Sultān Sikandar ibn Sultān Bahlūl Lodī, 412 n 2.
 Zend, of the Zoroastrians, 394 n 5.

Ziā Barnī. See under Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī.

Ziā-i-Barnī. See under Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī.

Ziāi, the Persian poet, contemporary and panegyrist of Sultān Malik Shāh Saljūqī, 38 and n 4.

Ziāu-d-Dīn, a court-servant of Sultān Jalāl-d-Dīn Khiljī, 239.

Ziāu-d-Dīn Baranī,—or

Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī, author of the *Tarīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, 184 n 1, 186 n 3, 189 n 1, 4 and 5, 219 n 3, 220 n 2, 221 n 1, 227 n 7, 230 n 1, 247 n and n 2 and 4, 248 n 2, 6 and 8, 310 n 1, 311 n 5, 312 n 7, 314 n 2, 315 n 7, 316 n 6, 320 n 5.

Ziāu-d-Dīn Khajandī al-Fārsī, the Poet Ziāi, 38 n 4 See under Ziāi.

Ziāu-d-Dīn Qāzī Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 288, 289, 290.

Ziāu-d-Dīn Tukilī,—or

Ziāu-d-Dīn Tūlakī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Ghori dynasty, 69 and n 3.

Ziāu-l-Mulk Shamsu-d-Dīn Abū Ryā, one of the Maliks of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 329 and n 13, 331.

Zikr, a religious ceremony, 510 and n 4.

Zinjānī, Shaikh Hassan, a famous saint of Lāhor, 383 and n 6.

Zirak, a name of 'Uḡarid (the planet Mercury), 630 and n 3.

Zirak Khān, the Amīr of Sāmāna, one of the Maliks of the Saiyyid dynasty, 378, 379, 382, 384, 391, 396.

Zirqān, name of a place in Khurāsān, 43 and n 3.

Zodiac, signs of the, 76 n 2, 76.

Zorāwar Singh, Rāo, also known as Rāpar Sen, founder of the old city of Rāparī, 377 n 5.

Zā-bahrāin, in prosody a line of two metres, 245 n 2.

Zubaidah Khātun, wife of Hārūnu-r-Rashīd, 286, 287.

Zuhrāh, the planet Venus, 138 n 3.

Zu-l-Faqār,—or

Zu-l-Fiqār, famous sword of 'Alī ibn-Abī Tālib, 74 and n 2, 75 n, 106 n 5.

Zu-l-Fiqār Shirwānī, Mir Saiyyid, a famous poet of Persia, 605.

Zunnār, the belt or girdle worn by Christians or Magians, also the Brahmanical thread, 509 and n 5.

Zu-n-Nūrain, title of 'Usmān the third Khalīfah, 59 and n 4.